

Handwritten signature in gold ink, possibly reading "Famir/Co".



FRANCIS XAVIER

VOLUME IV



"IN TE, DOMINE, SPERAVI; NON CONFUNDAR IN AETERNUM."

("In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded.")

Psalm 31 (30): 2—the last words of Francis Xavier.

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J.



FRANCIS XAVIER

HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES

VOLUME IV

JAPAN AND CHINA

1549-1552

Translated by

M. JOSEPH COSTELLOE, S. J.

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Xavier's signature affixed to the document pertaining to the drawing up of Constitutions for the Society of Jesus, of March 4, 1540 (ARSI: *Inst. 1a*, f. 2r; cf. Vol. I, p. 550).

FRONTISPICE

"The Death of St. Francis Xavier" by Carlo Maratta (Maratti). This painting, which was commissioned in 1674 and hung in 1679 over the altar of St. Francis Xavier in the Gesù in Rome, replaces an earlier painting of the saint by Anthony van Dyck, which is now in the Vatican Museum (see Vol. III, p. vii). Since the painting is too narrow to be adequately reproduced on the pages of a book, the upper portion with "angiolì ed amorini celesti" has been omitted. For a description of the work, see that of G. P. Bellori, a contemporary of Maratta, in his *Vita di Carlo Maratti*, reprinted in Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Moderni*, a cura di Evelina Bona (Torino, 1976). See also Eckhard Schaar, "Carlo Marattas' 'Tod des heiligen Franz Xaver im Gesù,'" in *Munuscula Discipulorum. Kunsthistorische Studien Hans Kauffmann* (Berlin, 1968) pp. 247-264.

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FOREWORD

On November 2, 1971, in his ninetieth year, Father Georg Otto Schurhammer, S.J., died in the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome. In 1910, during the course of a pilgrimage to Goa, he had been cured of a severe illness through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier. In gratitude for this favor, beginning in 1916, he had published a long series of books and articles dealing directly or indirectly with the life of the saint. In the fall of 1971, when he was aware of his own approaching end, he completed his account of the sickness and death of Francis Xavier contained in this present volume. The last words which Father Schurhammer wrote were the final words of the saint himself: *In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum* ("In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded"). With a sense of relief, he then told those who visited him that his life of Xavier was finished. To bring it, however, to completion, he gave me some instructions for an addition to what he had written that would describe the burial and transfer of the body of the saint from Sancian to Malacca and eventually to Goa. Apart from the composition of this, I had only to correct the proofs and draw up the index and bibliography.

For thirty-six years I lived in the same house with Father Schurhammer. His *Zeitgenössische Quellen* as well as his personal interest in my work were of great assistance to me in my editing of the first three volumes of *Documenta Indica*. Because of his profound knowledge of the life of Saint Francis Xavier, I asked him to share my labors in editing his letters. He had already planned on publishing a critical edition of these letters in German and had declined the offer made to him by the director of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* to edit the original texts. He agreed, however, with my suggestion; and we worked together on this project from 1937 to 1945, though at times with rather long interruptions. In our edition of these letters, I collated the text and composed the index. He, in turn, wrote the introductions and notes to the letters and the ten appendices. After the completion of this joint project, I continued with the editing of the *Documenta Indica*. These and other works which I was able to see through the press provided Father Schurhammer with many published sources for the continuation of his great life of Francis Xavier, and he used them with consummate skill.

In his name I would like to thank the Jesuit Historical Institute for the assistance given to him in his writing and researches over the course of decades. I would also like to thank Brother L. G. Ferreira, S.J., in his name for the transcriptions which he made for him of numerous Portuguese documents.

Rome, May 27, 1973

JOSEPH WICKI, S.J.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This fourth and final volume of Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier* describes the missionary's voyage from Malacca to Japan, his labors there, his return to India, his departure for China, and his death on the island of Sancian while waiting for an opportunity to enter into that forbidden land. Here, as in the preceding volumes, Schurhammer has demonstrated his remarkable talent for collecting and assembling in a clear and logical order vast quantities of historical data.¹

In the account of Schurhammer's life and work prefixed to the first volume of this translation, it was suggested that his *Francis Xavier*, because of its central theme and the context into which it was woven, could be best described as "an epic biography."² A more careful analysis will show that it is an epic not only in its length and theme and setting but also in its composition and structure.

For more than two centuries the origins of the two great classical epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, have been an object of considerable discussion. The constant repetition of only slightly varied phrases, sentences, and episodes led to the conclusion that these poems were compilations of earlier, less complicated works.³ Only in recent decades, through a comparison with other "primitive" epics, has it become apparent that such repetition is not so much a matter of compilation as an essential feature of oral composition. In "primitive" epics, those composed by illiterate bards, stock epithets are applied to nouns to fill in the measures of a verse; verses are repeated at the beginning or end of a battle or banquet as the poet mentally pauses over what he should say next; short but standard biographies are inserted into the tale as he determines the part which the person is to play. With the help of these varied repetitions, which serve as a memory crutch, the poem is gradually constructed: verses are composed by adding phrase to phrase, incidents by adding verse to verse, and the whole story by adding incident to incident. Without these assists to the memory, it would be extremely difficult for a poet who is unable to write to compose and retain in his memory an epic running into many thousands of lines. "Primitive" epic is as a consequence repetitive in its structure and cumulative in its effects.⁴ If literary epics have retained some of these primitive elements, it is at least partially due to the natural delight which is found in a repetition that provides a temporary pause in the movement of a story, and which at the same time allows the reader or listener to identify himself with the thought patterns of the poet.

Whether he was aware of it or not, Schurhammer has certainly employed these techniques of epic poetry in the composition of his *Francis Xavier*. His

¹ See, for example, the comments in the reviews of H. E. Weidman in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* XLIII (1974) 179, and of Katharine Smith Diehl in *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXVII (1978) 710.

² Vol. I, p. xxi.

³ Henry Browne, S.J., *Handbook of Homeric Study* (Dublin, 1905) 105-106 110 133-135.

⁴ Kirk, Geoffrey S., "Homer," *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* 8 (1975) 1020.

numerous descriptions of land- and seascapes are fleshed out with common epithets. He frequently inserts, especially in the first three volumes, brief biographies of individuals who are to play a minor part in his larger theme and whose lives are of some interest in themselves. On the larger scale he constantly recapitulates his narrative by inserting translations of the original documents from which it has been derived. His frequent use of literary motifs adds to the length of the work, but gives his prose a musical tone and provides the reader with a deeper insight into what actually occurred. And these epic qualities of *Francis Xavier* are further enhanced by the simplicity and clarity of its author's writing—a splendid mirror of his now spent life. If the readers of this English version of Schurhammer's *Franz Xaver* perceive in it some of the *muxaree*,⁵ or charm, which the translator has found in the original German, his efforts to communicate it will not have been unrewarded.

The extensive footnotes of this fourth volume, which are actually longer than the text itself, contain not only a great deal of information about the world in which Xavier lived but also fascinating accounts of the lives of first- and second-generation Christians in Japan. These are largely taken from unpublished documents in the Historical Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and add considerably to our knowledge of the first Christians of Japan. Because of their length, an attempt was made to place many of these notes into separate appendices, but the difficulties encountered in categorizing them caused the project to be abandoned. In the translation of this volume, as in the earlier volumes, the practice of spelling proper names as they are given in the original documents when these are translated has been retained.

The translator again wishes to thank all those who have contributed to the publication of this version of Schurhammer's *Franz Xaver*. For this fourth volume a double debt of gratitude is due to Father Hubert Cieslik, S.J., in Tokyo. A well-known historian of Japan in his own right, he was of great assistance to Father Schurhammer in his writings on Japan—providing him with details and outlines of Japanese history and accompanying him to many of the sites in Japan that had been earlier visited by Francis Xavier. To the thanks which Father Schurhammer expressed to Father Cieslik for his assistance must now be added those for his magnanimous help with this volume—his numerous corrections and additions to the book on Japan have considerably enhanced the accuracy and value of the work. Thanks also are due to Mrs. Wm. B. Spohn and Miss Patricia O'Connor for their kind and capable reading of the proofs. Very special recognition is due to Professor Beatrice Klakowicz, whose able assistance on the last three volumes of *Francis Xavier* has saved the translator from a great number of errors and very many hours of toil. Thanks are again due to the generous financial help of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc., without which the publication of this translation could not have been undertaken, to De Rance, Inc., for funds to facilitate its completion, and to a number of individuals who by their gifts have helped win the war against inflation, in particular to Mr. and Mrs. J. Kernan Weckbaugh, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hunzicker, and to Mr. and Mrs. Milton Eddy. Grateful appreciation must also be extended to the staff of the Gregorian University Press for the kindness and efficiency which they have shown in seeing these large and difficult volumes through the press with such accuracy and

⁵ See Nunes Barreto's observation on the diction of Brother Juan Fernández: "The Japanese find a certain charm in his language which they call *muxaree*, and they are greatly pleased to hear him" (below, p. 281, n. 59).

elegance. Thanks also are given to the many reviewers of *Francis Xavier*. The errors which they have noted and the suggestions which they have made have been of great assistance in drawing up the *addenda* and *corrigenda* that comprise the fourth and last appendix of this book.

In the introduction to *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und Seiner Nachbarländer*, first published in 1932, Father Schurhammer expressed the hope that his register of source materials for the history of *Asia Portuguesa* "would bring the East and West closer together and thus help to fulfill the wish of those at whose bidding Xavier sailed to the Far East—*ut omnes unum sint*." Now that this translation of his long life's major work has been completed, the author of these lines would like to express a similar desire—that those who do not have a ready access to *Franz Xaver* in the original German may at least approach it in a language less difficult and more universally read, so that East and West may be brought more closely together and *all may eventually be one*.

As a conclusion to the decades which Schurhammer spent in the composition of this unique work and of the years which were spent in translating it, there is nothing more to say than to repeat the words penned by St. Augustine at the end of his own immense *De civitate Dei*: *Videor mihi debitum ingentis huius operis adiuvante Domino reddidisse. Quibus parum vel quibus nimium est, mihi ignoscant; quibus autem satis est, non mihi, sed Deo mecum gratias congratulantes agant. Amen. Amen.*

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

The Library

Curia Generalizia della Compagnia di Gesù
Rome, Italy

November 2, 1981, the Feast of All Souls
and the Tenth Anniversary of the death of
Georg Otto Schurhammer, S.J.

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BOOK I

JAPAN

(1549—1551)

Makoto wa ten no michi nari.

"Truth is the way to heaven."

Saying of a grandson of Confucius
in the *Chung yung* (Fifth Century B. C.)

CHAPTER I

THE VOYAGE TO JAPAN (APRIL 15—AUGUST 15, 1549)

1. FROM GOA TO MALACCA (APRIL 15—MAY 31, 1549)¹

Christovão de Sá,² the captain of the caravel³ on which Xavier and his companions sailed from Goa to Malacca, was the nephew of the governor Garcia de

¹ Various legendary accounts have been recorded of the voyage which Xavier made from Goa to Malacca in 1549. Lucena has Xavier sail from Goa to Cochin in 1549 on a *fusta*, and from there in the ship of Captain Diogo de Sousa to Malacca (6, 12). He confuses his voyage of 1552 with that of 1549, as was already noted by Bartoli (*Asia* 2, 35). Pérez sailed with Diogo de Sousa to Malacca in 1548. In his first edition of 1594, Tursellinus has the saint sail in 1548, but he gives no further details (2, 12). In his second edition, of 1596, for which he had obtained new materials from Lucena, he attributes to this same year of 1548 the anecdote connected with Diogo de Noronha (3, 17). As the captain of a large ship (*ingens rostrata navis*), he sailed with Xavier from Goa to Cochin. Noronha was little acquainted with Xavier at the time. He knew that he was regarded as a saint, but he saw him frequently joking with the soldiers. This led him to believe that, as a priest, he was no better than the others. While they were on their way, the ship stopped to take on water. When it was ready to leave, Xavier was missing. Noronha ordered a search to be made for him, and he was found in the forest rapt in prayer. This convinced the captain of the priest's holiness. The same tale is found in Lucena but without place or year (3, 13). The latter's source for this was the manuscript account of Xavier's life written by the ex-Jesuit Miguel de Lacerda, a passage of which is given by Amador Rebello in the first Lisbon remissorial process of 1614 (GS IV 423). He has the ship (*triremis*) sail on to Cochin, as does Tursellinus, whom he also cites among his sources. Lacerda entered the Society of Jesus in Goa in 1557 at the age of fourteen but was dismissed in 1569. He sailed to Portugal in 1570, where he earned a doctorate in theology in Coimbra and sent to Amador Rebello his manuscript on Francis Xavier. D. Diogo de Noronha, a son of D. Francisco de Noronha, came to India in 1545. He fought at Diu in 1546 and took part in the expedition to Aden in 1548. After his return from it, he was with Xavier in Goa from April to September. He could thus have had good knowledge of the saint when the latter at the end of September, and again at the end of November, 1548, and in April, 1549, sailed from Goa to Cochin, which makes this anecdote unlikely for these three voyages, especially since we have no knowledge of a voyage made by Noronha to Cochin.—The second witness in the first Lisbon process of 1614 gives a second version of the tale. This was the licentiate Affonso de Barbuda, who met D. Pedro de Castro, the brother of the archbishop of Lisbon, D. Miguel de Castro, at different times between 1578 and 1591 in India and in Portugal, for example, in 1580, when he was living not far from the College of St. Paul in Goa. He gave this report to him and to many others: A prominent man, a relative of his, had come a short time before from Portugal. He noticed that Father Francis went to land in a rowboat with some soldiers, one of whom was a relative of his, who were going there to fetch water. When they reached land, he saw the priest go to a lonely spot where the woods were quite dense. He followed him and found him raised above the ground and rapt in prayer. He then went back to the rowboat and told D. Pedro de Castro what he had seen; and he added that everything that had been said by D. Pedro and the other persons about the virtue and holiness of Father Francis was true, but that earlier he had not believed it to be so (*ibid.* 422). The person who is here newly introduced, D. Pedro de Castro, leads us to the source of the legend. Castro, the son of D. Diogo de Castro, came to India in 1557 (**Memoria das pessoas* 142; *Emmenta*

Sá. He had come to Goa from Portugal on May 15, 1548, as the captain of the *Santa Maria do Rosario* and had handed over to the governor Dom João de Castro his appointment as viceroy. He had been in India before and had returned from there to Portugal in 1546. He was a *fidalgo* of the royal house; and on February 12, 1548, he had received as a reward for his earlier services a captaincy of the royal clove ship which sailed from Goa to Maluco. After the death of the viceroy, he had served for five months in Rachol with two hundred men under Garcia de Sá and had then repeopled the deserted land. It could now, as a consequence, be leased for 40,000 *pardaus*; but his efforts in this regard had been so costly that he asked the king for a second voyage to Maluco so that he could pay his debts.⁴ When Garcia de Sá sailed with the fleet to Bassein in January, 1549, he had been, like Jurdão de Freitas and Dom Jorge de Eça, a captain of one of the larger ships.⁵

The caravel reached Cochin shortly before Easter, which this year fell on April 21.⁶ During their stay in the city, Xavier and his companions were most cordially housed in the Franciscan monastery.⁷ Easter morning the clove ship with Freitas and the three missionaries destined for the Moluccas also came to anchor at Cochin.⁸ Master Francis, Affonso de Castro, and Morais preached. Castro's words were so effective that the captain of the city, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, and the people asked Xavier to leave him with them as a preacher. They even wished to erect a house for him at once as a residence.⁹ The vicar, Pedro Gonçalves, also asked for a priest to instruct the children of his parish.¹⁰ Master Francis, however, had to put off their desires to a later date. If preachers came from Portugal in September, he would send one of them to Cochin.¹¹ Lancilotto also needed help in Quilon; and before Xavier continued on his voyage, he wrote to Antonio Gomes how much a house was wanted there as a place of rest for the missionaries on Cape Comorin and for the instruction of the sons

25) and sailed on a galley from Goa on December 8, 1567, with the fleet of the viceroy D. Antão de Noronha to Malabar in order to capture Mangalore. With him were Father João Francisco [Stefanonil], S.J., and another Jesuit. Castro, a great friend of the Society, had repeatedly asked the provincial for them, as their confrere Gomes Vaz wrote from Goa on December 28 (DI VII 435-436). On the same ship were also Castro's relative D. Francisco Mascarenhas, who had sailed to India in 1554 and 1561, and Diogo do Couto, the India chronicler, who has given a detailed account of the fleet, its voyage, and of the capture of Mangalore (8, 19-20). João Francisco, who did not sail to India until 1567, is obviously here confused with Francis Xavier. Bartoli identifies Castro's relative (*cognatus*) with D. Diogo de Noronha (*Asia* 4, 47). The first with this name does not enter into question since he disappears without leaving a trace in 1550. The second, D. Diogo de Noronha o Corcós, a son of D. Alvaro, is also excluded since he died in 1560, as is evidenced by his still extant tombstone. This latter was a great friend of the Society, and in 1557 he sent a *catur* from Thāna to Cochin with the later martyr D. Gonçalo da Silveira and a novice (DI III 630-631). He is perhaps confused with D. Francisco Mascarenhas, who was possibly the relative of D. Pedro de Castro.

² On him, see Vol. III, p. 440.

³ That Xavier sailed in a rowboat as far as Cochin, and from there on the royal ship, as is indicated by Lucena and Bartoli, comes from the legend which we have investigated in note 1 above.

⁴ Q 4303.

⁵ Couto 6, 7, 4, p. 81.

⁶ DI I 495.

⁷ EX II 123.

⁸ DI I 495.

⁹ *Ibid.* 495 559.

¹⁰ Seb. Gonçalves 7, 9.

¹¹ EX II 107.

of the Christians of Quilon. He should therefore strive to obtain from the *vedor da fazenda*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and from the governor support for the construction of such a residence.¹²

On April 25 the two ships started off again on their voyage to Malacca.¹³ They were blessed with excellent weather and an absence of storms and attacks from the feared Achinese. On May 31, after a voyage of thirty-seven days, during the course of which none of the travelers became ill, they arrived in fine condition in Malacca.¹⁴

2. A MONTH IN MALACCA (MAY 31—JUNE 24, 1549)

All of Malacca was on the alert when Xavier and his companions arrived, and they were received with the greatest joy and satisfaction by the captain of the fortress, Dom Pedro da Silva, and the entire city—men, women, and children,¹⁵ the people and the clergy, the brothers of the Misericórdia, and their confreres Pérez and Oliveira. Many of the boys who helped with teaching Christian doctrine were assembled on the strand. After Torres had disembarked, he asked them: “Quem vos ensina, meninos?” (“Who gives you instructions, boys?”) They replied: “O Padre santo.” Since the time that Xavier had been there, they had been accustomed to call the priest who instructed them “o Padre santo,” and this name had been passed on to Father Pérez.¹⁶ But there was one person missing on the beach—the *vigario*, Affonso Martins.

He had been deathly ill for four or five months and the remembrance of his ministries in Malacca had clouded his mind and made him despair of his salvation. When he heard that Mestre Francisco was at the harbor, he had asked for his shoes so that he might go and greet him; but he had then fallen back upon his bed because of his great weakness. When Xavier learned what had happened, he went to him with Father Torres and consoled him. He urged him at length to have confidence in the mercy of God, and he promised him that he would offer a number of Masses in honor of our Lady and all the saints and angels and the poor souls in purgatory so that God would grant him a happy death. His words were not without effect. The dying priest regained confidence, confessed his sins, and received Viaticum; and both priests remained with him until he had rendered up his soul to his Creator. Pérez ascribed this change of heart to the prayers of Master Francis. After his death, the countenance of the *vigario* had the appearance of a venerable old man.¹⁷

Still on the day of his arrival Xavier made an official visit to the captain of the fortress, Dom Pedro da Silva, and delivered to him the letters from the governor. The captain in turn received him with great affection and promised him that he would readily grant him any help that he could.¹⁸

When Pérez arrived in 1548, he had occupied the small wooden shack opposite

¹² *Ibid.* 129; cf. 108. Lucena attributes the conversion of Diogo Madeira to this stay of Xavier in Cochín (6, 12), but the date is not known (MX II 215).

¹³ EX II 123; Torres 91.

¹⁴ EX II 117 123 146-147. It is during this further voyage to Malacca that Lucena places the conversion of a *fidalg*o, to whom he said when they were landing: “Senhor, agora he tempo” (6, 12; cf. *Confalonierius 109v-110). But here also the date is unknown.

¹⁵ EX II 117-118 123; Pérez, *Informação* 62.

¹⁶ Pérez, *Informação* 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 62-63.

¹⁸ EX II 117-118 123; Torres 91.

the side door of the Misericordia, where Xavier had earlier found shelter.¹⁹ There were now living with him Oliveira and a young Portuguese by the name of João Bravo.²⁰ This latter had been born in Braga²¹ about the year 1529.²² He had sailed from Goa to Malacca in 1548 on the royal clove ship, which was under the command of his brother-in-law Diogo de Sousa. On the same voyage had been Pérez and Oliveira, and their example had made such an impression upon him that he had frequently asked the priest in Malacca to accept him as a companion. Pérez had replied: "I have no authority to receive you. But if you wish to remain with me until Padre Mestre Francisco comes next year and receives you, you will be received; but if not, you will not be accepted. I shall do what I can this year with respect to what God will suggest to me." Bravo had received this reply with great humility. Pérez had then given him the Exercises, had had him make a general confession, and then, in keeping with the practice of the Society, had tested him by assigning him to numerous lowly tasks. Bravo had called the people to instructions by ringing a little bell in the streets and had recommended the poor souls to the prayers of the people. For more than two months he had served in the hospital with great humility. He had swept the rooms, made the beds of those who were ill, washed their feet, and rendered them other services. At home he had prepared the meals and purchased what was needed for them in the market. On one occasion he had gone through the city dressed in torn shoes and an old cotton frock to collect alms. Since he was known to many in the city, this had been a real act of abnegation on his part; but he had collected fifteen or sixteen ducats. Part of these he had given as an alms to the prisoners in the jail; the rest he had divided up among the poor.²³ Pérez was convinced that if Bravo was given an opportunity to study, he would make good progress.²⁴ Xavier took him into the Society and let him pronounce the vows of the scholastics.²⁵ He told Pérez to teach him some Latin²⁶ and to send him to Goa the following year, in December, 1550, for further studies.²⁷

Francis was greatly pleased with what Pérez and Oliveira told him about their labors. They had both reached Malacca on May 28, 1548. Before their ship could be anchored, some of Xavier's admirers had learned that the companions he had promised were on it. They had immediately gone out in a boat to get them and had brought them to their future dwelling near the Misericordia, where they were heartily welcomed by the brothers of the confraternity, the *vigario*, and the rest of the clergy.

¹⁹ Pérez, *Informação* 57 63 66.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 59-60. João Bravo remained in Malacca from 1548 until 1552, where he knew Mendes Pinto well (DI III 143-144). At Xavier's order he then moved to Cochín. In 1554 he began studying in Goa, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1556. Constantly afflicted with asthma, he worked in 1560-1561 in Thāna, and from 1562 on in Goa. He was novice master for six years (1563-1568) and rector of St. Paul's College for six, where he built the chapel to St. Jerome in the garden of the novices in 1564 (DI VI 364-365) and, at the beginning of 1572, completed the new college church (*ibid.* VIII 584-585). In 1568 he became afflicted with dropsy and died of it in July, 1575 (necrology in DI X 457-458). The formula of his profession of November 30, 1568, is still extant (*ibid.* *Lus. I*, 84-85v). His letters are edited in DI IV 631-635 710-716; VI 93-94; VIII 123-126.

²¹ DI I 377; IV 456.

²² Pérez, *Informação* 59.

²³ Pérez, *Informação* 59-60; DI I 377-378.

²⁴ DI I 378.

²⁵ *Ibid.* VII 72.

²⁶ Pérez, *Informação* 60 64.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 64; EX II 134.

The very next morning Roque de Oliveira exposed his wares for sale, that is, he opened a school where he taught the children of the Portuguese how to read and write, how to recite the Hours of Our Lady and the Office of the Dead, and also the rudiments of Latin. The children were in great need of instruction: their native mothers were ignorant of such matters, and their Portuguese fathers taught them nothing. The male and female slaves of the Portuguese, and all those who were so inclined, came also for instructions. Within a few days the number of students exceeded 100, and in December there were 180. Oliveira was kept busy with these instructions in the mornings and afternoons. Even the pagans and Moors were surprised and edified at seeing individuals come from such great distances to teach children with such great care—not for money or jewels, but simply for the love of Christ. As texts for his instructions, Oliveira did not use old protocols or works of fiction, but copies of the Lives of the Saints and other books which would teach his pupils how to live well. He also taught them Xavier's explanation of the Creed.

Pérez, who was somewhat delicate, had been seasick and had arrived in Malacca suffering from diarrhoea. Fifteen days after reaching land he had regained his strength and had begun his apostolic labors. He had preached every Sunday and feast day in the Sé—in the mornings to the Portuguese and in the afternoons to their sons, daughters, and slaves, and to the native Christians; and every day he had instructed them in the faith for an hour and a half or two in the church of the Misericordia. On Sundays and feast days Oliveira had gone through the city with a small bell at eleven-thirty and had invited the people to the midday sermon, which had consisted of an explanation of the Creed. On the remaining days of the week, some boys had called the people to the instructions in the same manner. On Thursday Pérez had offered a Mass in Nossa Senhora do Monte and preached for a half-hour after it on the sacraments, especially on the sacrament of penance. His words had been directed particularly towards the married women; and he had given his instructions in the faith in song as Xavier had been accustomed to do.

By December the sons of the Portuguese and many of their daughters and slaves knew the entire Small Catechism by heart. When one passed through the streets at night after the *Angelus*, one could hear the Small Catechism and the Large Catechism (the explanation of the faith) being sung in different homes, as it had been since the time that Xavier had established this practice in Malacca. His pupils were so enthusiastic about this that they sang them wherever they went. Since the Misericordia was poor, Pérez offered Mass every Wednesday in its church. He also celebrated Mass once a week in the hospital and heard the confessions of those who were ill and brought them Holy Communion. His preaching had been successful. Many went to confession and received Holy Communion, which he regularly distributed at Mass before the sermon.²⁸

Since the dense forests of the peninsula reached almost to the city, there was no area about Malacca where a mission could be erected for the pagans. But within the city itself, a major center of trade, there were Hindu and Chinese merchants, Mohammedans from Java and Malay, and numerous Moorish traders from Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and Malabar. There were also Jews living in the city. Among these were those of light complexion from around the Red Sea, and others who were darker from Malabar. There was also a Jew who had been born in Rome and was a constant attendant at the sermons of the priest. He also

²⁸ Cf. Pérez' letter of December 14, 1548 (DI I 370-374), and EX II 131-133 155.

came at times to where Pérez was living and asked him questions about the Scriptures. One thing which he failed to understand was how God could have become man and have wished to be scourged and crucified. Pérez gave him reasons for this with patience and charity, and grace was finally effective. One morning—it was Wednesday, November 7—when Pérez was in the church of the Misericordia, the man entered and, as he passed the door, dipped his hand in the holy-water font. The people summoned Pérez. When the Jew saw him, he went up and embraced him and told him that he wished to become a Christian since he recognized the error in which he had been living. Pérez immediately went with him to the parish church. When the captain of the city, Dom Pedro da Silva, and other prominent *cavalleiros* and *fidalgos* learned what had happened, they came to the same place. The man was then baptized to the great satisfaction of the people of the city, since he was well known there. Within four or five days he had learned the Creed, the Small Catechism, the Our Father, Hail Mary, *Salve Regina*, *Confiteor*, and the Ten Commandments and the Precepts of the Church. Along with him were converted six or seven others who were his male and female servants. A young son whom he had in Cochin was also to be baptized.²⁹

A number of individuals in Malacca had expressed their desire to serve God in the Society of Jesus. Among these was Vicente Viegas, Xavier's friend and one of the six beneficiaries of the city, where he was held in the highest esteem. Pérez had given him the Exercises of the first week and had heard his general confession, and Viegas had only been waiting for Xavier's arrival to ask to be taken into the Society.³⁰ But since he had to take over the administration of the parish after the death of the vicar, the time for this had not as yet come.³¹

Two months after Xavier's arrival, Malacca experienced a unique event—the first Mass of Affonso de Castro, who had arrived in Malacca on Trinity Sunday, June 16, not long after his two companions. The solemn High Mass, with deacon and subdeacon, was offered in the parish church. Castro, the principal celebrant, was accompanied by Viegas and Pérez as his sponsors.³² The captain and the people of the city went to his residence near the Misericordia and brought him to the church in solemn procession. The deacon at the Mass was Cosme de Torres, and the sermon was given by Master Francis. At the Offertory the people were generous with their gifts, and all were delighted since they had never seen such a ceremony before. After the Mass Castro and his companions were brought back in procession to his dwelling with the same solemnity. Here, within the circle of the small community, they honored the occasion “with a meal of a roasted suckling pig in the company of Master Francis, who cheered and consoled them all.” Castro then handed over to the Misericordia the gifts which he had received so that they might be distributed among the poor.³³

Four days later, June 20, was the feast of Corpus Christi. Members of the Society did not as a rule take part in processions, but there were only a few priests in Malacca. Master Francis therefore made an exception to the norm, and all the confreres took part in the procession in cassocks and surplices. There

²⁹ DI I 376-377.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 375-378.

³¹ *Ibid.* II 109 (apparatus); Eredia 43.

³² EX II 124. Pérez erroneously gives Torres as sponsor rather than Viegas (*Informação* 63).

³³ EX II 124-125; Pérez: “Nós fizemos a festa em casa com hum porquinho e o Padre, que alegrava e consolava a todos” (*Informação* 63).

were three of these from Malacca itself: Pérez, Oliveira, and Bravo; three destined for Japan: Xavier, Torres, and Juan Fernández; and three missionaries for the Moluccas: Castro, Morais, and Gonçalves.³⁴

Dom Pedro da Silva, the captain, had in the meantime been earnestly seeking for a vessel sailing to Japan.³⁵ More than ten Portuguese had on numerous occasions decided to sail there, but they had always been prevented from doing so by some difficulty. Silva had thus not been able to find a Portuguese ship on which he could send Xavier.³⁶ The chief problem was the hostility which the Portuguese had gained for themselves in China, and since the beginning of 1549 its coastal fleet had proved to be such an obstacle to trade that they had been forced to return to Malacca. A further difficulty was that the Portuguese merchants, because of their trade, had to pass the winter in China before sailing on to Japan. They thus had to accumulate wares needed for a voyage of more than a year.³⁷ The captain's efforts nevertheless proved to be successful. Within two days³⁸ he was able to find a Chinese merchant,³⁹ a pagan married and living in Malacca, who was ready to take the priests and their companions to Japan in his junk before the middle of August without landing anywhere in China.⁴⁰ The man's name was Avân,⁴¹ and he had received the nickname of "o Ladrão" ("the Pirate") from the Portuguese.⁴² The captain had further obtained a written guarantee from him that if he did not bring back with him a written document from Master Francis in Japan, he would suffer the loss of his wife and his possessions.⁴³

In addition to this the captain gave Xavier everything he needed for his voyage and his stay in Japan in great abundance, and also for a church where Mass could be offered. For the support of the missionaries he gave them thirty *bahârs* of the finest pepper⁴⁴ to be found in Malacca, a gift worth a thousand *cruzados*,⁴⁵ and valuable presents for the king of Japan worth another two hundred *cruzados* so that the latter might receive them with greater kindness in his lands.⁴⁶ He

³⁴ EX II 125; Pérez, *Informação* 63.

³⁵ EX II 128.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 123-124 224; Pérez, *Informação* 63; Torres 91.

³⁷ EX II 224.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 467.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 124 179; Pérez, *Informação* 63; Frois 4.

⁴⁰ EX II 124 184.

⁴¹ Frois 4; in his A list of the voyagers to Japan, Frois names him Aывão.

⁴² EX II 124 230; Pérez, *Informação* 63; Frois 4.

⁴³ EX II 124.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 118-119 124. According to Antonio Nunez, a *bahâr* amounted to 420 pounds in Malacca (39 48), according to Gaspar da Cruz three *picos* or hundredweights in China (Dalgado II 104). According to Xavier twenty *picos* of pepper were worth two hundred *cruzados* in China in 1552 (EX II 499 505). In Japan they were worth more because of the longer and dangerous voyage, especially after 1549, when the Chinese were angry with the Portuguese and were blocking their trade. Brodrick strives to show that it was impossible for Xavier to have taken with him 120 hundredweights of pepper to Japan since, according to him, this was an impossible cargo for a Chinese junk. He consequently has the pepper sold in Malacca by the captain of the fortress and the proceeds set aside as capital for the support of Xavier in Japan, especially since the priest was forbidden by canon law to sell the pepper in Japan (349)! But Xavier could not have undertaken anything in Japan with *cruzados*. Further, on November 3, 1549, he wrote from Kagoshima that the ship which was to carry the priests coming to Japan should bring no more than eighty *bahârs* of pepper with it (EX II 224). According to Linschoten Chinese junks had room for a cargo of from 500 to 600 *bahârs* (V 178).

⁴⁵ EX II 273.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 118-119 124; Torres 56.

further gave them a Eurasian⁴⁷ by the name of Domingos Dias who was to accompany them to Japan and then return to Malacca to report on what had happened.⁴⁸ Paul of the Holy Faith regarded it as providential that no Portuguese were sailing with them to Japan, as he observed in broken Portuguese: "This is the work of God: so many dealings with Portuguese and nothing accomplished. Now a Chinese is taking the priest there. When he goes to Japão, if Portuguese go there and the Padre and his companions do good things which pertain to Christianity, but the Portuguese evil things which do not pertain to the rules of the Christians, the Japanese will be scandalized and will say: They are not Christians, for how is it that they live against the law of the Christians? You, Father, speak very well and act very well, and also your companions; but how is it that these others, who are Christians, do what is bad and do not live well?" So God has willed that no Portuguese should go with Padre Mestre Francisco, but Chinese, by whom the Japanese would not be offended, for *China galinha* act badly and speak badly, since they are not Christians." He said this because quarrels usually arose between Portuguese and Japanese when they sailed together on the same ship.⁴⁹

In Malacca Xavier met his old friend Duarte da Gama, who wanted to try his fortune at trading in the Far East. He also met Diogo Pereira who had returned from there. In Pereira's house there was at this time a three-year-old boy who suffered from grievous attacks of epilepsy,⁵⁰ which caused him at such times to be more like a devil than a man. He would make terrifying gestures and utter wild screams and do other things that far surpassed the native strength of a child. He thus became an object of universal dread, especially since he could suffer numerous attacks within a single day. On one such occasion, Pereira summoned Master Francis. The latter came at once and laid his hands upon the sick boy's head and read all four Gospels over him. He then took the reliquary which he wore about his neck and hung it around that of the boy. From that moment he was cured and never again suffered an attack.⁵¹

No one could give Francis more exact information on conditions in China than Pereira. He had sailed from Cochin in April, 1458; and, at Xavier's request, he had taken with him the priest's protégé Alonso Ramírez. He had then, in June, sailed with him for China. On their way they had stopped at Ayuthia, the capital of Siam on the lower course of the Mekong. There they found the city besieged by the Burmese king Tabinshwehti,⁵² who had come with a powerful force supported by numerous war elephants⁵³ and with a bodyguard of eighty

⁴⁷ Pérez, *Informação* 63.

⁴⁸ EX II 230.

⁴⁹ Pérez, *Informação* 63-64; he imitates the broken Portuguese exactly.

⁵⁰ The Portuguese text is lost. The Latin translation has *morbis regius* (jaundice), but it then describes the symptoms of the disease as that of epilepsy (*morbis comitialis*) (MX II 263). The sickness is also thus described by Cros, *Vie* II 419, and Brou II 420.

⁵¹ According to the testimony of Diogo Pereira in the Goa process of August 17, 1557 (MX II 263), and he adds the following: "The witness knows that the said boy has no longer been tormented by that illness from that hour up to the present day, though it is now eight years since the time when the priest worked that [miracle] in his, the witness' presence; and the boy is still alive and well."

⁵² On the expedition and siege, see Couto 6, 7, 8-9; Harvey 158-159 (brief); W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam* (London, 1926) 112-113, and, romantically elaborated, in Mendes Pinto, cc. 185-188.

⁵³ According to Couto, who however notes: "Dizia-se." Harvey gives no figures; Wood: 300,000 men, 300 horses, 700 elephants; Mendes Pinto: 800,000 men, of which 40,000 were mounted, 5,000 elephants, 1,000 cannons.

Portuguese⁵⁴ under the command of Diogo Soares de Mello, who had fought the year before on the Perlis River with Diogo Pereira against the Achinese fleet and was now firing on the beleaguered city with his artillery. Mahā Chakrap'at, the Siamese king,⁵⁵ saw in Pereira, who had come with fifty of his countrymen, a savior in his time of need. He gave him the defense of the weakest part of his city, a bulwark near the site where the river was narrowest and easy to pass. Under Pereira's command, the Portuguese inflicted heavy losses on the Burmese and Peguese and prevented their entrance into the city. The Burmese king attempted to bribe the newcomers with offers of gold, but these were refused and the besiegers were compelled to withdraw by the threat of the floods of the imminent rainy season.⁵⁶

Pereira had sailed from Siam with his ship to China, where he found the land in an uproar against the Portuguese. His countrymen were wintering on the islands opposite Ningpo, but they were at violent odds with the Chinese who were sailing with them; and some of the Portuguese had plundered, robbed, and even killed people living on the island. The news of this had reached the ears of the higher mandarins and even of the king himself in Peking. Chu Huan, the new viceroy of the two coastal provinces of Fukien and Chekiang, had consequently been ordered by the court to equip a fleet and expel the "robbers," as the Portuguese were called, especially those near Ningpo. Huan immediately set about executing the command. He assembled a fleet of 439 war junks and many other ships to be used as transports and set out for Ningpo. But the northern monsoon had come in November, and its opposing winds had forced him to return. Near Chiuchow his fleet had encountered the ships of Pereira and his companions. They were isolated, and every connection with the mainland was cut off. Despite repeated armed encounters, the Portuguese were not able to break through the blockade. This intolerable situation had lasted for many days, and the merchants were already on the point of sailing back to Malacca when the captains of the Chinese coastal fleet let the Portuguese know one night in the greatest secrecy that they were quite ready to overlook the smuggling in return for a corresponding gift. Pereira and his companions had therefore sent a valuable present the following night with the same secretiveness to the interested captains, and trade had then been conducted again without hindrance. At the beginning of 1549, however, the Chinese coastal fleet had been again reinforced, and the transport of food and the business of smuggling had been almost entirely suppressed. Pereira and his companions therefore loaded their unsold wares on two junks manned by Chinese and thirty Portuguese. Among these latter were Gaspar Lopes, whom Xavier had met in Ternate as the secretary of the *Bufara*; Galeote, Amaro, and Lançarote Pereira; Manuel de Chaves; and Alonso Ramírez, whom Xavier had recommended to Pereira. They intended, if possible, to exchange their wares in some other harbor for Chinese goods and sail back for Malacca with their ships. Since then they had not received any news about the two junks from China.⁵⁷

In Malacca Xavier received better news than this about Japan, and particularly about its great readiness for Christianity. From Siam he received letters from Portuguese merchants who had come from Japan and had written that the

⁵⁴ According to Couto. According to Harvey there were 400 Portuguese (159), according to Pinto 100,000 foreign soldiers, including 1,000 Portuguese (c. 185).

⁵⁵ He ruled from 1549 to 1569.

⁵⁶ Couto 6, 7, 9, pp. 128-130.

⁵⁷ Schurhammer, "Das Geheimnis der zwei Dschunken" (GS III 685-686); Chang 81-82.

people there desired priests who would explain to them the things of God.⁵⁸ From one region in Japan there also came letters from other merchants who declared that a great lord on those islands wished to become a Christian, and that he was sending an embassy to the governor in India to ask for priests.⁵⁹ Xavier also learned from the letters that Portuguese merchants had gone to that region of Japan, and that the lord of the land had placed an uninhabited house at their disposal so that they might have a place in which to live. But when they went there to sleep, they felt as if someone was pulling at their clothes, though they saw no one. One night one of their servants witnessed an apparition and began to scream. When the Portuguese hastened to assist him with their weapons, they saw no one. They then asked the young man why he had screamed. He told them that he had seen an apparition that had so frightened him that he had cried out in fear. The young servant then attached numerous crosses around the house. When the residents of the town asked the Portuguese the reason for the screams that night, they replied that their servant had been terrified. The lord of the land then revealed to them that the house was infested by the devil, and that there was no one willing to live in it. When he asked for some way to drive out the devil, the Portuguese replied that there was no better means than the sign of the cross. When the Portuguese placed crosses inside and outside their house, the townspeople did the same; and they placed crosses everywhere. The Portuguese then added that the land was ripe for the spreading of the Christian faith.⁶⁰

Master Francis did not remain idle as he waited for the departure of the junk from Malacca. Christians, pagans, and Moors simply called him "the holy priest"; and, as in India, he was held in the highest regard by everyone.⁶¹ Some of his penitents, both men and women, were accustomed to receive Holy Communion once a week or once every two weeks. On Sundays and feast days he was accustomed to hear the confessions of a number of people in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the parish church, where all came together. He then celebrated Mass in the same chapel, and during the Mass he distributed Holy Communion. After the thanksgiving he remained there and preached, returning home at noon. During his sermons on Christian doctrine the sons, daughters, and slaves of the Portuguese filled the church with great devotion.⁶² At night, however, Master Francis and Bravo were accustomed to sleep in the sacristy of the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, since Xavier could there devote himself to prayer without being observed. One night Bravo went into the church in order to see what the priest might be doing and found him praying, at times kneeling, and at times lying prostrate, on the steps of the altar.⁶³

Before sailing from Malacca, Francis composed an instruction for Father Pérez⁶⁴ and wrote some letters. In his instruction he advised him on how he should forward mail from there. If a priest or brother came from Maluco without the permission of his superior, he should not receive him into the house; and he should not give him anything from it. But he then told Pérez by word of mouth that if such an individual showed that he was sorry and had served for

⁵⁸ EX II 131.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 111 147.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 147-148.

⁶¹ Pérez, *Informação* 64; DI I 367.

⁶² Pérez, *Informação* 67-68.

⁶³ Teixeira 875.

⁶⁴ EX II 114 166; Pérez, *Informação* 64-66.

some time in the hospital, he could take him into the house and tell him that he intended to write to Master Francis so that he would forgive him.⁶⁵ He should further send Oliveira to Goa in 1549 and Bravo in 1550. When he left Malacca, Xavier gave him a metal crucifix.⁶⁶

Xavier wrote his first two letters on June 20, the feast of Corpus Christi. He gave the first of these to Affonso de Castro to take with him. It was addressed to Fathers Beira and Ribeiro and to Brother Nicolau Nunes, and it bore on its reverse the note: "If Padre João da Beira should be dead, Padre Afonso should open this letter and read it in the presence of all. Francisco."⁶⁷

In the letter he wrote that the confreres whom he was sending to Maluco would give them an oral report on what had happened in India and Portugal. He was consequently passing over these. He then continued:

I am letting you know on my own part that I am going to Japão, since I have been informed about the great disposition which there is in those regions for the spread of our holy faith. Three of us who are going are Portuguese,⁶⁸ and three are Japanese, very good men and good Christians: all three became Christians in Goa. They learned how to read and write in the college of Santa Fee. All three made the Spiritual Exercises: one of these made the Exercises for a month,⁶⁹ and he profited greatly from them. He is going with a great desire to make the people of his land Christians. The Japanese are sending an embassy to the king of Portugal,⁷⁰ and they will ask him to send priests to teach them the faith of the Christians. We are all going with great confidence in God our Lord that we shall produce much fruit. And from the experience which I shall have of those regions, if I see that more fruit is to be produced in Japão, I shall write to you so that you may come to where I am. Be therefore prepared for that time when I shall order you to come.

Xavier then informed Beira and his companions that he was sending Affonso de Castro so that he might remain in the fortress of Ternate to preach there and to give daily instructions in Christian doctrine. On one day of the week he should also preach to the wives of the Portuguese on the articles of the Creed and the Ten Commandments, and instruct them on how they should go to confession and receive Holy Communion. He should remain for at least a year in the fortress so that he might intervene with the sultan, the captain, and the factor on behalf of the Christians and take care of the needs of the missionaries. Morais and Gonçalves should go where Beira sent them, and they should be under his obedience. All three were individuals who would afford him much consolation and be of great help to him. Francis then made a request for news about the mission:

Write to us in great detail about the fruit which you are producing there, and if the son of the king has become a Christian,⁷¹ and if the Christians of Moro have returned to you,⁷² and how those islands are faring, and about the disposition that exists there for their being converted to our holy faith, and if in some regions such as

⁶⁵ Pérez, *Informação* 65.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 67.

⁶⁷ EX II 108-115.

⁶⁸ "Vamos tres portugueses," as Xavier wrote with a touch of humor (EX II 111). All three were Spaniards and the addressee was a *Gallego* (Galician).

⁶⁹ About a month.

⁷⁰ By this is meant the planned embassy to the governor of India which was reported to Xavier from Japan. It apparently was not sent.

⁷¹ Cf. EX I 386-387 and Vol. III, p. 198.

⁷² Those from the territory of the chief of Sugala. See Vol. III, pp. 127 162-163 187.

in Macassar⁷³ or in Totole,⁷⁴ or in the Celebes,⁷⁵ or in those regions there is a disposition for the spread of our holy faith, and what support and help is given by the king [Hairun].

Beira should write to Ignatius and Master Simon a very long letter on the fruit which he and his companions were producing. He should only mention things in it that could be a source of edification, since the letter would be read by many. He should also write to his confreres in India about the success of their labors in the Moluccas. He should send a personal letter to Antonio Gomes with respect to the physical needs of the missionaries, such as shoes and clothing,⁷⁶ and with respect to any favors they might need from the governor. All the letters, however, should be addressed to Father Pérez, who would forward them to Portugal or to India in accordance with an instruction which he had given him. He should also send a detailed report of their labors to him in Japan. If he lacked time for this, he should send the letter for India open to Father Pérez, who would then have it copied for him, Xavier. He should write to him in much detail about all the confreres; and if one of these did something that deserved his being dismissed, he should dismiss him. In keeping with a decree issued by the bishop the preceding year,⁷⁷ the one dismissed would have to submit himself to the authority of the bishop under penalty of excommunication. He should further let all the members of the Society know that anyone who refused to obey must be dismissed. If Beira could not write any of these letters, he should send the rough draft to Father Afonso in Ternate, who would copy them, since he had a good hand and knew the style to be employed in them. At the end of his letter, Xavier noted that he had been told in India that Beira had been slain on Moro, but this was without foundation. He hoped in God that the same would live for many more years in His holy service. If he remained among the living, all should obey him; but if he died, they should then obey Afonso de Castro.

Xavier's second letter was addressed to his lofty benefactor, the king of Portugal.⁷⁸ It was of quite a different character than the letters which, during a period of deep depression, he had written to him in January, 1548, and in 1549. It began as follows:

Because of much information which I have of the great disposition existing in the islands of Jappam for the increase of our holy faith, since I have been informed about this by many persons worthy of credence who have been on those islands of Jappam, I decided to ask God our Lord to grant me so great a grace, if it were to His greater service to go to those regions, that He might give me to sense within my soul His most holy will and the strength to fulfill it completely. It pleased His Divine Majesty to let me know within my soul that it was to His service that I should go to Jappam; and I consequently left India to carry out that which God our Lord gave me to sense many times with respect to going to serve Him in Jappam.

We consequently came to this city of Malaca, my two companions and I, and three Japanese men, very good Christians, who were baptized after they had been well instructed and taught in the faith of Jesus Christ our Lord in the college of the Holy Faith in Goa. All three know how to read and write; and they recite their prayers from their books

⁷³ Southwest Celebes.

⁷⁴ Today Tontoli (Toli Toli) in northwest Celebes. See Vol. III, pp. 47-160.

⁷⁵ The name at the time for northeast Celebes and the neighboring islands (cf. Couto 5, 7, 2; Yule 180).

⁷⁶ EX II 113-114.

⁷⁷ Lost.

⁷⁸ EX II 116-117.

of devotion, especially the Passion, to which they are greatly attached. They made the Spiritual Exercises with great recollection, and through them they acquired a great knowledge of God. They frequently confess and receive Communion. They are going with great desires to make their countrymen Christians.

We all arrived here in Malaca on the last day of May of the year fifteen hundred and forty-nine. The captain of this fortress received all of us here with great love and charity, offering to aid and assist us on this voyage which we are going to make, since it will be much to the service of God and of Your Highness. And he made such efforts to obtain a good ship for us that he has well kept the promises which he made to us on the day that we arrived, since he is giving us such a good departure that none could be better. And he has taken so much trouble with such great love and good will to send us on our way that we shall never be able to pay the great debt which we owe to him. And if we were his brothers, he would not have been able to do more for us than what he did. May Your Highness, for the love our Lord, pay the great debt which we owe to Dom Pedro da Sylva. He ordered that everything which we would need for our voyage should be given to us in rich abundance, and also for our arrival in Jappam, both for our support during a period of time⁷⁹ and also for erecting for ourselves a house of prayer for the celebration of Mass; and for this he gave us thirty *bahārs* of the finest pepper that there is in Malaca; and in addition to this he is sending to the king of Jappam many very valuable gifts so that he may receive us with greater love and charity into his lands.

I am giving Your Highness this detailed account so that you may know the great honors and favors and acts of kindness that your faithful and loyal vassals of India have shown towards me. And it is certain, *Senhor*, that I can truthfully say that no one has ever come to India who has received such great honors and favors from the Portuguese of India as I have. All this I owe to Your Highness, since you have recommended me so much to those who have office and command for Your Highness in these regions of India. I have especially received many favors and honors from the captain of Malaca, Dom Pedro da Sylva. And since I do not have the means to pay the great debt that I owe him, I am asking Your Highness to pay it for me by granting a great favor to those who have done such great good works and acts of charity towards me.

May God our Lord, through His infinite mercy and kindness, grant Your Highness to sense within your soul His most holy will, and may He grant you the grace to perfectly fulfill it, as you will have wished to have fulfilled it at the hour of your death, when you will have to give an account to God of your whole life past. For the love of our Lord I ask you this favor that you do not put off till the hour of your death that which you are now able to do, since death brings so many difficulties with it that it leaves no room for attending to other affairs than those which death brings with it, which are far different from what one who has not passed through them can imagine.

From Malaca, the day of *Corpo de Deus*, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-nine.

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

On this same feast of Corpus Christi, Francis also began a long letter to his confreres in Goa, Micer Paul, Antonio Gomes, and Gago; but he was not able to complete it until June 22. In it he gave them his last instructions for the time that he would be away.⁸⁰ Since he was particularly concerned that peace and harmony should prevail between Micer Paul and Antonio Gomes, he did not begin this letter with the words he usually employed: "May the grace and love . . .," but rather with the greetings: "May the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be always in our souls. Amen!"

He first gave a brief account of his voyage to Malacca:

⁷⁹ The support given was actually sufficient for his whole stay in Japan (EX II 273).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 119-135.

I am writing these few lines to you since I know that you will be glad to know about our voyage and our arrival in Mallaca. We left Cochim on April 25, where the friars had received us with great kindness, showing us all great love and unfeigned charity, for which they have put us much in their debt. We spent more than forty days⁸¹ on the voyage to Mallaca, where we all arrived in good health, both myself and Padre Cosme de Torres and the rest, without anyone becoming sick. We had very good weather without any storm that would have caused us trouble,⁸² and without any hindrance from the Achens. May God our Lord be praised forever!

We arrived in this city of Mallaca on the last day of May, where I was received by the captain⁸³ and by all the city, both great and small, with very much joy and happiness. I immediately spoke with the captain so that he might arrange our departure for Japão, and he immediately offered his services for this and took the matter at once in hand with no little love and concern, so that we are all much indebted to him for providing for our voyage and sending us on with such great charity. And he shows such great love to all those of the Society that he wished to equip a ship with some Portuguese to take us to Japão; but there was no Portuguese ship that could go there. He therefore ordered a junk to be fitted out that belongs to a Chinese by the name of "Ladrão" ["Pirate"], a pagan married here, who assumed the obligation of taking us to Japão. And the captain had him sign a written declaration in which he stated that, if he did not bring back a message from me in Japão, he would lose his wife and his possessions. And he [the captain] sent us off with everything we needed in great abundance. He is sending the king of Japão two hundred *cruzados* in gifts, which are to be brought straight to Japão without our stopping in China. May God our Lord be pleased to give us a good voyage and bring us to Japão so that His holy name may be known and exalted by those people!

Xavier then gave a short account of Castro's first Mass and of the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi. He next addressed himself to Micer Paulo and repeated his earlier request that he write to him in detail about all the priests and brothers on two or three sheets of paper. He further ordered all of his confreres to write in similar detail to him. Diogo of Mozambique⁸⁴ should do the same in the name of the students, whether they were peaceful and content, and how they were serving God. He recommended himself and the captain of Malacca, to whom all were so greatly indebted, to the prayers of all. They should send all the letters that came for him from Europe to Malacca on the Banda ship in September, but if they arrived too late for it, they should send them with the clove ship in April. The confreres in Maluco should write to them in detail about all the outstations, but they should also write to him about them so that he could have everything at once before him, and he ordered this to be done by all in virtue of holy obedience.

If any letters came from the king, Micer Paulo should open and read them, and then send them on to him. If he spoke in them about Queen Dona Isabel,⁸⁵ the mother of the deceased king of Maluco,⁸⁶ who had become a Christian when he, Xavier, was in Maluco, and whom he had recommended to the king, and if there was in the letters an order in her favor, Micer Paulo should send them

⁸¹ Thirty-seven days.

⁸² When Xavier sailed to Malacca with Diogo de Sousa in 1552, their ship encountered a violent storm. Lucena, who erroneously attributes this voyage to 1549, vainly seeks to discount this passage in Xavier's letter (6, 12).

⁸³ D. Pedro da Silva.

⁸⁴ One of the four pupils to whom Torres, at Xavier's request, had given the Exercises (DI I 478).

⁸⁵ Niachile Pokaraga.

⁸⁶ Dom Manuel Tabarija.

to his confreres in Maluco by some safe means on the clove ship. If the letter of the king did not contain anything about her, he should speak with the governor and ask him to see if the king was not sending some provision or a letter for Queen Dona Isabel, by means of which he was providing her with an income for her support. And Micer Paulo and Antonio should take particular care of this. The same was also true of Baltasar Veloso, the brother-in-law of the king of Maluco,⁸⁷ a great friend of the Society and a great help to the priests who were laboring there for the conversion of the pagans, and for whom he had asked a favor from the king.

The next lines were addressed to Antonio Gomes. He especially recommended to him two virtues: humility and charity.

Antonio Gomez: I greatly recommend to you charity, friendship, and love with all the blessed friars of the order of St. Francis and of St. Dominic, and that you be greatly devoted to all of them. Avoid having anything to do with them that would be a source of disedification. I hope that you will always do what is right, preserving yourself in much humility; and you should visit them from time to time so that they may know that you love them, and so that the people, lovers of discords, may see the charity which you have for all.

Above all I urge you to take care that you are loved by all, and this will be very easy if they see in you much humility and charity among yourselves. I recommend this to you as much as I can; and he who will have charge of those of the house should seek more to be greatly loved by the brothers than to wish to command them.

You should all keep yourselves ready, for if I find that the disposition in Japão is such that you can produce more fruit there than in India, I shall immediately write to all of you. To many of you I shall write that you should first come to where I am.

You should always be very great friends of the Lord Bishop, and help him in all that you can, taking part in his labors; and you should show him much respect and reverence, since he is a prelate of the whole Church, whom we should all obey to the extent of our abilities.

If some of our preachers and brothers should come this year, see to it that you send one of them to Cochim; and if more than one comes, send one to Baçaim even if there is no other preacher in the house apart from Antonio Gomez. And so I am ordering you, Antonio Gomez, to do this in virtue of holy obedience, for I am so writing to the Lord Bishop.

The obligations which the king has with respect to his subjects and the great obligation which we have with respect to the king and to the Portuguese of India because of the great love they have for us greatly oblige us to attend to their souls, even though charity is the principal motive in this regard. May God our Lord in His infinite mercy grant us to feel within our souls His most holy will, and may He give us the spiritual forces to fulfill it perfectly as we shall wish to have fulfilled it at the hour of our death.

I wrote to you from Cochim of the great need that there is in Coulão for a house for the brothers of our Society who live on Cabo de Comorim and for the instruction of the sons of the Christians of Cabo de Comorim. Take great pains, Antonio Gomes, with the Lord Governor, and first with the *vedador da fazenda*, so that he gives some help to Padre Nicolao in Coulão in building that house since it is so necessary that the brothers of our Society in the regions of Cabo de Comorim have a house where they can be cured when they become sick.

The next part of the letter was directed to the minister of the house in Goa, Father Baltasar Gago, who would have gladly gone with Xavier to Japan. He told him to send him news about the confreres in the college in Coimbra

⁸⁷ Dona Catarina, the wife of Veloso, was the sister of Cachil Taruwēs and stepsister of King Hairuñ (Q 2938; Sá I 519-520).

and of the priests in Rome and about those who would come from Portugal to India, and he told him to do this in virtue of holy obedience. He then added that he should be ready if he summoned him, for this would happen more quickly than he believed. He should further send him a report on the fruit which the priests of the order of St. Francis and of St. Dominic were working and if any of their preachers had come. He should also send him news about his friend Cosme Anes and his whole house.

Francis then returned to Antonio Gomes and told him that if the priests wrote to him from Cape Comorin that they needed favors for the Christians, or if they made complaints about the hardships which the captains imposed upon the Christians, he should present their case to Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, their father and procurator, so that he might pursue their cause with the governor.

At the close of his letter, Xavier recommended himself and his companions to the prayers of all in the house during their difficult and dangerous voyage to Japan, and he added that he had received important information on the readiness with which Christianity would be accepted there. They were consequently sailing with great confidence that God in His mercy would grant them great graces if their sins did not prevent the great fruit which they could work there with the help of God.

This was the extent to which the letter was written on Corpus Christi. On the two following days, Francis added a second part to it. In this he spoke in high praise of the zeal of Father Pérez in Malacca. He was certainly not idle in the Lord's vineyard. He was so busy that he lacked time to eat and sleep. No one could say of him: "Why stand you here all the day idle?"⁸⁸ The number of those who came to his sermons was so great that the church could no longer hold them. The people were much pleased with him, and he was an object of universal affection, on the part of the captain and on that of the rest of the people in the city. He himself, Francis, felt ashamed at the sight of Pérez' great accomplishments, even though he had been continuously ill and indisposed. The people were so edified by his labors, and drew so much profit from them, that six priests could have been constantly employed in hearing confessions. Pérez had also taken over the office of chaplain to the Misericórdia. Roque de Oliveira was no less active in the school, where he was teaching a large number of boys, some how to read and write, and others Latin, using catechisms and prayer books as their texts.⁸⁹ They were as modest and polite as if they were monks, and no one among them was ever heard uttering the least curse. All of them went with Brother Oliveira in the funeral processions. During the course of these, they would sing the Litanies with great devotion for the dead; and they would help carry the bier, a practice which edified everyone. All the boys knew their prayers, and they assisted at Mass in the morning before going to school. In the afternoon, after listening to Father Pérez' instruction in Christian doctrine, they returned to school. When the classes were ended, they sang the prayers with a loud voice. All of this was a source of great consolation to Xavier. Affonso, moreover, was going to Maluco to do there what Pérez and Oliveira were doing in Malacca.

People came from all over to Malacca, more here than to any other fortress of India. Pérez was consequently in need of an assistant, since his many other labors hardly gave him time for hearing the confessions of those who approached

⁸⁸ Matth. 20:6.

⁸⁹ "Lem por Cartilhas e Oras" (EX II 132).

him. If priests came from the kingdom in September, 1549, one of these should be sent during the April monsoon to help Pérez with these confessions. During the September monsoon of this same year, a brother should be sent to take over the work of Oliveira, since he and Bravo would be sailing to Goa in November, 1550. After he had been ordained to the priesthood there, Oliveira would return to Malacca in April, 1551. Bravo, on the other hand, should remain in Goa to study Latin. And Xavier gave orders under virtue of holy obedience to Micer Paulo and Antonio Gomes with respect to these provisions.

Xavier further wrote to Father Nicolao⁹⁰ that he should have charge of his confreres in São Thomé, Cape Comorin, and Ceylon as their superior, and he was writing to them that they should be obedient to him.⁹¹ If they needed anything for themselves or for the protection of the Christians, they should write to him in Quilon or Cochin, whichever place he happened to be. Father Nicolao should forward their requests to St. Paul's College, and Antonio should take care of the needs of the confreres there with great diligence, kindness, and love. Father Nicolao and the confreres in Bassein and Ormuz should be subject to Micer Paulo; the native and Portuguese students in St. Paul's should be subject to Antonio Gomes, as he had already indicated.

On June 22, when Francis concluded this letter, he wrote still another to his confreres in Europe.⁹² After a brief introduction, he wrote with high praise of the three Japanese who were sailing with him for Japan:

They made the Spiritual Exercises with great recollection and... they profited so much through and apart from them that all those of us who are here have good reason for wishing to share in the virtues which God has bestowed upon them.... They experienced great devotion and consolation and tears during the time that they made the Exercises.⁹³

Xavier had received many reports in Malacca which gave great hopes for the spreading of the faith in Japan, and these had strengthened him in his resolve to undertake the difficult and dangerous voyage there despite all the doubts of his friends. As he continued,

After receiving information about Japão, I was for a long time undecided as to whether or not I should go there; but after God our Lord willed to grant me to feel within my soul that it would be to His service to go to Japão; to serve him in those regions, it seemed to me that if I failed to do so I would be worse than the infidels of Japão. The enemy has worked hard to prevent me from departing. I do not know what he fears in our going to Japão. We are taking with us all the things necessary for saying Mass. Next year, God willing, I shall write to you in very great detail about all we have experienced there.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Lancilotto.

⁹¹ Brou sees a difficulty here. In 1548 Xavier had appointed Criminali as the superior of the mission on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore. He now appoints Lancilotto as superior without saying a word about Criminali. Brou consequently presumes that Xavier knew of Criminali's martyrdom (middle of June, 1549) through a supernatural revelation (II 111-112). But such an assumption is unnecessary. Xavier wrote not only to Lancilotto but also to the confreres on the Fishery Coast, and thus also to Criminali (EX II 134-135), about whose death he knew nothing.

⁹² *Ibid.* 135-153.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 146.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 148.

He then set forth his plan of campaign:

When we arrive in Japão, we are determined to go to the island where the king is⁹⁵ and to manifest to him the embassy which we are bringing on behalf of Jesus Christ. It is said that there are great schools around where the king is.⁹⁶ We are going with great confidence in the mercy of God our Lord that He will give us victory over His enemies. We are not afraid to encounter the scholars of those regions, for what can he know who does not know God nor Jesus Christ? And what can he fear or dread who has no other desire than the glory of God and the heralding of Jesus Christ and the salvation of souls? Not only when one is among infidels but also where there is a multitude of demons, since neither barbarians, nor winds, nor demons can do us any evil or cause us any harm except that which God allows and permits them to do.

We have but one fear and concern, that is the fear of offending God our Lord, for we are certain of attaining victory over our enemies if we keep from offending God. And since God our Lord gives to all sufficient grace to serve Him and to preserve themselves from sin, we consequently hope that His Divine Majesty will grant it to us. And since all our good or evil consists in using His grace well or ill, we have great confidence in the merits of Holy Mother Church, the Spouse of Christ our Lord, and particularly in the merits of all those of the Society of the name of Jesus, and of all those who are devoted to it, that their merits will be sufficient for us to make good use of the grace of the Lord God.

Great is the confidence that we have in seeing that God our Lord sees our intentions, desires, and motives for going to Japão. And since our departure is solely in order that the images of God may know their Creator, and that the Creator may be glorified by His creatures whom He created to his image and likeness, and that the boundaries of Holy Mother Church, the Spouse of Jesus Christ, may be extended, we are going with great confidence that our voyage will be successful. Two things are of help to us who are going on this voyage for overcoming the many difficulties which the demon on his part is placing in the way: the first is to see that God knows our intentions; the second is to see that all creatures depend upon the will of God and that they cannot do anything without God permitting it. Even the demons stand under the obedience of God, for the enemy, when he sought to do evil to Job, asked permission from God.

I am saying this because of the many difficulties and dangers of physical death to which we are exposed in these regions. This voyage to Japão is very dangerous because of the great storms, many shallows, and numerous pirates, but especially because of the storms, since if two ships return safe to a harbor in these regions from which three have departed, it is a great achievement.

Many times I have thought that the many scholars of our Society, if they came to these regions, would experience some serious difficulties with these dangerous voyages, since it would seem to them that it would be tempting God to undertake such obvious dangers in which so many ships are lost. But then I come to think that this is nothing, for I trust in God our Lord that the learning of those of our Society is ruled by the spirit of God which dwells in them, since they would otherwise have no little trouble. I almost always have before my eyes and mind that which I frequently heard from our blessed Father Ignatio, that those who wish to be of our Society must labor much to conquer themselves and to cast away from themselves all those fears which hinder men in their faith and hope and confidence in God and take the means to do so.⁹⁷ And if all faith, hope and confidence are a gift of God, the Lord gives them to whom He will, but usually to those who strive to overcome themselves and take the means to do so.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ The king was in Miyako (today Kyôto) on the main island of Hondo.

⁹⁶ The monastic school of Hiei-zan near Miyako.

⁹⁷ Cf. the rules for the discernment of spirits for the first week of the Exercises, nn. 3 4 6 and 8 (MI: Ex. 515-521).

⁹⁸ Cf. the title of the Exercises: "Ejercicios Espirituales para vencer a sí mismo" (*ibid.* 250).

There is a great difference between one who has confidence in God when he has all that he needs and one who has confidence in God without having anything, depriving himself of what he needs, though he could keep it, in order to imitate Christ more.⁹⁹ And, similarly, there is a great difference between those who have faith, hope, and confidence in God apart from dangers of death and those who have faith, hope and confidence in God when for His love and service they freely place themselves in such evident dangers of death, though they would be able to avoid them if they wished, since they retain their freedom to reject or to accept them. It seems to me that those who live in constant dangers of death solely for the service of God without any other consideration or goal will in a short time come to abhor life and desire death in order to live and reign for ever with God in heaven, since this here is not life but a continual death and exile from the glory for which we were created.

The Japanese, our brothers¹⁰⁰ and companions who are going with us to Japão, tell us that the priests of the Japanese¹⁰¹ will be scandalized if they see us eating meat or fish. We are therefore going with the resolve to fast continuously rather than to give scandal to anyone.¹⁰² Those who come from there tell us that there are a great number of priests in Japão; and they tell us that it is perfectly true that the priests are greatly obeyed by the people, both great and small. I am giving you this account so that you may understand how necessary it is that those of us who go to Japão be helped and assisted by the pious prayers and holy sacrifices of all the brothers' of the blessed Society of the name of Jesus.

We shall set sail from Malacca for Japão on the day or eve (*vespora*) of São João of the year 1549. We shall pass in view of China but without going to land or to any port. It is two hundred leagues from China to Japão. The pilots say that we shall arrive in Japão on the tenth or fifteenth of August¹⁰³ of this same year. I shall write to you from there many things and many details about the land, the people, their customs and lives, and the errors in which they live, about the scriptures which they have, the schools that are in the land, and the practices which prevail in the land and are observed.

Xavier then added what Paul of the Holy Faith had told him about a monastery in his native town and of the meditations and sermons of its residents. He then closed with the following:

May God our Lord in His infinite mercy unite us in His holy glory, for I do not know if we shall ever see each other again in this life; but holy obedience can bring it about, and that which seems to be difficult is easy when it is the will of obedience.¹⁰⁴

From Malaca, the twenty-second of June, in the year 1549.

{The useless servant of all the brothers of the Society of the name of Jesus,}
Francisco.

The following day, the twenty-third of June, two days before his departure, Master Francis wrote three more letters. The first was to Simon Rodrigues¹⁰⁵ since his concern for Antonio Gomes left him no peace. He began it as follows:

⁹⁹ Cf. the meditations of the Exercises on the Kingdom of Christ, the Two Standards, the Three Degrees of Humility, and the prelude to the second week (*ibid.* 318-320 324 356 372).

¹⁰⁰ "Brothers" in the wide sense of the word, since they were not members of the Society of Jesus.

¹⁰¹ The Buddhist monks, bonzes, are meant.

¹⁰² On this see Frois 11.

¹⁰³ EX II 151.

¹⁰⁴ Xavier repeats this in his last letter to Ignatius of April 9, 1552, before his voyage to China (*ibid.* 376). Ignatius had already answered him in the meantime. This letter of June 22, 1549, did not reach Rome until April, 1552. In June, 1553, the general of the order recalled Xavier to Rome.

¹⁰⁵ EX II 153-156.

In January of this year, 1549, I wrote to you from Cochim at great length, as did all the confreres of the Society. Through this letter I am letting you know that it would be greatly to the service of God our Lord if you sent someone who has served in the college of Coimbra as rector, or who was qualified to do so, and who was a person who would not suffer in his conscience from the office, for the office of giving orders is very dangerous for those who are not perfect and possessed of great perfection, as you well know. And he should be a person who knows how to take care of all the brothers who are in India with much prudence and knowledge, one who knows how to have compassion in guiding and dealing with the brothers of the Society. It is therefore necessary that you send one whom you have seen proved there in such offices. Antonio Gomez has much talent for preaching, and he produces much fruit with his preaching; but he does not have as many qualifications for being in charge of the brothers in India and of the college as I desire in him, and he, Antonio Gomez, will do much service for God by going to preach in the fortresses of India.

Xavier then asked Rodrigues to send him some priests who were preachers since the fortresses of India had great need of religious instructions. The Society was greatly in debt to the king and to the Portuguese in India, and the only way that it could discharge its debts was by having a regard for their consciences and taking care of the many obligations which the king had in these regions. The preachers, like the others whom he was sending to India, should be individuals who had been well tried in their lives and virtues, for the occasions and enticements for evil were endless in these regions. If the preachers did not possess a great deal of learning, they should still be men of exemplary life, for there was little regard for learning in India but much for one's manner of life. The great fruit which Francisco Pérez had worked and was working in Malacca had been a source of great consolation to him, and he would be glad if the preachers who were sent to India were like him in their life and learning. He then continued:

May our Lord in his mercy provide these regions with the workers needed to labor in this vineyard which, for failing to be worked, produces bitter grapes. Write to me my dearest *Irmão Mestre* much news about yourself and all of the Society, and write in great detail news about your college in Coimbra. On the day of São João I am embarking for Japão, and from there I shall also write to you at length of the disposition of the land and of the fruit which can be obtained there. And I would not be surprised if you should prefer to be in Japão rather than in the tumult of the court, of which, I truly believe, you are tired.¹⁰⁶

Máy God our Lord unite us where it is most for His service; and if it is not in this life, may it be in the glory of Paradise. Amen.

From Mallaca the twenty-third of June of 1549.

Wholly yours in Christ dearest brother,

Francisco.

Xavier then wrote a short letter of recommendation to the king for the factor of Malacca, Duarte Barreto, who had shown so much zeal in preparing for his voyage at the captain's command.¹⁰⁷ It ran as follows:

Senhor! Since Your Highness has ordered me through your letters to write to you about those who serve you in these regions with much truth and fidelity, I am inform-

¹⁰⁶ In March, 1547, Rodrigues had written to Xavier that he longed to go to him in India, and Xavier had received this letter in Malacca in October, 1547 (see Vol. III, p. 526).

¹⁰⁷ EX II 156-158.

ing Your Highness that Duarte Barretto has served you very well in Malaca in his office of factor. From the experience of the time that I have been in Malaca, I have seen that Duarte Barretto serves Your Highness in the factory with great diligence in taking care of the property of Your Highness, favoring the merchants, preserving justice among the parties, and showing himself to be an official in keeping with the position of Your Highness. For it is an honor for kings and powerful lords to have loyal officials and vassals who know how to show to those who do not see Your Highness in these parts your virtue and might, being true servants who prize and honor the service of their king; and since Duarte Barretto is one of these, Your Highness owes him much honor and favor since he has served you so well. In carrying out his office he has not been without troubles in these regions; and the favor which Your Highness gave him in the factory of Malaca in recompense for his many years of service has not gone well for him since, because of his troubles, he was not able to complete his term and he is going away poor. May Your Highness grant him a reward since he deserves it for his services.

May our Lord increase the days of the life of Your Highness for many years, and may he grant you to sense in this present life His most holy will and the spiritual forces to fulfill it so that you do and put into practice that which you will at the hour of your death wish to have done.

From Mallaca, the twenty-third of June of one thousand five hundred and nine.

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

Xavier's third letter was another letter of recommendation, for his friend Christovão Carvalho to Micer Paulo and Antonio Gomes.¹⁰⁸ In it he assumed the office of a marriage broker:

After I wrote to you at great length about everything, it seemed good to me to compose these lines so that I might give you an account of how I found here in Mallaca a great friend of mine by the name of Christovão Carvalho, a bachelor, endowed with much virtue, rich, honored, and of excellent qualities; and I, in my zeal for the salvation of all, asked him for the great friendship which exists between us that, for the love of our Lord, he might wish to take and choose some mode of life for the service of God and his own relief, since he well knew in how many dangers they are who have no fixed manner of life. And he told me that he was now very anxious to settle down in some good state of life, and that it would be to the service of God our Lord, and for the enjoyment of the rewards and alms which our Lord God through His mercy had given him.

And as we were speaking intimately together, I remembered the great kindnesses and alms which all of us have received from our mother,¹⁰⁹ and I spoke to him of marrying a daughter of hers, and I informed him of her habits and virtues; and he was much pleased with the true information and her virtue, and was very much obliged and gave me his word of assent, which I believe that he will keep as a true friend of mine, and because this is a matter of so much honor, advantage, and tranquility for him; and about this I have written to our mother.

And since it seems to me that your assistance will be much needed, I pray and beseech you to remember the great attention and charity which we all ever received from our mother, and take up this matter, you and the *vedor da fazenda*, and take care that this venerable widow is freed from her concern, and that her daughter is treated kindly and assisted. Christovão Carvalho, my friend, is sailing there. Obtain information from him and get a clear knowledge of his intent and of the word which he gave to me. And speak with the *vedor da fazenda* and indicate to him the great service which he

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 158-161. On him and his edifying death in 1563, see DI VI 170-171.

¹⁰⁹ In India the older women were called "māy" (mother), as Filippucci wrote (EX II 556). There is a reference here to Violante Ferreira, the widow of Diogo Frois, who appears as a witness in the Goa process of 1556 (MX II 202-203).

will render to God our Lord in this and the great honor and relief which he will obtain by taking care of this orphan and consoling this widow. I hope in God our Lord that this will take place since he is an upright and honorable man.

And since you know well that the King our lord granted, through an *alvará* of his to our mother, that the office which was left by Diogo Froes,¹¹⁰ who is now in holy glory, would go to him who married her daughter, and since Christovão Carvalho is an honorable man, rich and affluent, and has no need of offices, I recommend and earnestly entreat you for the love of God our Lord and because of the many great debts in which all of us are bound with regard to our mother that you two along with the *vedador da fazenda* obtain permission from the Lord Governor so that Christovão Carvalho can sell the said office, for he is, as I have said, himself wealthy through the favor of the Lord God. And I do not urge and recommend this more, for I know the special care which you will employ in this, and because every day you see things which oblige you to do this. And I ask you to act in such a way that this marriage takes place, for I shall receive great pleasure and contentment in seeing this orphan, who is such a good daughter, sheltered, and our mother relieved of her concern for her, for I know full well that my friend Christovão Carvalho is a man who will take care of our mother and give her great relief. And I recommend him so much to you in this regard since I already have his assent; and he has promised me that he will keep it, since he knows the greatness of the favor which the Lord has given him in granting him such a good enterprise; and I have written so to our mother. But it seems to me that this matter will not be completed if there is no one there to further it and to take a special care of it. I therefore ask you to take much care of it.

May our Lord join us in His holy glory, for I do not know when we shall see each other in this life.

From Mallaca the eve of São João of 1549.

Your brother in Christ,

Francisco.

In addition to the letter which Francis sent to Violante Ferreira, the "mother" of the Society of Jesus in Goa, he had also written two long letters to Bishop Frey Juan de Albuquerque in which he gave him a full report on all that had happened, both good and evil, in Malacca up to the time of his departure for Japan; and he had also asked him to write in detail about the affairs of the Society of Jesus in India.¹¹¹ The night before his departure, in Nossa Senhora do Monte, where Francis and the novice Bravo were accustomed to sleep, he also wrote for the latter a kind of daily order which he was to keep during his novitiate.¹¹²

After rising in the morning he should meditate for half or an entire hour upon some points from the life of Christ, from the time of His birth until His ascension, each day on a mystery in the same way as he had when he made the Exercises. He should first meditate on the early life of Christ, from His birth on, then upon His public works as in the second week of the Exercises,¹¹³ then for a week on the passion of Christ according to the meditations for the third week of the Exercises,¹¹⁴ and for another

¹¹⁰ Diogo Frois, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, is already named in India in 1505 (CA III 178), where we encounter him in Cochin as secretary of the factory in 1507-1509 (*ibid.* II 400; IV 218 220). In 1532, as a reward for his services, he became by exception secretary of the factory in Goa for six years with an annual income of fifty *milreis* (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III., Doações* 16, 11). As one of the *mordomos* of the Confraternity of the Faith, he signed the Compromise of 1541 (DI I 776) and the regulations for St. Paul's College in 1546 (*ibid.* 129),

¹¹¹ EX II 129 161; DI II 33.

¹¹² EX II 161-166; see also *Teixeira It. P. 2, c. 16.

¹¹³ MI: *Ex.* 314-368 448-483.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 392-411 482-497; "con li punti, colloqui, compositione de luoghi" (*Teixeira It.).

week on the glorious mysteries of the fourth week,¹¹⁵ so that each month he meditated upon the whole life of Christ.

At the end of each of these particular exercises, he should renew the vows which he had taken, especially those of chastity, obedience, and poverty. By such a renewal of his vows, he would be less tempted by the flesh and the enemy of mankind than if he failed to make such a renewal.¹¹⁶

After the noon meal and siesta he should again repeat¹¹⁷ the morning's meditation while Father Pérez was giving instructions, and he should again renew his vows.

At night before going to sleep he should withdraw to some spot after the evening meal to make an examination of conscience. During the course of this he should let the things which happened during the day pass through his mind, and he should examine himself with great care on his failings in thoughts words and deeds as if he were to confess them that same day; and he should ask pardon of Christ for all of them and promise to do better. At the end he should say an Our Father and Hail Mary¹¹⁸ and lie down to rest, and as he was doing so he should reflect upon how he could do better on the following day.¹¹⁹

When he woke in the morning, he should recall to mind the omissions, faults, and sins of the previous day as he dressed and washed himself, and he should ask Christ for the grace to avoid them this day.¹²⁰ He should then begin his meditation, and if he ever omitted it even though he was well and there was nothing that prevented him from making it, he should do penance for this and confess his guilt since he had not done what he had been told and ordered by the priest.

He should make efforts to conquer himself in all things, always denying his own appetites and desires and accepting and embracing those which he most abhorred and fled. He should seek to become humbled and abased in all things,¹²¹ for without true humility he could neither himself advance in spirit nor be of advantage to his neighbor, nor be agreeable to the saints, nor pleasing to God, nor would he finally persevere in this least Society, which does not tolerate men who are proud, arrogant, and partial to their own judgment and honor, since such men never get along well with anyone.

He should further strive earnestly to be obedient to the priest with whom he stayed in all that he commanded without opposing him in anything, as if Father Ignatius was himself giving him orders. He should reveal all his temptations, of whatever kind they were, to the priest with whom he was so that he might assist him and give him a remedy that would free him from such temptations. By revealing temptations of the enemy to persons who are able to provide a remedy, one obtains much merit; and by this means the enemy is conquered and loses his power to tempt when he sees that his temptations are discovered and his evil intent is unfulfilled.¹²²

At the end of this instruction Xavier wrote: "Vosso amigo de alma, Francisco."
In the afternoon of June 24,¹²³ the feast of St. John the Baptist, the hour

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 418 427 496-511.

¹¹⁶ Cf. the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ (*ibid.* 320-321).

¹¹⁷ Ignatius frequently had the exercitants repeat the same meditation.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the general examen of the Exercises (*ibid.* 260-273).

¹¹⁹ Cf. the first addition of the first week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 298-301).

¹²⁰ Cf. the second addition of the second week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 300-301) and the particular examen (*ibid.* 252-255).

¹²¹ Cf. the meditation on the three degrees of humility (*ibid.* 370-373) and the two standards (*ibid.* 252-255).

¹²² Cf. the rules for the discernment of spirits of the first week, nn. 12-13 (*ibid.* 524-527).

¹²³ On June 22 Xavier wrote that he would sail on the eve or feast of St. John (EX II 151); on the twenty-third, on the feast itself (*ibid.* 155). On November 5 he indicated from Japan that he had sailed on the afternoon of the feast of John the Baptist (June 24) (*ibid.* 179). Pérez consequently states that Xavier sailed "a vespóra do dia de S. João" (*Informação* 64), that is, at Second Vespers. Torres writes that he boarded ship on the feast (91), Teixeira that he sailed away on the feast itself (MX II 877). Seb. Gonçalves,

for the departure of the junk of "the Pirate" finally arrived. As at the time of Xavier's arrival, so now at the time of his departure, the whole city had gathered on the beach with Captain Dom Pedro da Silva at their head. Among the others who were present were his friends Duarte da Gama,¹²⁴ Diogo Pereira, Fernandes d'Ilher, Christovão Carvalho, Duarte Barreto, the factor, Vicente Viegas, the administrator of the parish, with his beneficiaries, and his own confreres Pérez, Oliveira, and Bravo, and the three others destined for the Moluccas whose ship would not continue on its voyage until August.¹²⁵

3. IN THE JUNK OF "THE PIRATE" (JUNE 24—AUGUST 15, 1549)

The junk¹ of Avân, "the Pirate," was a clumsy, four-cornered vessel of some 250 to 300 tons² with a broad, raised fore- and afterdeck and two bamboo masts,

on the other hand, states that Xavier boarded the ship on the evening of June 24 and sailed away on the morning of the twenty-fifth (5, 22). Mendes Pinto has the same in his *Peregrinação*: "Se embarcou em dia de S. João do mesmo anno, ao sol posto, em um junco pequeno de um chim, que se dizia o Necodá [captain] Ladrão, e ao outro dia pela manhã se fez á vela, e se partiu" (c. 208). He himself went on board his ship "a noite" on March 31, 1555, and sailed from Malacca on April 1 for China (Ayres, *Subsidios* 77).

¹²⁴ Duarte da Gama states that he saw Xavier sail away on "huma bespora de São João, desta cidade, fóra de monção pera Japão" (MX II 416). Pérez writes to a similar effect that the priest had many difficulties on the voyage because he sailed late (*Informação* 64). Gomes Freire notes that Xavier sailed outside the time of the monsoon (that is, the usual time for sailing), even though the pilot and skipper told him that he could not reach his goal (MX II 426). The same is repeated by João Fernandes d'Ilher (*ibid.* 429).

¹²⁵ Manuel Mendes Raposo, a witness in the Cochin process of 1556, declared that Father Master Francis had experienced many difficulties for God and virtue both in Malacca and on his voyage to Japan. In Malacca he had encountered much trouble and annoyance from some individuals. At the time of his departure he had therefore shaken the dust from his shoes and had said that God did not wish him to take the dust away from that place where he could never produce fruit and the people were unwilling to listen to the word of God. And he expressed the wish that God would not permit the punishment to come upon that place which it deserved. But the following years the city was sacked and destroyed by the Javanese (MX II 270-271). The witness probably here confused Xavier's first stay in Malacca in 1545 with that of 1549. The siege and sack of Malacca occurred in 1550. Mendes Pinto lays the scene in 1552 (c. 215). Some authors place Veloso's conversion (he had seven concubines) during Xavier's stay in Malacca in 1549 (Bartoli, *Asia* 4, 48, pp. 265-268; Teixeira 875-876; *Teixeira It. 44-v). But the year is not known and there is probably here a confusion with Barbudo, the former companion of Balthasar Veloso, whom Xavier converted in São Thomé in 1545 (cf. Vol. II, pp. 600-601).

¹ Marco Polo, who traveled through Asia from 1271 to 1295, describes the Chinese junks which sailed to India. They had 150, 200, or 300 sailors, sixty cabins for merchants; thirteen water-tight compartments for wares above and below deck, room for 5,000 to 6,000 baskets of pepper, two to three large barks and around ten small boats (L. Foscolo Benedetto, *Il Milione* [Firenze, 1928] 161-162; in the popular edition [Milano, 1942] 277-281). Later descriptions have been given by Francesco Carletti, who was in Macao in 1598, in his *Ragionamento del mio viaggio intorno al mondo* (Torino, 1958) 104-107; J. F. M. A. de Moyrac de Mailla, S.J., in 1715, in *Lettres Edifiantes* 14 (Paris, 1720) 8-13; Joseph Neugebauer, S.J., 1740, in *Welt-Bott*, n. 704; Ph. F. von Siebold in *Nippon* 1 (Würzburg, 1896) 22; Karl Ritter in his *Erkunde* IV 3, 794; R. Kennaway Douglas, *China* (London, 1887) 229; G. R. G. Worcester, *Sail and Sweep in China* (London, 1967); and Dalgado, with texts from 1345 to 1915 (I 497-499; II 313-314).

² According to de Mailla the Chinese war junks were little more than flat barks with two masts of 250-300 tons. The same description is given by Siebold of the junk on which he sailed from Java to Japan in 1823; and Ritter notes that the junks were all built after a single model by order of the Chinese police (IV 3, 794). According to Mendes Pinto, Xavier sailed to Japan in 1549 in a small junk (c. 208). We consequently

the larger in the middle of the ship and the smaller on the afterdeck, equipped with huge, stiff, square sails made of woven bamboo, with heavy, ironwood anchors on the front of the bow, whose tip bore the large lantern of the ship. On the afterdeck was the heavy, broad, extended rudder hanging from strong ropes with which it was raised or lowered according to need. Between the mainmast and the afterdeck was the hatch which led to the hold and the keel room, and the sloop was fastened to the outside of the afterdeck. The sides of the ship were so tightly sealed with a kind of gum resin that only a small amount of water entered the keel room. In the watertight cabins which stretched along the sides of the ship under the deck were stored the possessions of the voyagers—including the 120 hundredweights of pepper, the gifts for the king of Japan, and a cask of Mass wine. The crew was entirely composed of pagan Chinese, slit-eyed mates with long black hair held in place by a horsehair net, wide trousers and kilts, tapering sleeves, and a round cap with a button at its center.³

The route from Malacca to the island of Pulo Pisang was known to Xavier from his voyage to Amboina.⁴ From there, on the south, could be seen the Karimon Islands⁵ six leagues away. Instead of heading straight south, the junk turned towards the southeast and, keeping in view on the left beyond the flat coast a lofty mountain of the interior,⁶ sailed on towards Pulo Kukub,⁷ a small flat, wooded island off the coast of the mainland. Soon after this, five leagues from Pulo Pisang, it sailed around Tanjong Bulus, the low southwest cape of the Malacca Peninsula overgrown with tall trees.⁸ Here Avân changed the course of his vessel

regard it more probable that he sailed in a junk with two masts of a capacity of 250-300 tons rather than one with three masts and a capacity of 300-400 tons, as Brou (II 126) and, following him, H. Bernard, *Aux Portes* (40), suspect. According to Barbosa, who wrote in 1516, the Chinese junks coming to Malacca had two masts (II 214).

³ For their dress, see Valignano 251.

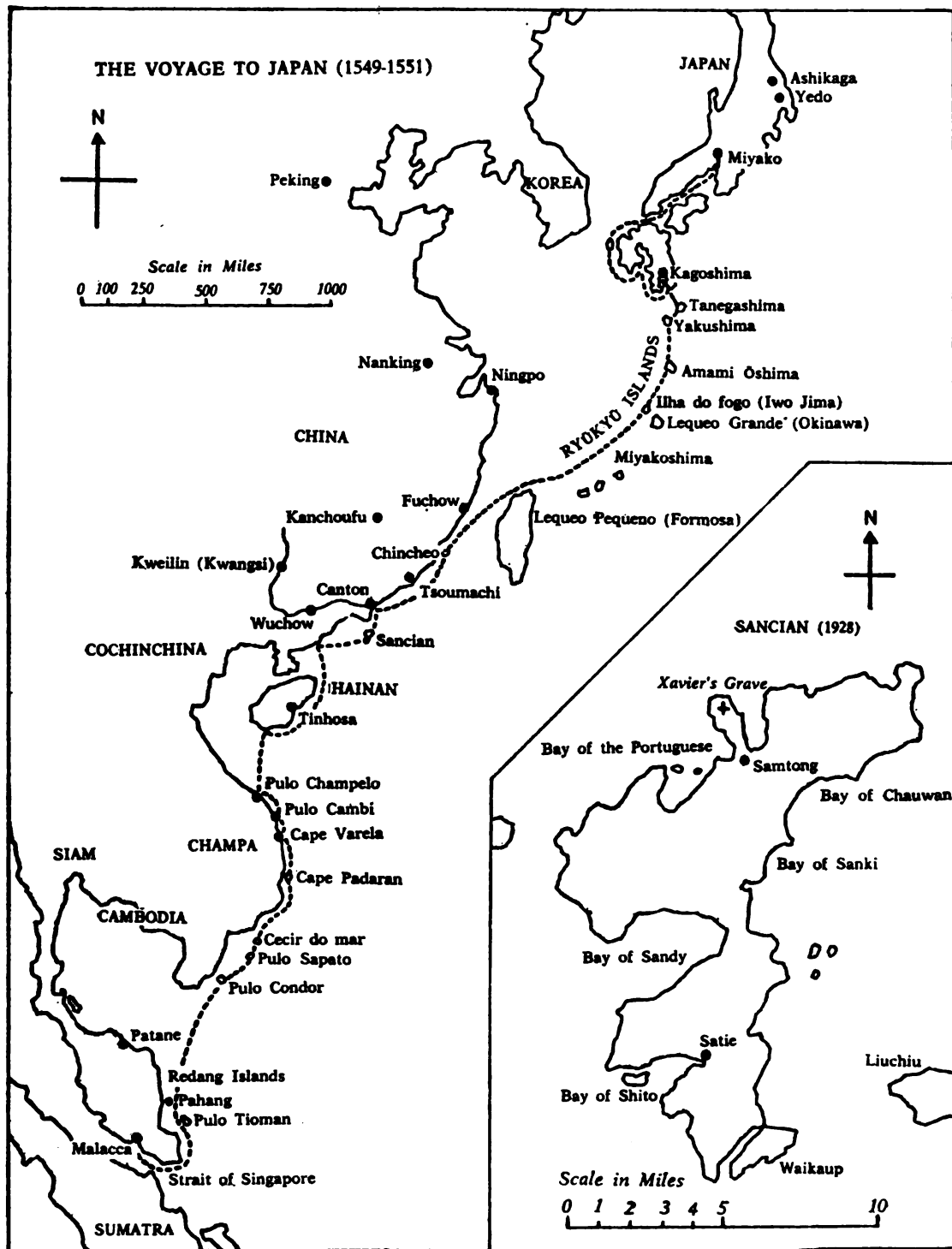
⁴ See Vol. III, pp. 63-64. The stretch between Pulo Pisang and Pedra Branca and, especially, the old Singapore Strait are treated in the following: (1) *Descriptions*: Ritter V 2, 13-18 60-61; Barnes, "Singapore Old Straits and New Harbour," JSB 60 (1911) 25-34; Ferrand, *Malaka* (1918) 95-99; Rouffaer, *Was Malaka Emporium* (1921) 383-396; and Gibson-Hill, *Singapore: Notes on the History of the Strait* (1954) 163-214. (2) *Sailing instructions*: *Livro de Marinharia* (ca. 1530) 268-269, with commentaries of Ferrand (95-96) and Rouffaer (388-389); and those which largely follow the *Livro de Marinharia* of *Andre Pires, of ca. 1530 ff. 68-69; of *Gaspar Moreira, of 1595 ff. 70-72; and of *Fernandes da Fonseca, of 1770 ff. 202-209. The most detailed and valuable sailing instruction is however the *roteiro* of the Singapore Strait. Its Portuguese text is lost but a Dutch translation of it was published by Linschoten in 1595 in his *Reys-gheschrift*, c. 20 (*Itinerario* IV 94-100). Commentaries on this have been written by Barnes 26-29, Rouffaer 390-395, and Gibson-Hill 165-170. (3) *Maps*: the British Admiralty map: *Singapore Strait*, n. 2403 (1:125,000). Older maps were drawn by Godinho de Eredia from 1604 to 1610 (*Malaca*, ff. 45 60v-61), explained by Mills (Eredia-Mills 219 224-225) and Gibson-Hill 171-173, who also gives other historical maps (166 184 204; see also JBM 28.1 [1955] 112-113). Precise descriptions are given in the *Handbuch für Ceylon* 447-503. We follow the *roteiro* of Linschoten except where another source is indicated.

⁵ *Livro de Marinharia* 268. The Chinese Wu-Pei-Chih maps of 1433 already mention the islands on this route (Mills, *Malaya* 11 21-22): the Chi-li-mên Islands. In 1515 they are mentioned by Francisco Rodrigues (T. Pires II 301). According to Linschoten, "One who wishes to sail to China by way of Sincapura must, if he arrives at Pulo Picon (Pisang) at the beginning of July, stop at the island of Carymon, for the Java monsoon, which is then prevailing, blows constantly from the direction of Sumatra. If one keeps along the coast of Carymon and then leaves it, one immediately has the entrance into the [Singapore] strait open before him" (*Itinerario* IV 95-96; Barnes 26).

⁶ Gunung Pulai, 2,220 feet high (picture in *Handbuch für Ceylon* 446).

⁷ Pulo Cocopo (Kokob) (*Fernandes da Fonseca 203; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 446).

⁸ Tamjambuquo (*Livro de Marinharia* 268); picture in *Handbuch für Ceylon* 446. Today Tanjong Piai.



and sailed east past the broad entrance of the strait of Johore and then between the mainland and the island of Singapore to the mouth of the Johore River,⁹ to the territory of the former sultan of Malacca, who had found refuge here after the death of his father¹⁰ and hoped someday to be able to recapture from here his old capital.¹¹ The area was a dreaded haunt for Malay pirates, who had already captured a good many Portuguese and had killed them with exquisite torments.¹²

Three leagues south of Tanjong Bulus was the entrance into Singapore Strait,¹³ through which all ships going to China or coming from there had to pass.¹⁴ The entrance itself, which was not seen until one was practically upon it,¹⁵ was hardly a *berço's*-shot in width.¹⁶ On both sides of it, to the right and to the

⁹ "About a league from this cape is a river [Selat Tebrau] with a broad mouth and a small island called Sincapura [a mistake for Merambon]. This river also flows out of the port of Iantana [Ujong Tanah], which Antonio de Mello once entered by chance with a ship [with a tonnage] of eight hundred *bahārs* (each *bahār* equal to three and one-half quintals of Portuguese weight), and he came out again on the Iantana River," according to Linschoten (*Itinerario* IV 95; Barnes 26); an indication as to how little this channel was used as a passage (cf. the maps in Eredia-Mills 225, and Gibson-Hill 170 172).

¹⁰ Alā-ud-dīn made Johore Lama on the Johore River his new capital around 1540 (see Macgregor, "Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century," JMB 28.2 [1955] 84).

¹¹ Cf. Vol. III, pp. 9 43 56.

¹² For 1555 see the letters of M. Nunes Barreto, Mendes Pinto, and Frois in Ayres, *Subsidios* 76 83, and DI III 315-316.

¹³ Selat Sembilau (also called Singapore Strait and *Estreito da Varela*) was the strait which all ships, including Chinese junks, used exclusively until at least 1585 (Gibson-Hill 176 210; Couto 10, 7, 12, pp. 210-211). When the sultan of Johore blocked the narrowest part of the channel with old ships that had been loaded with stones and then sunk, the Portuguese sought, and discovered in 1586 immediately in front of this site, a new passage south around the island of Blakang Mati, the *Estreito de Santa Barbara* (Couto l.c. and Gibson-Hill 177-179), called *Estreito Novo* in Eredia (Eredia-Mills 225, with maps). In 1615 the governor of the Philippines, Don Juan da Silva, on his voyage from Manila to Malacca discovered still another channel south of this, which was called the *Estreito do Governador* after him. It immediately became the one usually employed. Known today as Main Strait, it passes between Sultan Shoal, Tree Island (Pulo Nipa), Raffles Beacon on Coney Island, and St. John's Island (Bocarro, *Historia* 428, and Gibson-Hill 175-176). Between Selat Sembilan and Main Strait there is still another strait, Selat Sinki, from Sultan Shoal to Keppel Harbor (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 452-454). The first Portuguese to sail through the Singapore Strait was Duarte Fernandes, who in 1511, at the request of Affonso de Albuquerque, accompanied the Chinese merchants on their way home as far as Siam (Galvão, *Tratado* 166; Barros 2, 6, 5, p. 70; Correa II 262; Castanheda 3, 57; CA III 12). The first Portuguese ships sailed through the strait in 1512: a *navio* and a *caravel* (Castanheda 3, 86).

¹⁴ Linschoten describes the Singapore Strait as the only safe route from Malacca to China (*Itinerario* IV 94): In 1515 Jorge de Albuquerque, the captain of Malacca, wrote that it was "the strait through which the junks from China and Cochinchina, Siam and Burneo [northern Borneo] and the Luçon Islands and Tanjunpura [southern Borneo] sail" (CA III 137). Barros notes that all ships sailing from the East to Malacca go through two channels, that of Sabang and Singapore Strait, since between the two of them, for a distance of twenty leagues, there are so many islands, shallows, and reefs that it is only possible to sail through them by following one of these two straits. Through the Sabang Strait passed all the ships of Java, Banda, and Maluco and all their neighboring islands; through the Singapore Strait those from Japan and from the Liukiu and Luçon islands, and from a thousand other islands of all the kingdoms from the coast of China to the Cape of Ujong Tanah (3, 5, 4, pp. 554-555). Castanheda maintained that the only strait from Patane to Malacca was the Singapore Strait (8, 90; cf. 3, 86).

¹⁵ *Livro de Marinharia* 268. *Andre Pires writes: "You do not see the narrows until you are at a distance of a *berço's*-shot from them" (68-v).

¹⁶ *Livro de Marinharia* 268; Barros 4, 1, 16, p. 202.

left, were shallows;¹⁷ on the north it was bounded by a wooded hill,¹⁸ and on the south by a similarly wooded island.¹⁹ Singapore Strait was a narrow passage three leagues long²⁰ running between shallows and reefs. In passing through it, a sounding line had to be constantly employed.²¹ Though at the entrance the water was twelve, ten, and nine fathoms in depth, it could become less than seven or six in the channel itself.²² In addition to this, as ships passed through the western portion of the strait, they had to be frequently anchored because of the mighty movements of the tides.²³ The water itself, however, was clear, and fish could be seen swimming about in it.²⁴ Ships passing through the strait here and there encountered huts or mat-covered houseboats of the Selates, Malay fishers, who caught their prey with hooks, darts, and nets, and offered their catch along with coconuts and bananas for the wares of passing vessels. But these people were also feared as pirates, who shot small, poisoned arrows with their long blowpipes, which brought death when they pierced the skin.²⁵

For the first league and a half of the strait there were, to its north, green mangrove swamps with two islands in their midst and wooded hills in the background reaching to a height of 65 to 165 feet,²⁶ and, to its south, on the right, three wooded islands.²⁷ As a ship sailed from west to east, it kept to the southern side of the strait.²⁸ Between the first island, which reached to a height of 66 feet,²⁹ and the second, which attained a height of 99,³⁰ there was a reef that stretched out halfway into the strait and became visible at low tide. In order to get around it, the junk was steered towards a small red hill in the northeast. As soon as the ship drew near this hill, it veered towards the right and sailed east for half a league through water that was from eight to nine fathoms deep.³¹ The ship then turned away from the shallows in the north, where the mouths of two rivers formed separate bays,³² and sailed at a sharp angle towards the south for half a league to a small, round island³³ through waters with a muddy bottom lying between eight and ten fathoms below the surface. Soon after this there appeared on the right a second, larger, round

¹⁷ In the north the Long Shoal near Tanjong Gul, in the south Triton Shoal (Barnes 26).

¹⁸ Tanjong Gul (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 454).

¹⁹ Pulo Pesek.

²⁰ The data vary according to the point at which the Singapore Strait is held to begin or end: nine knots (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 454), two *legoas* (*Livro de Marinharia* 268). There is a distance of three leagues (eleven miles) from Tanjong Gul to Singapore.

²¹ Linschoten 96; Barnes 27.

²² Linschoten 96-97; Barnes 26-27. We give the measures in Portuguese fathoms (one *braca* = 7.15 ft.); the English fathom has only 6 ft.

²³ *Handbuch für Ceylon* 461; Ferrand, *Malaka* 97.

²⁴ Ferrand, *Malaka* 97.

²⁵ On the *Selates* or *Orang Laut*, the people living on the straits, see T. Pires in 1515 (II 233 262 264 467 492); Mendes Pinto in 1562 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 77: "the most treacherous people in the world"), Gago in 1562 (Eglauer, *Japan* I 299-303), D. de Sande, *De Missione Legatorum* (Macao, 1590) 16-17, Dalgado I 245; II 481, and Gibson-Hill 180-182.

²⁶ From Tanjong Gul to Tanjong Penuru (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 454).

²⁷ Linschoten 96; Barnes 26-27; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 454. The three islands are Pulo Pesek, Pulo Merlimau, and Pulo Mesemut Laut.

²⁸ *Livro de Marinharia* 268.

²⁹ Pulo Pesek (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 454).

³⁰ Pulo Merlimau (*ibid.*).

³¹ Linschoten 97; Barnes 27.

³² Bukit Jurong and Bukit Pandan. Near them Linschoten gives "another round island which is also left on the left" (97). Meant is the peninsula with Tanjong Penuru.

³³ Linschoten 97.

island.³⁴ From here, farther south could be seen a third, flat island, which had been eaten away in many places by the waves. It was the last of a chain of islands. With its sparse covering of trees and white beach, it served as an excellent landmark for passing ships.³⁵ As the ship sailed towards it, the low ground on the left, with its mangrove trees and chain of hills behind it, was replaced by a firm white, sandy beach with dunes reaching back from it for a mile and a half; and at the end of this sandy coast was a site where ships could be safely anchored and fresh water obtained.³⁶

As soon as a ship reached the flat island with its sandy beach, there appeared on the left the second section of Singapore Strait with its narrow passage in the distance. At this point the ship turned sharply towards the east so as not to be carried onto the dangerous shallows to the south by the tide. The row of hills with its sandy beach was kept on the left³⁷ for the distance of a league, until the narrowest part of the strait, which all ships had to pass, was reached. Here, on the right and left, two tall hills with their steep slopes threatened to block the way.³⁸ The rocky walls on the north reached to a height of forty-six feet,³⁹ and in front of them a sandstone rock resembling a column, and known as the "China Pagoda," rose to a height of fifty to sixty-five feet out of the water.⁴⁰ The passage here was only a stone's-throw⁴¹ or a crossbow's-shot in width.⁴² The spars of a passing ship thus brushed against the trees that rose from the strand, and one could touch their branches from either side of the ship.⁴³ When a ship turned at right angles to the strait, one could jump to the land from it.⁴⁴ Many times a ship was unable to turn in the strait, or had to wait from three

³⁴ *Ibid.* Meant is Pulo Seburus Luar (Rouffaer); see *Handbuch für Ceylon* 453.

³⁵ The Cyrene Shoals (Pulo Pandan). Linschoten describes them as a "cleijn vlack ende gherampaneert Eylandeken, met weynigh geboomten, hebbende een witte sandt strant" (97). Today it is "ein unregelmässig geformtes Riff von einer Seemeile Durchmesser. Das Riff besteht aus vier teilweise trockenfallenden Stellen, zwischen denen tiefes Wasser ist" (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 453). According to Gibson-Hill, this small, sandy island, with a cluster of what were apparently coconut palms, was at the east end of the Cyrene Shoals. It was undoubtedly a very valuable landmark for all who were sailing through the two narrow straits (Selat Sinki and Selat Sembilau). The strand remained up to the last century, but in 1797 it seems to have had only one tree upon it. It seems to have broken up about this time. It still appears as an island in 1822 on Franklin's map (167, n. 11).

³⁶ Linschoten 97; Barnes 27; Gibson-Hill 168; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 467. The sandy beach of this northern coast is called Pasir Panjang (Long Beach), the watering place Ayer Jambu.

³⁷ Linschoten 97; Barnes 27; Gibson-Hill 168. A picture of the western entrance into Keppel Harbor is given in the *Handbuch für Ceylon* 472.

³⁸ Mount Faber (with Tanjong Blayer) in the north, 348 feet high (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 466). Mount Seloso, 154 feet high, with Tanjong Rimanu on the south (*ibid.* 459).

³⁹ *Ibid.* 466.

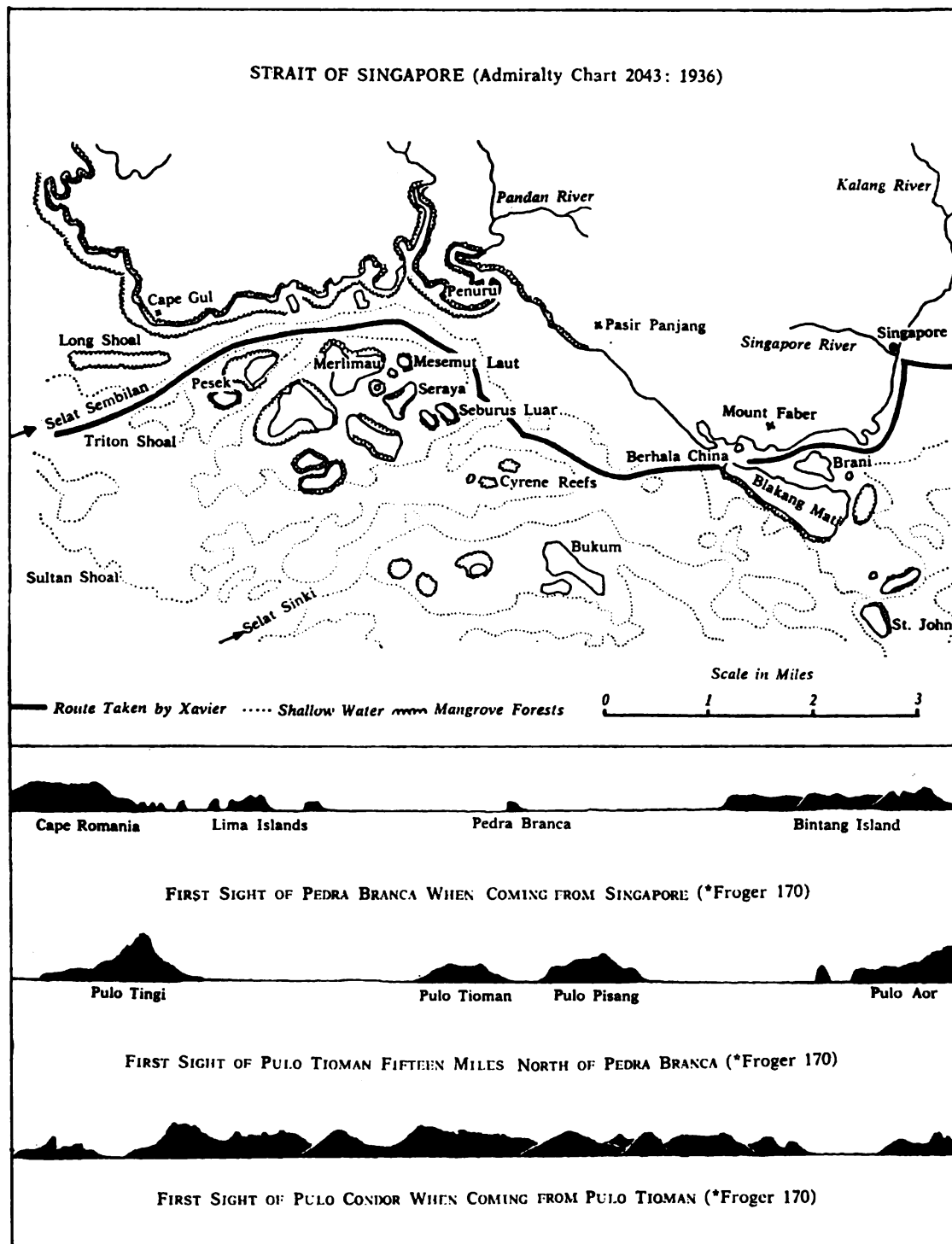
⁴⁰ "In 't incomen aenden voet van den bergh vande noordt zyde, is ghelegghen een steen-clippe, welcke inde verthooning een Pylaer schijnt te wesen. Deese wort int gemeen van alle Natien (die diese passagie bevaren) ghenaeamt die *Varella* vande Chinen" (Linschoten 98), so called because the stone column had the appearance of a religious building (Gibson-Hill 190). The Malay name was Berhala China (Chinese Pagoda), Batu Berlayar, in English "Lot's Wife," near Blayer Hook (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 467). The rock was blown up in 1848 to widen the passage (Barnes 32, Gibson-Hill 168, n. 13, with a picture of the column before 1848, p. 184). Today it is only six feet high (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 467; cf. Rouffaer 387).

⁴¹ Linschoten 98.

⁴² *Livro de Marinharia* 268.

⁴³ Barros 2, 9, 3, pp. 345-346.

⁴⁴ Carletti 198; Barnes 29.



to five days for a tide that would enable it to do so.⁴⁵ This narrow section of the strait was a cannon's-shot in length and no more than four or five fathoms deep in some areas.⁴⁶

Beyond this narrow passageway the sea became somewhat more open.⁴⁷ To the north of the strait there was a wooded hill, a mangrove swamp, and a river which emptied into it.⁴⁸ In front of this there was a small, round, wooded island reaching to a height of some 130 feet.⁴⁹ On the south of the narrows were the slopes of a mountain which fell sharply into the sea and formed the northwestern cape of Blakang Mati, a rather large island.⁵⁰ A little farther on was a bay on the northern side of the channel⁵¹ with a reef in front of it below the surface of the water, from which a bank stretched out into the middle of the strait.⁵² An arquebus'-shot further on⁵³ the coast of the island turned towards the southeast and left between its coast and that of the next island, Pulo Brani,⁵⁴ which was smaller and surrounded by a coral reef, a channel that could only be traversed by small vessels.⁵⁵ From the entrance to this channel a flat stone ridge stretched out into the middle of the strait two fathoms below the surface of the water.⁵⁶ On the left, to the north, there were three bays receding into the coast. The first two of these were small, the third was larger and had a stone shelf in front of it that had to be avoided.⁵⁷ Opposite it, on the south, was a red hill that fell sharply into the sea, the northeast cape of the island of Brani and the end of Singapore Strait.⁵⁸ As soon as this was passed, the open sea came into view on the right.

The danger zone, however, was not as yet completely past. A cannon's-shot beyond the exit of the strait⁵⁹ ships had to sail between two reefs, both of which became visible at ebb tide from the waves breaking over them. The reef on the north ran from north to south,⁶⁰ that on the south from east to west.⁶¹

⁴⁵ Pedro Teixeira (cf. Rouffaer 399).

⁴⁶ "Het Canael van dese Straet heeft op het leeghsten 4 1/2 vadem diepten," according to Linschoten (98). Barnes translated this correctly (27), but Gibson-Hill errs by confusing *leeghste* with *lengde* (168).

⁴⁷ This part of the strait from Berhala China to Singapore was later called New Harbor, since 1900 Keppel Harbor (Gibson-Hill 164, *Handbuch für Ceylon* 464). It is three miles in length.

⁴⁸ Between Tanjong Blayer and Bukit Chermin there is a mangrove swamp into which the Blayer River empties (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 467).

⁴⁹ The island of Hantu (*ibid.*).

⁵⁰ It is already called Blakang Mati in 1604 on Heredia's map (Malaca 61; cf. Gibson-Hill 172). On the northwest of the island is Mount Seloso with Cape Rimau (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 458-459).

⁵¹ Imbeah Bay (Rouffaer; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 459).

⁵² Pulo Renggis (Gibson-Hill 169), Pulo Selegi (Rouffaer).

⁵³ "De lenghde van een Roer schet" (Linschoten 98); the length of a crossbow's-shot (Barnes 28, from the French translation).

⁵⁴ *Handbuch für Ceylon* 469.

⁵⁵ Selat Sengkir, also erroneously called Selat Sinki (Gibson-Hill 169, n. 13).

⁵⁶ Tanjong Risim Reef and Maenander Shoal (*ibid.*).

⁵⁷ Sengei Berlayar, Ayer Chermin, and Sungei Seriah (*ibid.*).

⁵⁸ Tanjong Tereh (*ibid.*).

⁵⁹ "Obra de hum tiro de berço" (*Livro de Marinharia* 268); "een schuet van een lepel-stuck" (Linschoten 99); "obra de hum tiro de bombarda" (*Andre Pires 68v); "about the shot of great piece" (Gibson-Hill 169).

⁶⁰ Tembaga Reefs (Rouffaer) near Tanjong Pamgar (Gibson-Hill 169); *Handbuch für Ceylon* 471.

⁶¹ Brani Reef (Rouffaer; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 471); "een schuet von een goetelingh (small iron cannon) van den uytganck van 't landt" (Linschoten 99).

As the junk passed between them, the floor of the sea, with its mud bottom,⁶² was hardly four fathoms deep. With the help of the sounding line, the ship was turned slightly towards the southeast and the depths probed until they had reached seven or eight fathoms, since many transports had been here shipwrecked on the sandy shallows.⁶³ If there were reasons for anchoring the ship, this had to be done on the south side of the passage. If the ship was stopped within the channel, there was danger that it would lose one or two anchors because of the heavy, rolling movement that would set in.⁶⁴

As soon as the ship had passed these reefs, there could be seen on the left, in the north, a bay and a hill rising above the mouths of two rivers. This had once been the site of the proud royal city of Singapore.⁶⁵ It had been destroyed by the Javanese in the fourteenth century, and its massive ruins still showed its earlier magnificence.⁶⁶ The royal palace⁶⁷ had formerly stood upon the hill; and at its foot, to the left, lay the mouth of the Singapore River with its brackish waters⁶⁸ and a stone block with an inscription of fifty lines written in Old Javanese, which no one could decipher.⁶⁹ North of this were the mouths of two more rivers, where good drinking water could be obtained.⁷⁰ In 1526 the Portuguese, during their campaign against Bintang, had burned down the poor little village that had risen up again among the ruins;⁷¹ and there were now only a few Malay homes upon the site.⁷²

From Singapore to the southeastern cape of the Malay Peninsula there was

⁶² Mid-Channel Reef (Rouffaer).

⁶³ *Livro de Marinharia* 268; Linschoten 99; Barnes 28; Gibson-Hill 169.

⁶⁴ Linschoten 100; Barnes 28.

⁶⁵ *Libro de Marinharia* 269.

⁶⁶ *Commentarios Dalboquerque* 3, 17, p. 85.

⁶⁷ For recollections on Old Singapore, see Wilkinson, "Old Singapore," JMB 13.2 (1935) 17-21; Rouffaer 370-383; cf. 35-67.

⁶⁸ Rouffaer 373.

⁶⁹ The inscription stone, superstitiously revered by the Orang Laut (Rouffaer 33), was rediscovered by Raffles in 1820 and destroyed in 1843. It was badly weathered and no longer legible. It was on the left side of the mouth of the river, on the site of the later post office. Two fragments of the inscription are still extant: a small one in the Raffles Museum in Singapore, a larger one in Calcutta, both unpublished. The inscription was in Kavi script with Madjapahit peculiarities. It stemmed from the time of the destruction of the city by Madjapahit in 1361 (according to Chinese sources, in 1377). On this see Rouffaer 35-67 370, Wilkinson 19-20, the *Hikayat Abdullah* (JBM 28.3 [1955] 147 305-306, with bibliography), the *Sejarah Melayu* (*ibid.* 25.2.3 [1952] 23).

⁷⁰ The rivers Rochor and Kalan behind Tanjong Ru.

⁷¹ "A qual povoação foy destruida por nos outros" (*Livro de Marinharia* 269). "It was destroyed by the Portuguese" (*Andre Pires), "probably in 1526 during the expedition against Bintang" (Rouffaer 389), when the capital of the former king of Malacca on the island of Bintang was burned. The accounts about the expedition do not mention Singapore, which at this time seems to have already sunk to the level of a fishing village.

⁷² In 1551 and 1552 Xavier wrote several letters "from the Singapore Strait" (EX II 235 468-488; MX II 265). Eredia's map of 1604 here has "Xabanderia," which indicates the site of a harbor master, a sign that the town had already regained a certain importance because of the passage of numerous ships (Eredia 61; Barnes 30; Gibson-Hill 176-177). The voyage from Malacca to Singapore, 34.5 leagues, that is, 129 miles, is made by a modern junk in three or four days (Mills in JMB 15.3 [1937] 43). In favorable circumstances one could sail from Cape Gul to Singapore in a single day, as was done by M. Nunes Barreto in 1555 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 77-78). Laimbeckhoven set sail from Malacca on the night of July 2, 1738, stopped for one day on Main Strait, and reached Singapore on July 9 (*Welt-Bott*, n. 590, p. 109). Xavier wrote his last letter from Malacca on July 16, 1552; on July 21 his first from Singapore Strait. The stretch from Malacca to Singapore thus took at the time four to five days.

still a voyage of around eight leagues.⁷³ At the beginning of this stretch the water had to be constantly measured with the sounding line until it had reached a depth of from twelve to fifteen fathoms, and for a league the ship had to be kept away from the shallows in the south, since a depth of fifteen fathoms could rise to ten at a second sounding, and the ship could be stuck fast upon a reef or sandbank before a third could be taken.⁷⁴ Because of the shallows that lay before it, ships sailed at a good distance away from the flat, sandy, southeastern coast of Singapore Island with its covering of trees and red slopes, which here and there provided a landmark for ships.⁷⁵ Where the coast turned towards the north could be seen Mount Johore,⁷⁶ the extreme limit of the extensive reefs surrounding the entrance into the river of the same name.⁷⁷ Beyond this, ships sailed at a good distance from the monotonous, flat, southeastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, which was known as Ujong Tanah and was the sovereign territory of the former king of Malacca. On the right at a distance of six leagues across the open sea appeared the 1,217-foot-high ridge of the large island of Bintang,⁷⁸ which could be seen from a distance of forty-five miles, and from which the Portuguese had driven the former king Mahmūd in 1526.⁷⁹

At the end of this section of their voyage the ship reached the hilly southeast cape of the Asian mainland.⁸⁰ This was cut off by coral reefs, and before these were six larger or smaller islands, four of which were wooded and two bare. These too were surrounded by numerous reefs.⁸¹ The ship consequently turned away from them and sailed straight east where, two leagues from the cape, was seen the white, rock island of Pedra Branca,⁸² only 150 feet long and 100 wide,⁸³ a landmark on the voyage to China.⁸⁴ South of it could be seen the high mountain of Bintang. All ships sailing from China to the West, or from the West to China,

⁷³ Linschoten 101; Barnes 29; *André Pires 68v. The Singapore-Pedra Branca stretch could be made by a junk in one day. Laimbeckhoven left Singapore on the morning of July 9, passed Cape Romania on the morning of the tenth, and Pedra Branca an hour later (*Welt-Bott*, n. 590, p. 109).

⁷⁴ Linschoten 100; Barnes 28.

⁷⁵ *André Pires 68v; Rouffaer; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 487-488.

⁷⁶ Picture in *Handbuch für Ceylon* 484.

⁷⁷ The Johore Shoal (*ibid.* 488).

⁷⁸ Picture, *ibid.* 484.

⁷⁹ For the Bintang expedition of 1526, see the contemporary accounts of Castanheda 7, 20-25; Correa III 82-92; Barros 4, 1, 9-11; Couto 4, 2, 1-3, and the *Sejarah Melayu* 187-190; accounts: Tiele 4, 1, 395-397; Winstedt, *History of Malaya* 73-74; Macgregor, *Johore Lama* 74-75 (with a list of further sources and map of Johore Lama, p. 77).

⁸⁰ Cape Romania (today Rumania) was usually sighted a league west of Tanjong Penyusuh (alias Datoh), the northeast cape of the Malacca Peninsula (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 490-491).

⁸¹ *André Pires 68v-69; *Gaspar Moreira 71v; Linschoten 100-101 (Barnes 28-29) mentions six small islands, four of which were wooded and two bare. Seb. Manrique calls them "Islas de la Romania" (*Itinerario* 2 [Lisboa, 1946] 106). Meant are the Lima Islands (alias Five Islands). The *Handbuch für Ceylon* gives a warning about these islands and their environs. The channel between them and the mainland should only be sailed by those who are familiar with the area (191-192); see also Linschoten 101; Barnes 29.

⁸² White because of the excrement of birds (*Fernandes da Fonseca 209).

⁸³ On Pedra Branca, with the Horsburgh lighthouse since 1881, see *Handbuch für Ceylon* 493-494. *Froger has sketched the view of the exit with Cape Romania, the Lima Islands, Pedra Branca, and Bintang (170).

⁸⁴ Already indicated in 1365 in the old Javanese epic *Nāgarakṛtagama* as *Batu putih* (White Rock) (Ferrand, *Relations* 654), in 1433 on the Wu-Pei-Chih maps and their sailing instructions as *Pai chiao* (White Rock) (Mills in JMB 15.3 [1937] 21-28), and in 1515 by Francisco Rodrigues (T. Pires II 301).

had to pass between Pedra Branca and the group of six islands off the mainland,⁸⁵ from which a long, shallow strip reached out to a distance of six leagues from the coast.⁸⁶ The course was dangerous, and many a ship had already been lost there. The pilot thus had to sail with great attention until he had completed it.⁸⁷ When this passage had been traversed, Avân's junk turned and sailed north towards China.

From then on the wind blew from the southwest as the ship glided swiftly over the quiet waters. On the left were the wooded hills of the Malay Peninsula, on the right the wide open sea.⁸⁸ The success of the voyage depended upon not

⁸⁵ Rumenia Shoal and North Patch; cf. Linschoten 101; Barnes 29; *Handbuch für Ceylon* 492-493.

⁸⁶ Through the Middle Channel (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 497).

⁸⁷ Linschoten, *Itinerario* I 82; IV 101-102.

⁸⁸ "With a good wind" (EX II 179) "which God always gave us" (*ibid.* 185). The sources for the reconstruction of the voyage from Pedra Branca to Japan are: (1) Xavier's letter of November 5, 1549 (EX II 179-186). (2) The accounts, sailing manuals, and maps of the Chinese. Between 1405 and 1433 the Ming emperor sent seven large fleets (including one with sixty-two ships and 37,000 soldiers) under the Mohammedan admiral Chêng Ho to Farther India, Indonesia, India, Persia, Arabia, and Africa, to some twenty lands, in order to explore and overthrow them. Tjan Tjoe Som gives the bibliography on Cheng Ho in Soedjatmoko, *Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Ithaca, 1965) 202-205. Three who took part in these voyages have written accounts of them: Kung Chên in 1434, Fei Hsin in 1436 (published in 1544), and, especially, Ma Huan in 1451 (published in the revision of Chang Shêng in 1522 and 1617). In 1520 Huang Shêng-tsêng composed his *Account of the Tributary Lands of the West*, for which he made use of Fei Hsin and Ma Huan and sailing manuals. Among his contemporaries were Hu Tsung-hsien, governor of Fukien and president of the Ministry of War, who published a number of works, for example, on the defense of the Chinese coasts against the Japanese; Chêng Jo-tsêng, who edited many geographical works on Japan, Korea, Liukiu, Annam, and so forth, with maps; and Mao K'un, who in 1562 wrote the preface to a great work with numerous maps on the defense of the coasts of China and relations with Japan. He is probably also the source of the famed pilot maps which his grandson Mao Yüan-yi added to his *Wu-Pei-Chih*, completed in 1621 (c. 240). On this see W. F. Meyers, "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean during the XVth century," *China Review* 3 (1874-1875) 219-225 321-331; 4 (1875-1876) 61-67, which translates chapters 1-3 of Huang Shêng-tsêng on CochinChina. Parts of Ma Huan's text were translated by W. P. Groeneveldt in 1877. See also George Phillips, "The Seaports of India and Ceylon," *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20 (1885) 209-226; 21 (1886) 30-42 (with the map of Wu-Pei-Chih, whose numbers are cited by us as found in Phillips); Ma Huan's text has been translated by W.W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth century," *T'oung Pao* 14 (1913) 471-476; 15 (1914) 419-447; 16 (1915) 61-159 236-271 374-392 435-467 604-626; earlier translations have been corrected and amplified by J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Ma Huan Re-examined* (Amsterdam, 1933). More is given on Ma Huan by Paul Pelliot, "Les grands voyages maritimes au debut du XV^e siecle," *T'oung Pao* 30 (1933) 237-451; 31 (1934) 274-314; 32 (1935) 210-222; J. V. Mills, "Malaya in the Wu-Pei-Chih Charts," *JMB* 15.3 (1937) 1-48; Duyvendak, "Sailing Directions of Chinese Voyages," *T'oung Pao* 34 (1938) 230-237, on the unpublished Chinese sailing manuals from the beginning of the sixteenth century; and W. Z. Mulder, "The Wu pei Chih Charts," *ibid.* 37 (1942) 1-14. The sailing instructions of Rodrigues, composed before 1515, also depend upon Chinese sources, in T. Pires II 303-304. (3) More important, and more detailed, are the Portuguese sailing instructions of "André Pires (ca. 1530), ff. 68-71 (Malacca—China); *Gaspar Moreira (1610) 70-71 (Malacca—China), 76v-77 (Canton—Malacca), 77v-88v (China—Japan), 119v (Pulo Condor—Pulo Timão), 120 (Pulo Timão—Singapore Strait), 122v (Pulo Cecis—Camboja), 123v (Pulo Canton—China), 124 (Pulo Champelo—China), 126v (*conhecença de Pulo Cecir*); *N. Fernandes da Fonseca (1770), pp. 202-213 226-232 234-275 (Malacca—Amoy); and, especially, Linschoten's translation of the lost Portuguese sailing instructions in *Itinerario* IV-V (continuous pagination through both volumes). Chapters 20 and 24 give instructions for the voyage to China and return (102-120 128-133), chapters 30-49 (162-274) those for China and Japan. Kammerer gives an extract of this with a valuable commentary for the stretch from Pulo Canton to Nanking

being delayed along the way, since China had to be left at the latest by August 1 in order to reach Japan with the southwest monsoon, which would be then coming to an end.⁸⁹

But the captain seemed to be already regretting the promise he had given. Xavier was of the opinion that he was needlessly stopping off the islands which he encountered on his way.⁹⁰ There was consequently a danger that they might have to winter in China, which would delay their arrival in Japan for a year. Xavier was also concerned about the endless idolatrous rites and sacrifices in which Avân and his sailors were engaged.⁹¹

Near the rudder on the afterdeck,⁹² where the compass was located,⁹³ there was, to the left of the cabin, an open shrine with an altar on which a gaily painted sea-goddess⁹⁴ with her two companions in the form of angels was enthroned.⁹⁵

(*La Découverte* 156-177); Boxer includes extracts and translations of different sections on the voyage from China to Japan (*Christian Century in Japan* [London, 1951] 125-132 406-414). (4) The five folio volumes of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* give the Portuguese maps for 1502-1649. Of interest to us are the following: I 5 27 35 (11-12) 36 (1-3) 39 51 C 71; II 105 124 204 217; III 244 270 284 306 324 340 375 383 AB; IV 401 408 461 B 467 A 498 B 505 514 516; V 521 A. (5) The travelogues of Pero Diez of 1544 (GS II 527-528); Mendes Pinto, Nunes Barreto, and Frois of 1555 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 78-85, and DI III 315-317; Saris 1613; Seb. Manrique of 1637, Fontaney of 1687, Prémare of 1698, Laimbeckhoven of 1738 and Neugebauer of 1740. (6) The data of the Persian, Arab, and Chinese geographers and travelers, from the ninth century on, in Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1913-1914), pp. 30 40 58 153 187 429-430 642-644 667. (7) The geographical descriptions in *Handbuch für das Südchinesische Meer* (Berlin, 1928²).

⁸⁹ EX II 224.

⁹⁰ Xavier wrote to Antonio Gomes from Kagoshima that the missionaries who went to Japan should take all their provisions with them and should not get them anywhere along the way except for drinking water on some of the islands (*ibid.*).

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 179-180. On the "idolatrous ceremonies" see Alonso Sánchez (end of the sixteenth century), cited by P. Pastells in Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo* III, pp. LX-LXI; Fontaney (1687) in H. Bernard, *Le Voyage* 51, and *Welt-Bott*, n. 97, pp. 5-6; Neugebauer (1740), *ibid.*, n. 704; an anonymous author in Launay, *Histoire Générale de la Société des Missions Etrangères* 2 (1894) 476-477; Ritter, *Erdkunde* IV 3, 794; Brou II 127; H. Bernard, S.J., *Aux Portes* 41.

⁹² EX II 180.

⁹³ Ritter IV 3, 794.

⁹⁴ EX II 179-180. The idol mentioned by Xavier was probably T'ien-fei (also known as Ma Tso Po), which the Chinese emperor, before the departure of the fleet of Admiral Ch'eng Ho on January 21, 1409, officially named "the Goddess of the Sea" (*T'oung Pao* 31 [1934] 309-310). She was especially honored in Fukien as the patroness of seafarers, and is usually represented with two servants in the form of angels. On her see, in addition to Alonso Sánchez, Henri Doré, S.J., *Manuel des Superstitions Chinoises* (Chang-Hai, 1916) 129 149, and *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, 2^{me} P., t. XI (Variétés Sinologiques 46) 414-420 (with pictures).

⁹⁵ Cf. Sánchez, *l.c.*; Henri Bernard [-Maitre] describes the three persons according to the work of De Groot, *Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Amoy* (Amoy), trad. Chavannes (Paris, 1886): "A babord [the junk of Xavier] sur la gauche qui est le côté honorable en Chine, se trouvait dans un petit tabernacle ouvert l'image de Ma Tso Po, la patronne des marins et des corsaires; elle était accompagnée de deux acolytes, agenouillés, satellites, sortes d'écuyers à son service, dont l'un Œil de Mille milles, avait 'une figure bleu d'indigo, les yeux comme des lumières brillantes, la bouche enorme d'où sortaient des défenses et une stature de géant', l'autre, Oreille du Bon Vent, avait 'la figure comme une épale de citrouille, la bouche comme un pot de sang, les dents comme des épées pointues, les cheveux rouges comme du vermillon et deux cornes sur la tête'" (*Aux Portes de la Chine* 41). But the idol on Avân's junk had perhaps an entirely different appearance. In the two colored prints which Doré gives in *Recherches*, T'ien fei, "the Heavenly Concubine," or "Fairy Queen," is represented as a queen dressed and alone (fig. 255), or in a picture in a temple in Hwo Chow with two seated sea-goddesses

A light⁹⁶ was placed before it day and night, and morning and evening the Chinese knelt before it and touched their foreheads to the floor.⁹⁷ They burned gaily colored wax candles and also fragrant sticks of incense⁹⁸ made of aguilawood before it,⁹⁹ and they lit red strips of paper with golden edges and let them flutter into the sea with deep bows and ceaseless murmurings until the water had quenched their offerings.¹⁰⁰ On special occasions they offered solemn sacrifices with the beating of drums and the clashing of cymbals in order to win the favor of the divinity.¹⁰¹ They also cast sticks marked with strange magical signs upon the floor in order to see the position they would take, and thus, by means of these lots, learn from the gods if they would obtain the necessary winds for Japan. Many times the answer was "Yes," and many times it was "No."¹⁰²

Fifteen miles north of Pedra Branca a group of islands came into view.¹⁰³ On the left was Malaya, then, right of it, the small island of Sibü, and still farther right the pointed peak of the lofty island of Pulo Tingi.¹⁰⁴ Directly east were the twin peaks of Pulo Aor.¹⁰⁵ Between these and Pulo Tingi, at a still greater

represented as good pious servants and dressed like herself (fig. 256). And in a third picture (fig. 257) we see Ngan-kong represented as patron of seafarers standing on clouds with a lance in his hand. In the fourteenth century he was canonized by the founder of the Ming Dynasty, the emperor Chu Hung Wu.

⁹⁶ EX II 180; Sánchez, Fontaney.

⁹⁷ Fontaney, Bernard, *Aux Portes* 41.

⁹⁸ Brou, *Vie* II 127; Bernard, *Aux Portes* 41.

⁹⁹ EX II 180; Bernard, *Aux Portes* 41. Xavier mentions aguilawood (*Aquillaria agallocha*); see Dalgado I 17-18 521-522; Orta II 47-67; Barbosa I 92; II 8 209-210 229-230; see T. Pires under: *aguilla*, *agallochum*, *calamba*, and *lignaloës*. The best came from Champa (113).

¹⁰⁰ Sánchez, Fontaney (colored paper cut in the form of waves), Neugebauer (small, rectangular pieces of paper prepared for this purpose), Launay, Brou, *Vie* II 127 (red paper with gold edges to honor the evil spirits), Ritter (gold paper).

¹⁰¹ At the time of departure, for example (Sánchez), in a period of calm (Neugebauer), when land was sighted, during a storm, a small, paper, model of a ship (Fontaney), as a sacrificial offering for the deceased (Launay).

¹⁰² EX II 179-180. On the casting of lots, see Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* 3 (La Haye, 1736) 42-48; Doré, *Manuel* 99-100, and *Recherches* P. I, t. 2 (Variétés Sinologiques 34, Chang-Hai, 1912) 243-244; W.-G. Stirling, "Chinese Divining Blocks and the 'Pat Kwa'" JMB 2, 1 (1924) 72-73. Rodrigues Tçuzu has written in an unpublished section of his *Historia da Igreja do Japão* that when Xavier was sailing to Japan: "The captain cast lots, according to their practice, two wooden sticks, flat on one side, where the two are well matched, and rounded on the other side. The Chinese are so obsessed with these superstitions that it seems that in all their affairs they make no move without first consulting their idols through lots, and especially the seafarers" (204v in the Ajuda copy, 25v in that of Madrid). Du Halde describes this type of casting lots (*Pa kua*) as follows: "The more common type is for one to go before the idol, burn some incense, and touch the floor several times with his forehead. Near the idol there is usually a wooden jar full of small flat sticks half a foot long on which there are enigmatical signs, which provide the same number of oracles. After making many reverences, the individual lets one of these fall at random and has the meaning explained by the presiding bonze, or he consults a large placard affixed to the wall and deciphers the spell. This is done when one undertakes some business or makes a journey, when one buys or sells, marries his child, and on a hundred other occasions in order to obtain a propitious hour or a good outcome" (47-48).

¹⁰³ *Froger gives a panoramic view of the four islands: "View of the islands, Poltimont, September 20" (170). The sequence on it is from left to right: mainland, island of Sibü, Pulo Tingi, Pulo Tioman, Pulo Pisang (both in the background), Pulo Aor.

¹⁰⁴ On Pulo Tingi, see Francisco Rodrigues 301, *Andre Pires 69, Linschoten 102-103, *Handbuch für das Südchinesische Meer* 201. The island is already given on the Wu-Pei-Chi map under the name of Chian-chün-mao (General's Hat), near n. 31 (Mills, *Malaya* 28-29).

¹⁰⁵ On the Wu-Pei-Chih map, n. 31, they are designated as "East- and West-Bamboo-

distance, were two more islands: Pulo Tianpan on the left and Pulo Pisang on the right.¹⁰⁶ The junk steered its way between Pulo Tingi and Pulo Aor; and, on the following day, in the beginning of July,¹⁰⁷ it passed the rocky, densely wooded, 3,280-foot-high island of Pulo Tioman¹⁰⁸ and came to anchor off the beach covered with coconut palms on the east side of the island. This site, a hundred leagues from Malacca,¹⁰⁹ was an obligatory stopping place for all ships sailing from there to China.

Mountains." Ships usually sail from here to China and they sight the islands on their return voyage (Mills, *Malaya* 29-30); cf. Linschoten IV 104; *Fernandes da Fonseca 210.

¹⁰⁶ Kaempfer I 7: *Fernandes da Fonseca 212; *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 204; Pulo Pemangil (with picture).

¹⁰⁷ Xavier gives only three dates for the chronology of his voyage to Japan: the evening of June 24, departure from Malacca; July 21, storm off CochinChina; August 15, arrival in Kagoshima. He also notes that one could sail from China to Japan in ten or twelve days (EX II 210). Ritter writes that Chinese junks could not travel more than five miles in one hour (IV 3, 794). According to Groeneveldt, Chinese junks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries needed five to nine days for the voyage from Malacca to Paisei on Sumatra (487 miles), three or four days to sail to Aru (387 miles), which corresponds to an average of 54 to 129 miles per day (85-86 88-89 94-95). On the basis of the sailing instructions of the Wu-Pei-Chih maps of the fifteenth century, Mills reckons that the speed of junks in difficult areas was 4.5 miles per hour, on the open sea 6.25, and with a strong wind from the back 8.5. This would give an average of 45, 62.5, and 85 miles per day for ten hours of sailing (*Malaya* 43). Xavier needed fifty-one full days for his voyage from Japan to Malacca (3,169 miles) for an average of 62.13 miles per day. If six days are subtracted for the stay on Pulo Tioman and elsewhere when taking on water (cf. EX II 180 224), this would come to 70.42 miles per day. The voyage from Chincheo to Kagoshima (1,025 miles) in ten days gives an average of 102.5 miles per day, in twelve days an average of 85.44. In 1510 the Portuguese imprisoned in Malacca wrote that the Chinese needed from twenty to thirty days to sail from China to Malacca, and the same for the return (CA III 9), at a daily average of 65.24 and 64.00 miles per day. In 1513 T. Pires stated that Portuguese ships needed twenty days to sail from Malacca to China, whereas the Chinese with a good monsoon wind could make the voyage in fifteen days (I 123), which would mean an average of 128 miles per day as far as Canton, and 116.82 as far as Hainan. In 1848 Logan wrote that the usual voyage of a junk from Singapore to China took eighteen to twenty days (*Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* 2, 609).—On the basis of these data, filled out by accounts of later voyages, we can propose the following chronology for Xavier's voyage to Japan: departed from Malacca on June 24, arrived at Singapore on June 28 (128.62 miles, four days, average of 32.15 miles per day because of the opposing southwest monsoon and difficult sailing through the Singapore Strait); arrived at Pulo Tioman on July 1 (138.56 miles, in three days, at an average of 46.19 per day); stop here of four days; departed on July 6, arrived at Pulo Condor on July 11 (441.17 miles, in six days, at an average of 73.53 per day); arrived at Pulo Cecir do mar on July 14 (211.26 miles, in three days, at an average of 70.42 per day); arrived at Quinhon (Cochinchina) on July 19 (258.54 miles, in five days, for an average of 62.14 miles per day with the exclusion of July 21, when the storm was encountered), arrived at Pulo Champelo on July 24 (149.13 miles, in three days for an average of 49.71 per day, low because of the storm), arrived at the islands of Canton on July 29 (360.39 miles, in five days, for an average of 72.08 per day), arrived at the harbor of Chincheo on August 3 (403.89 miles, in five days, for an average of 80.78 per day); arrived in Kagoshima on August 15 (1,025.26 miles, in twelve days, for an average of 85.44 per day).

¹⁰⁸ Pulo Tioman, named as a stopping place on the voyage to China by Arabs and Chinese since the ninth century (cf. Ferrand, *Relations* 30 40 58 186-187); also on all the maps since 1433 and in the sailing instructions of Francisco Rodrigues, André Pires, Linschoten (IV 103-104), Moreira and Fernandes da Fonseca; in all the travelogues of Nunes Barreto in 1555; and in Saris and Laimbeckhoven. Over n. 82 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map the island is called Chu-ma-shan (Mills, *Malaya* 28-31). On the island see the *Handbuch für des Südchin. Meer* 204 (with picture), and Kaempfer, who describes the flora and the inhabitants (I 6-11).

¹⁰⁹ According to Xavier, inaccurately (EX II 180). From Malacca to Pulo Tioman,

Here they took on water and cut wood for the rudders and other parts of the ship that would have to be replaced because of damage wrought by storms on the China Sea.¹¹⁰ The few people living on the island were subjects of the sultan of Johore, and they were the most treacherous in that area. Mohammedans, and mortal enemies of the Portuguese, they shot at their victims from ambushes with their poisoned arrows.¹¹¹ Before the captain and his crew had completed their various tasks upon the island, they offered solemn sacrifices to the ship's idol with many bows; and they asked it by casting lots if they would have a good wind for continuing their voyage. The reply was that the weather would be favorable, and that they should not wait any longer for their departure. The matted sails were cheerfully hoisted, the anchors weighed, and the voyage recommenced, the pagans trusting in the protection of their goddess, Xavier and his companions in God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His Son, for whose love and service they had come into those regions.¹¹²

Chinese junks were helpless on the open sea; they were consequently, whenever possible, kept within the sight of land.¹¹³ But north of Pulo Tioman they had to leave the Malay Peninsula¹¹⁴ and, driven by the prevailing southwind, sail for

which Xavier does not give by name, it is 268.43 miles, the equivalent of seventy-two Portuguese leagues.

¹¹⁰ EX II 180. On the storms of the Sea of China see, *ibid.* 65 150. In 1690 Kaempfer wrote that all ships sailing from Java to Siam should, if possible, take on water at Pulo Tioman (I 10-11). And an account of 1753 states that there was good wood on Pulo Tioman and that the Chinese obtained it there (*T'oung Pao* 20 [1921] 237). Linschoten wrote that the wood was good for small masts and anchors, and that the best harbor during the southwest monsoon was on the east coast [Joara Bay], and that better wood and more abundant catches of fish were to be found there (IV 103-104).

¹¹¹ As Mendes Pinto and Nunes Barreto wrote in 1555 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 78 83), and *Fernandes da Fonseca in 1770 (213).

¹¹² EX II 180. We assume that the junk remained there for only some four days since Xavier was insisting, and the oracles were saying, that they should depart immediately. In 1555 Nunes Barreto on his voyage to Japan remained there for seven days; he also stopped later in Patane (Ayres, *Subsidios* 78).

¹¹³ Neugebauer in 1740 (*Welt-Bott*, n. 704).

¹¹⁴ Three routes were possible: (1) *Direct* from Pulo Tioman to Pulo Condor. This is implied by the accounts of the Persians and Arabs (Ferrand, *Relations* 30 40 58 153 186-187), the sailing instructions of the Wu-Pei-Chih maps (Mills, *Malaya* 29), of Francisco Rodrigues (T. Pires 301), and the later Portuguese sailing manuals of *André Pires (69), *Moreira, Linschoten (IV 104), and *Fernandes da Fonseca (226-232), which all pass directly from Pulo Tioman to Pulo Condor. Moreira states expressly that he always sailed directly from the one island to the other (119v). The same also is indicated in the later accounts of Saris in 1613, Manrique in 1637, *Begin ende Voortgangh* in 1638 (17, 101), Prémare in 1698, Laimbeckhoven (*Welt-Bott*, n. 590, 109-110), and *T'oung Pao* 20 (1921) 235. (2) *From the Redang Islands* halfway between Pulo Tioman and Patane, which is the shortest passage across the open sea. The *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* advises this stretch for low-powered steamers during the southwest monsoon (114). (3) *By way of Patane*. Nunes Barreto sailed with Mendes Pinto by way of Patane in 1555, where Pinto had earlier come to know the king (Ayres, *Subsidios* 79 83; DI III 316 362). In 1544 Pedro Diez also sailed in a Chinese junk from Patane to Chincheo (GS II 527). Patane was one of the principal harbors for the export of pepper to China. In 1545 Pero de Faria stated that every year China sent twelve to fifteen junks to Patane and Sunda for pepper (Q 1709; cf 1563a 1629 1687 1714 1746 1767 2189). But in 1551 Gaspar Lopes, Xavier's friend who was imprisoned in China, warned his Portuguese countrymen not to sail to Patane: its king was only a friend from necessity. At heart he was a foe of the Portuguese even though he was a vassal of Siam (Q 4694). The straight route from Pulo Tioman to Pulo Condor is 441 miles, by way of Redang 534, by way of Patane 733. Neugebauer, who sailed from Macao to Cochinchina in 1740 in a Chinese junk, wrote that the Chinese, despite their compasses, sailed as if they were blind whenever they lost sight of land, turning to the right and left until they saw land again and could

nearly a week through the open sea for 115 leagues to the northeast,¹¹⁵ until the flat southeast coast of Cambodia¹¹⁶ and the tall island of Pulo Condor¹¹⁷ lying before it were attained. On their way the crew again cast their prophetic lots and asked their goddess if their ship would return from Japan to Malacca. The answer came that they would reach Japan but would not return. This made them unwilling to continue on to Japan. They wished to spend the winter in China and wait for the following year for the voyage to Japan. Xavier was grieved to see that the decision with respect to his voyage had been placed in the hands of the devil and his servants, since those who gave orders on the junk did only what was told them by his oracle.¹¹⁸

Pulo Condor was a group of around a dozen islands surrounded by coral reefs. The main island, 1,968 feet high,¹¹⁹ was, like the others, uninhabited; but it was much frequented by voyagers to China, who usually took on water here.¹²⁰

Avân, without stopping, sailed from here for three days towards the northeast¹²¹ until the small but extended island of Pulo Cecir do mar, whose highest hill rose something more than 325 feet above the sea, fifty leagues away, was sighted.¹²²

correct their error. The junks were sluggish, and the matted sails were difficult to handle because of their extraordinary weight and stiffness. It was frequently impossible to raise or lower them quickly enough, and they were often more of a hindrance than a help (*Welt-Bott*, n. 704).

¹¹⁵ On December 22 Saris sailed past Pulo Condor and arrived at Pulo Tioman on the twenty-fifth, a voyage of four days (Prevost II 172). On October 3 Incarville was on Pulo Tioman, on the seventh on Pulo Condor, a five-day voyage (Cordier, *Voyage* 17). Laimbeckhoven was near P. Tioman on the evening of July 10, on the sixteenth, "with little wind," near Pulo Condor, a six-day voyage (110).

¹¹⁶ This part of Cambodia was taken from Annam in 1658 (Grousset 617). Under French administration Indochina was newly divided in 1887 into: Cochinchina (earlier East Cambodia), Annam (earlier Champa and South Cochinchina), Tongkin (earlier North Cochinchina), Laos and Cambodia (Maspero II 15 28-29). [In 1973 the former East Cambodia was the southern part of South Vietnam; Tongkin was North Vietnam. In April, 1975, North and South Vietnam were reunited under the hegemony of the North.—Translator.]

¹¹⁷ Linschoten IV 104. *Froger has sketched "the first view of Pulo Condor at a distance of five leagues coming from Poltimont," a long series of high mountains and islands (170).

¹¹⁸ EX II 180. By way of Pulo Condor, n. 51 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map; see *Handbuch Sündchin. Meer* 177-180 ("a dozen islands, forty-five knots from the east coast of Cochinchina, the main island being 1,955 feet high"); Idresi in 1154 A.D. ("fresh water, rice, coconut palms"); Francisco Rodrigues (T. Pires 301); *André Pires in 1530 ("seven or eight larger and smaller islands, wooded, with good anchorage around them of ten to twelve *braças*"); Linschoten (IV 104-105). Descriptions of the island are given by Incarville in 1721 (Cordier, *Voyage* 17-25), Gaubil in 1722 (*Revue française* 17 [1893] 296-303), J. B. Jacques in 1722 (*Lettres Edifiantes* 19 [1781] 213-222 (with map and picture)); *Fernandes da Fonseca in 1770 (227-232), Ritter IV 3, 921 1017 ("Here begin the granite mountains of Cochinchina."). Saris sighted the island at a distance of five leagues (Prevost II 172). Prémare saw it but did not land, since there was a favorable wind for continuing his voyage (16).

¹¹⁹ See the previous note.

¹²⁰ According to Barros the fleet of Fernão Peres de Andrade landed here in 1516 on its first voyage to China. The island was found to be uninhabited, but there were many chickens from those which had been left there, and other birds and, especially, many turtles and all kinds of fish, which were taken on board the ships of the fleet (3, 2, 6, pp. 182-183).

¹²¹ In 1770 *Fernandes da Fonseca wrote that almost all the ships which sailed to China and Japan sought to sight Pulo Sapato after leaving Pulo Condor in order to have a safer voyage and to avoid the rocks of Pero de Andrade (256). The island is missing on all the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though they always indicate the island of Cecir do mar, ten leagues north of Pulo Sapato.

Here they were already within the area of the dreaded typhoons.¹²³ East of it the broad and dangerous Paracel Reefs stretched for a hundred leagues almost as far as Hainan.¹²⁴ In order to avoid it, the ship sailed towards the northeast, past the small, low, and barren island of Cecir da terra and its surrounding reefs,¹²⁵ to the high mainland, which it then followed at a distance of two leagues.¹²⁶

Here was the old Hindu kingdom of Champa,¹²⁷ the home of the treasured calamba wood, the most precious of all the fragrant aloes.¹²⁸ Like Cochinchina, lying farther north, Champa was little known and only visited by Malay and Siamese merchants.¹²⁹ It was a wild, romantic land of tall, fissured mountains falling steeply into the sea, which left only a narrow strip of coast with deeply incised bays for settlements. But the coast was well tilled and densely populated, as was apparent from the numerous fishing boats and merchant ships to be seen there.¹³⁰ The reddish slopes, which could be seen opposite Cecir da terra, were a landmark for Chinese junks.¹³¹ North of them was Cape Padaran, where

¹²² A ship could sail from Pulo Condor to Cecir do mar, a distance of 211 miles, in three days, for an average of 70.4 miles per day (*André Pires: "a distance of 50 *legoas*"; the depth of the intervening sea is 18 *braças*" 64); Linschoten IV 105. The island was deserted in 1770 (*Fernandes da Fonseca 254). Two hills, the taller sixty-seven feet high, could be seen from a distance of twenty-five knots (*Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 181-182). The Wu-Pei-Chih map has instead of it the Cape of St. James on the mainland (n. 55), a known landmark.

¹²³ Ritter IV 3, 1029.

¹²⁴ On the Paracel Islands and Reefs, see *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 189-197. Prémare calls it a stone bank a hundred leagues long (*Welt-Bott*, n. 39, p. 16). Maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries always show it in the same form as a single broad reef running to the south.

¹²⁵ On Cecir da terra, see *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 391: "A low, semicircular, rocky island, barren, near the coast of the mainland with Mount Cecir rising to a height of 3,050 feet." According to André Pires the island lay twelve leagues in front of Cape Padaran off the lofty Champa coast (69-v), and *Fernandes da Fonseca warned ships to stop three leagues in front of it because of the dangerous reefs (259).

¹²⁶ *Moreira states that one should always stay two leagues from the coast between Cecir da terra and Pulo Gambir (76v). Saris, who followed Linschoten's *roteiro*, did this (Prevost II 172); Linschoten writes that one should stay at most from two to three leagues from the coast (IV 108 113).

¹²⁷ *André Pires notes: "When a ship is sailing to Champa, it heads north and follows the coast in order to have a good voyage. It is a land rich in trees; those along the coast have been cut down; those in the interior are very tall. The coast is very clean and runs to the northeast with very high mountains" (392). Descriptions of Champa are given by T. Pires 112-114 and Barbosa II 208-209 (see Vol. III, p. 258). Yule gives abstracts from the older accounts about the kingdom (183-184). In 1471 the king of Annam seized the last king of Champa and deprived him of his land south of Hué (the provinces of Quang-nam and Binh-dinh). In 1490 the northern boundary of the principedom of Champa was somewhat north of Song-cau. In the seventeenth century, the southern provinces of the Annamites were also seized (Grousset 612 616-617; BEFEO 20 [1920] 86-87). In Xavier's time the Chams were still all pagans and foes of the Mohammedans (T. Pires 112). Today there are 30,000 Chams still living in Annam, of whom 10,000 are Mohammedans (Maspero I 34).

¹²⁸ Barbosa II 209-210.

¹²⁹ Lucena 6, 15, p. 443.

¹³⁰ Ritter IV 3, 917.

¹³¹ Francisco Rodrigues has ships sail from Pulo Condor northeast to Terra de Champa (Champa), the *Terra Vermelha*. Cecir da terra lies on 11° 14' NL. Opposite it, in the Phan-Ri Bay between Guio Huk on the 11° 3' NL and Phan-Ri on the 11° 10' are the reddish slopes. The English Admiralty maps show the "Red Sand Hills" south of them near Vinai Huk (10° 57' NL). T. Pires 302, n. 1; cf. *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 390). *André Pires also names "manchas d'are avermelha" on the Champa coast at 12° NL (69v); they are n. 63 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map.

the mountains reached a height of 10,825 feet. The cape was frequently difficult to round because of its exposed position, turbulent sea, and strong winds.¹³² From here the coast ran from south to north, and here also was the northern limit of the southwest monsoon.¹³³

The ship sailed for five days along the coast from Cape Padaran.¹³⁴ On the left was the wild, mountainous country whose granite peaks ultimately, near Cape Varela, reached to a height of over 6,560 feet. The name of the cape was derived from a rock formation shaped like a pagoda on the peak of a 2,400-foot promontory.¹³⁵

Nine leagues farther on, the ship reached the island of Pulo Gambir,¹³⁶ which rose to a height of 360 feet and was a league away from the mainland. This was the northern boundary of Champa¹³⁷ and the beginning of the kingdom of Cochinchina.¹³⁸ Like Champa, it was entirely pagan, and it was at constant war with its southern neighbor.¹³⁹ Here the mountains retreated and disappeared from view. The area was notorious to voyagers because of its storms and its little known shallows. Here, north of the twelfth degree of latitude, at this time of the year there were always prospects of a typhoon.¹⁴⁰

On the eve of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, July 21, the captain had the ship anchored. A storm was in the offing.¹⁴¹ The heavy, matted sails were lowered, and in a trice the junk was at the center of a raging gale. The sea rose high, and the waves crashed overboard. Because of the tossing of the ship Manuel,

¹³² Ritter IV 3, 995, who describes the terrain from Cape St. James to Tourane according to Crawford's voyage along the coast; see also *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 392.

¹³³ *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 384-385.

¹³⁴ The 250 miles from Cecir do mar to Pulo Gambir (near Quinhon) could be made in five days.

¹³⁵ Cape Varela is named in the sailing instructions of Francisco Rodrigues in 1513 (302), *André Pires in 1530 (69v), Bernardo Fernandes in 1548 (97), Linschoten (IV 109), *Moreira in 1610 (76v), and *Fernandes da Fonseca in 1770 (261). See also the descriptions in Ritter IV 3, 995 and in *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 413. The Wu-Pei-Chih map, n. 61, has instead of this the cape lying south of it, *Falsa Varela*.

¹³⁶ Cf. *André Pires 69v; Linschoten IV 110; *Moreira 76v; *Fernandes da Fonseca 26, and the *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 414-415 421-423 (with picture). On the Wu-Pei-Chih map it is n. 65.

¹³⁷ Song-cau on the Phu-Yên Bay to the north of Cape Varela was from 1471 to 1611 the northern boundary of the kingdom of Champa. In 1611 it was captured by the Annamites (Grousset 617). On the town see *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 420. The bay is the most beautiful of Annam, and the province of Phu Yên is very fruitful and densely populated. The mountains are tilled up to their peaks (Ritter IV 3, 917).

¹³⁸ The later Annam and Tonkin, modern Vietnam. On the name see Yule 226-227, BEFEO 22 (1922) 176, and the more detailed L. Arousseau, "Sur le nom de 'Cochinchine'," *ibid.* 24 (1924) 562-581.

¹³⁹ About 1513 T. Pires wrote about the king of Champa: "He is at war with other kings, and especially with the king of Cochinchina" (113). This is true for the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁴⁰ The storms of Cochinchina were particularly feared (Lucena 6, 15, p. 443) and the *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* states that in July and September the typhoons north of the twelfth degree are particularly violent (84-85).

¹⁴¹ On the storm, see EX II 180-182. In 1551 Torres wrote briefly about his voyage to Japan: "There was nothing that happened on the way to report except that there were some storms at sea, and that the captain of the ship was very reluctant to sail to the land of Japan" (Torres 91). The precise place where the junk encountered the storm is unknown, but Xavier's words: "Before we reached China, when we had reached a land by the name of Cochinchina, which is already close to China" (EX II 180-181), and the observation that after the storm they came within a few days to the Canton Islands (*ibid.* 184) make it probable that the junk had already passed a portion of the coast of Cochinchina when the storm rose.

Xavier's Chinese companion, lost his balance and fell through the hatch, which had been carelessly left open, into the hold. Everyone thought that he was killed because of the length of his fall and the large amount of water in the hold. For a long time his head and the greater part of his body were under water. When, with great efforts, he was brought up from where he had fallen, he was unconscious and bleedings profusely from a large wound on his head. This was bound up and he was finally brought back to consciousness; but the storm then claimed another victim.

The hurricane raged with undiminished force and tossed the junk about as if it were a nutshell. The daughter of the captain fell into the sea. The wild waves made any attempt at rescuing her impossible, and she died close to the ship before the eyes of her father and the rest. During that day and the following night, there was much weeping and lamentation among the people, and it was heartrending to see the grief that filled the hearts of those pagans and the deadly peril which confronted all those upon the junk. It was impossible to even think of sleeping or resting that day and night. All worked feverishly to save the ship and to protect it against the storm. The pagans offered sacrifices to the image of their goddess, killing a good many birds and setting food and drink before it. With the help of his divining sticks, the captain asked the idol why his daughter had died; and he was told that she would not have fallen into the sea if Manuel had died.

Since he could not by himself prevent them, Xavier had many times in the past prayed to God that He would no longer tolerate the offenses committed against Him by the pagans, whom He had created to His own image and likeness, through their many idolatries. But if He continued to do so, He should inflict upon their enemy, the author of these spells and abominations, new pains and torments whenever he persuaded the captain to cast his superstitious lots, since by so doing he revered him as if he were God Himself. Had the devil and his minions now come to take vengeance upon him during this violent storm? That day and, especially, the following night Xavier felt their tangible presence as never before in his life. In the howling of the wind he seemed to hear their voices. His life and that of his companions seemed to be at the mercy of the divining sticks with which the demons were consulted by the pagans on the ship. What would happen to him and his companions if God permitted them to do all the evil that they wished?¹⁴²

But the more he trembled, and the more he felt his own weakness and helplessness during those dark hours, the more Francis relied upon the strength of his Lord. He prayed to Him whom the wind and waves and even the evil spirits must obey. Though he was certain that God would rescue them from the peril they were in, he nonetheless breathed more easily when day dawned and the storm subsided. The ship's anchor was lifted, the sails were raised, and they set

¹⁴² André Fernandes wrote in 1563: "In the China Sea a wind blows at times that is known as a typhoon (*tufão*). It has no fixed time, but it always begins in the north and ends in the south or southwest; and it is milder when it blows in both of these directions. When it comes from the north it is extremely strong, especially if the sun is in the south, for it is said that it is then colder and more insistent. It lasts for three or four days. These winds are extremely dangerous and difficult, and I heard Padre Mestre Francisco say that they did not seem to be winds but something more, as if the demons were moving within them; for, because of the force of the wind, a ship must go with it while the waves are crashing against its sides. The ships are thus attacked from many sides by the sea and winds and many are lost and all are in great danger" (DI V 736).

out again upon their voyage.¹⁴³ Manuel, the Chinese who had fallen into the hold, still suffered, however, a headache for many days, until his wound was healed.¹⁴⁴

Favored by a good wind, the junk moved quickly on. Ten leagues north of the island of Pulo Canton,¹⁴⁵ which was passed on the left, the junk reached the tall island of Pulo Champelo.¹⁴⁶ Here, in 1533, Duarte Coelho, the builder of the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte in Malacca, had carved a beautiful cross and an inscription upon a rock.¹⁴⁷

Here the ship turned away from the coast of Cochinchina¹⁴⁸ and, leaving the Bay of Tonkin on the left, sailed straight northeast towards the southern tip of the island of Hainan. After it had sailed for three days, the blue heights of the island came into view.¹⁴⁹ The ship then sailed along the east side of the island within sight of the mountains which rose to a height of nearly 4,750 feet in the interior. The Bay of Tonkin was feared, especially at this time of the year, for its typhoons,¹⁵⁰ as was the passage between the northwest coast of the island and the Chinese mainland for its many shallows.¹⁵¹ Hainan, a densely populated

¹⁴³ EX II 184.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 161.

¹⁴⁵ Pulo Canton (Portuguese: *Pulo Cotam, Catão*; Annamite: *Culao Rai*; on the Wu-Pei-Chih map, n. 66) is a 590-foot high, barren island with two peaks 3.5 leagues from the mainland and 20 west of the Paracel Reefs (cf. Francisco Rodrigues; T. Pires 302), *André Pires 69v-79, Bernardo Fernandes 97, Linschoten (IV 111), Kammerer, *Découverte* 160, *Moreira 123v, Saris 171, *Fernandes da Fonseca 262, and *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 429-430 (with picture). The *Handbuch* notes: "Sailing vessels which take the way along the coast in order to sail to China during the southwest monsoon in June, July, and August do well not to leave the Annamite coast until they have sighted Culao Rai and then steer northwards in order to sail near the southern part of the island of Hainan so as not to be blown onto the northwest corner of the Paracel Islands by one of the northwestern storms which can be encountered in front of the Gulf of Tonkin in June and July" (430).

¹⁴⁶ Pulo Champelo (Pulo S-Polo, Culao Cham) is named on all the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and already in the account of the voyage of Kia Tan in 805 A.D. (Ferrand, *Relations* 643). Manrique states that here there is the safest harbor against all winds and that it lies at a distance of four leagues from the mainland (II 136). According to the *Handbuch Südchin. Meer*, the island is 1,230 feet high and eight knots from the mouth of the Faifo River, and it is well inhabited and cultivated (431, with pictures, p. 432 and pl. VII 37); see also Linschoten IV 111-112.

¹⁴⁷ In 1555 Mendes Pinto wrote that Duarte Coelho, who was then in Brazil, had carved the cross and the inscription thirty-two years earlier (Ayres, *Subsidios* 81), which would take us back to 1523. In his later *Peregrinação* he gives his imagination greater play and has Coelho carve the cross in 1518 (c. 220). Barros states that Coelho had erected "padrões" of his discoveries on his voyage to China in 1523 (3, 8, 6, pp. 290-291). On Coelho, see Vol. III, p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ *Fernandes da Fonseca advises: "Sight Pulo Campelo before you sail past to Hainan. You will thus avoid the currents which come from Tongkin Bay" (267). According to him the southeast coast of Hainan should be sighted.

¹⁴⁹ According to Kia Tan (Ferrand, *Relations* 643) and Neugebauer (*Welt-Bott*, n. 704), the voyage lasted three days. Manrique employed four (II 136). The distance amounts to 174 miles, an average of 58 miles per day for a voyage of three days. In his *Peregrinação*, Mendes Pinto states that he sailed from Pulo Campelo to Sancian in five days (c. 221), a distance of 360 miles with a daily average of 72. Cape Bastion, 869 feet high and visible for twenty-five knots was usually sighted, or Cape Rhinoceros east of it rising to a height of 525 feet (*Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 544-545). "Behind the southern cape appear the very high mountains of the interior" (Linschoten IV 114).

¹⁵⁰ *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 441-442. In 1770 Tongkin Bay was still little visited and explored by Europeans (*Fernandes da Fonseca 624).

¹⁵¹ The strait of Hainan, between Hainan and the Chinese mainland, was anxiously avoided. On Portuguese maps it is always filled with shallows—a warning not to sail in it. The *roteiros* only knew the route along the east coast of Hainan (expressly so

island 112 miles in length, was already a part of Chinese soil.¹⁵² Off the center of its eastern coast was the small island of Tinhosa, with two hills covered with pandanus and dwarf palms. The Chinese were here accustomed to take on wood, fish, and water.¹⁵³ Opposite the northeastern cape of Hainan were the Taya Islands, a group of seven tall, barren islands, the principal two being Pulo Gom in the south and Pulo Tio in the north.¹⁵⁴ From here the ship sailed straight north until the lofty blue mountains of the mainland came into view.¹⁵⁵ This was China, the mighty, mysterious, and self-secluded land.

The junk now sailed along the coast towards the northeast until the small, isolated, two-hundred-foot-high "Island of the Mandarin Cap" were sighted.¹⁵⁶ Five leagues farther on, past the twenty-first degree of latitude, the ship reached Hancheun, the first of the Cantonese Islands. Next to it, on the right, was the hilly, heavily wooded island of Sancian, from where the Portuguese carried on trade with the mainland. East of it was the smaller island of Liuchiu.¹⁵⁷

in Linschoten IV 113). The account of the first Japanese embassy to Europe (1582-1586) states that the bay of Hainan is so dangerous for seafarers that anyone who passed through it unharmed could speak of his good fortune and give thanks to God (Eglauer, *Japan* III 317-318). Neugebauer writes that many ships were shattered there, and anyone who survived a storm there was considered to be a good captain (*Welt-Bott*, n. 704). The *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* also states that the greatest care must be taken there: "The vessels that are frequently stranded there show how very dangerous the strait is" (561). *Moreira gives a warning about the entrance into the strait (76v).

¹⁵² Gago, who remained shipwrecked for five months (1561-1562) on Hainan, has left us a brief description of the land and its people. The island was thickly populated, had a superabundance of provisions, cities with stone houses, and the Chinese usually obtained new equipment for their ships and all kinds of tackle there. "The people have rude customs and wear baggy trousers. From their head protude a pair of ox horns made of fine material, and right above their forehead are a pair of points which have the shape of pointed scissors" (Eglauer, *Japan* I 300-301). On the island, see *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 541-542.

¹⁵³ Tinhosa is found on almost all the Portuguese maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from 1537 on. The island was, and still is partially so today, an almost obligatory stopping place for all ships going to or from China, since it offers good protection and has fresh water, firewood, and fish (T. Pires 120, n. 1). A description is given in *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 556-557, and more briefly by *Fernandes da Fonseca 267. It is n. 6 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map.

¹⁵⁴ The Pulo-Taya- or Pulo-Tio-(Tujo)-Islands are indicated on all the Portuguese maps from 1537 on. They are described by *André Pires ("seven islands, difficult to distinguish for sailing through them," 70v), *Moreira (76v), Linschoten (IV 114 117: "Pulo Gom, Pulo Tio, seven treeless islands"; cf. Kammerer, *Découverte* (160-161), *Fernandes da Fonseca ("nine or ten deserted islands" 6); *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* (560-561: "seven barren, almost inaccessible islands," with picture). N. 69 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map.

¹⁵⁵ Near Tien Pak (*Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 114 591-592). The Portuguese maps frequently have here instead of the name: "Terra alta."

¹⁵⁶ Linschoten says: "If you wish to sail from there [Hainan] to Sanchoan, steer towards the northeast and sight Pulo Tio. From there sail four or five leagues out to sea and then north and northeast. In this way you will see two leagues before Sanchoan a small island called Do Mandorijn, a round, tall, little island five or six leagues from the Canton Islands" (IV 117; cf. Kammerer, *Découverte* 162-163). The full name of the island is "Toque do Mandarim." From 1570 on, it is found on Portuguese maps. The English name is "Mandarin's Cap," the Chinese "Fan shi ak" (*Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 595).

¹⁵⁷ "In a few days [after the storm] we came to the harbor of Canton in China," Xavier wrote (EX II 184). *Froger sketched the view of the three islands and wrote below them: "The first Chinese land that we have seen, October 5, 1698, from a distance of four leagues" (172). Hancheun is also called "the false Sancian" and Liuchiu by *Fernandes da Fonseca (after a French prototype) "Pulo Outchou" (268). Linschoten writes: "The island of Sanchoan is large and high with many mountains, over which there is a curved mountain with high hills like the knuckles of a clenched fist, a safe and

July was already coming to an end when the mountains of these islands were sighted. Since the time for sailing to Japan was also coming to a close, Avân and his men decided to winter here on one of the numerous islands lying before Canton. When they anchored the junk, Master Francis pleaded with them so that they would continue the voyage. He also warned them that their contract would have to be fulfilled. Otherwise, he would write to the captain and the other Portuguese in Malacca that the Chinese had deceived him and had not carried out their promises. His strenuous protests were crowned with success. Avân weighed anchor and continued with the voyage.¹⁵⁸

The maze of the Canton Islands came to an end near Ilheu Branco, some fifty leagues from Sancian.¹⁵⁹ This island was formed by a reef rising to a white peak 125 feet high, which at a distance had the appearance of a sailboat. From here the junk sailed with a good wind for five days between the high, blue coast of the continent and the islands lying before it.¹⁶⁰ Then, at the beginning of August, after having sailed for 110 leagues, it reached the harbor of Chincheo with its islands of Amoy and Quemoy above the twenty-fourth degree of latitude.¹⁶¹

Here, where there were no Portuguese who could have come to the assistance

very good means of identification. The island has many trees and large bays where trade in former times used to be conducted" (IV 115); see also *Handbuch Südchin. Meer* 596-598.

¹⁵⁸ EX II 184-185. We do not know on what island Avân wished to winter. Xavier states that he had wished to stay in the harbor of Canton near the Canton Islands. There were probably at the time no Portuguese ships there because of the earlier troubles. Duarte da Gama declared in the Malacca process of 1556 that Xavier had sailed to Japan on a Chinese junk, and that the Chinese, because it was already late, had wished to sail into the harbor of Canton to spend the winter there. But since he had learned that there were pirates in the harbor, they had gone on to Chincheo; and since they there heard the same about pirates, they had set out for Japan (MX II 416).

¹⁵⁹ *Moreira refers to the island as Ilheu Branco (77v); Linschoten also (V 263; cf. 169-170); *Fernandes da Fonseca as Pedra Branca (270); no. 71 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map.

¹⁶⁰ The three authors given in the preceding note describe the route as far as Chincheo in detail: *Moreira 85v-86v, *Fernandes da Fonseca 270-275, and Linschoten V 169-174. Kammerer gives a commentary on the latter, following the French translation (*Découverte* 166-171, with map 102).—A junk could cover the distance from Sancian to Chincheo, 404 miles, in five days, at an average of 81 miles a day. The *Santa Cruz* sailed from Macao on July 5, 1585, was near Ilheu Branco at dawn on the sixth, near Lamon (Namoa; n. 72 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map) at dawn on the seventh, and reached Varella do Chincheu (near the entrance to the Chincheo Bay) on the morning of the eighth, as is indicated by the ship's log. An English translation of this is given by Boxer from Linschoten (V 237-239) in *The Christian Century in Japan* 406-407. The ship, which sailed both day and night, thus averaged 103 miles a day. Fontaney sailed from Hainan to Amoy in six days at an average of 93 miles per day (Bernard, *Voyage* 51); *Moreira sailed from Macao to Lamão in four days at an average of 62 miles per day (77v). Xavier simply writes: "In a few days we came with a good wind which God always gave us [from the Canton Islands] to Chincheo, another harbor of China" (EX II 185).

¹⁶¹ The best study on the much controverted meaning of the word Chincheo is to be found in Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953) 313-326, with sketched maps, pp. 316-317 and XX. He shows that by this the Portuguese at times designated the Bay of Amoy with the islands of Amoy and Quemoy, at times the city of Chang-chou (n. 75 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map) lying on the south of the same bay, and at still other times the city of Ch'üan-chou (n. 76 on the Wu-Pei-Chih map), in the north on the other side of the bay, to which the north bank of the bay and the islands of Amoy and Quemoy were subject. Xavier, who was never in either of the two cities, identifies the bay of Amoy with the harbor of Chincheo. He mentions the island of Quemoy twice in his letters (EX II 501 515). The bay is described by Boxer, *South China* 322-323; Linschoten V 174-177; Kammerer, *Découverte* 168-171, and *Fernandes da Fonseca 274-275.

of the priest and his companions, the Chinese merchant was determined to spend the winter; but, when he was about to enter the harbor, a sailboat drew near and informed him that there were numerous pirates lurking there, and that he would be lost if he sailed into the harbor with his junk. This information made him change his mind,¹⁶² especially since the ships of Chincheo could be seen a league away. Fearing to fall into their hands, he gave up his plan.¹⁶³ The wind was blowing from the south, making it impossible to return to Canton. Since it favored a voyage to Japan, the captain and his men saw themselves compelled to keep their promise even against their will. As Xavier later wrote, neither the devil nor his servants could thus prevent his voyage to Japan.¹⁶⁴

The ship now sailed on for two hundred leagues, first along the coast of China and then northeast, past the northern cape of Formosa,¹⁶⁵ and northwards across

¹⁶² EX II 186.

¹⁶³ The "Chincheo ships" which appeared were probably the patrol boats of the government fleet; and Avān, "the Pirate," who was living abroad against the laws of his land and sailing with foreigners, had every reason for not wishing to fall into their hands.

¹⁶⁴ EX II 186. In the Malacca process, Duarte da Gama stated that he had himself heard Master Francis say that they had gone to Japan against the will of the Chinese himself (MX II 416); and Torres wrote: "The captain was very much opposed to sail to the land of Jipón. It thus seemed clear that the devil feared that he might lose his lordship over this great empire, which is larger than Spain and France; and even if I should add Italy to these, I would not be lying, for they say that it is six hundred leagues long and some one hundred wide" (Torres 91).

¹⁶⁵ The Portuguese at first called Formosa *Lequeo Pequeno* (Small Liukiu) to distinguish it from Okinawa, which they called *Lequeo Grande* (Large Liukiu). There were *three routes* leading from China to Japan. The *first* was from Chincheo around the north cape of Lequeo Pequeno (Formosa) by way of the Reis-Magos Islands, Lequeo Grande, the Ilha do fogo, and Tanaxuma (Tanegashima) to Kagoshima. This route along the chain of the Ryūkyū Islands was that which the Chinese junks and the Portuguese ships took in the first half of the sixteenth century, and its five names are found on practically all the Portuguese maps from 1547 to 1649.—The *second route*, which was probably already used by Xavier's junk, passed from Chincheo to the north cape of Formosa, then to the Reis-Magos Islands, and from there directly, by way of Yakushima and Tanegashima, to Kagoshima.—The *third route*, which became the more common one after Xavier's death, led north of Chincheo from Cape Sumbor (Sung men) or Ningpo, past the island of Meshima, directly to Hirado in northwest Kyūshū (on this see L. Bourdon, *Les Routes des Marchands Portugais entre Chine et Japon au milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Lisboa, 1949). Some observations on the above: Kammerer correctly identifies the Reis Magos Islands with the three islands off the north cape of Formosa: Agincourt, Crag, and Pinnacle (*Découverte* 23-24), in opposition to Bourdon, who identifies them with the islands lying to the east of Formosa: Iriomote-jima, Ishigaki-jima, and Miyako-jima. The log of the *Santa Cruz* of 1585 states that the ship had sailed from Macao to Chinchon (Amoy), then along the west coast of Formosa to its north cape, where it had sighted the Reis-Magos Islands and had left them lying in the east, on the 26 1/6 degree, seven or eight leagues away, and that the ship had then sailed along the coast of China to Cape Sumbor and from there to Japan by way of Meshima (Linschoten V 241-246; Boxer, *Christian Century* 408-412).—The Ilha do fogo, which is always indicated on the maps directly after Lequeo Grande (Okinawa) (only the map of 1561 places it near Tanegashima), is the active volcano of Iō-jima (also called Tori-jima and Sulfur Island). In 1641 B. Ginnaro, in his *Saverio Orientale*, gives (from the data of Japanese missionaries) as the only route to Japan the usual names: Lechio Minor, Lechio Magna, I. do Fuoco, and I. Sciomio [Kyūshū] (cf. GS II, opposite 577, plate 18). It is true that Xavier wrote after his return from Japan that there was only a passage of eighty leagues from Liampo (Ningpo), one of the capitals of China, to Japan (EX II 277), and Chang states that in 1370, under the first Ming emperor, three official centers of trade were erected, Ningpo for trade with Japan, Ch'üanchou for that with the Ryūkyū Islands and Canton for the lands south of China (28-29). But a voyage to Japan by way of Ningpo would have meant one of 1,522 miles, at a daily average of 127 miles per day in the course of

the open sea for nearly two weeks,¹⁶⁶ until the high blue mountains of Japan at last came into view. Passing a steep volcanic peak rising to a height of over 3,280 feet, the junk sailed into a broad bay enclosed by mountains. Anjirō and his two Japanese companions were acquainted with this area. It was Kaimondake,¹⁶⁷ the gateway to their native land. The town which soon appeared to the left of the entrance into the bay was Yamagawa, where Jorge Alvares had spent the winter of 1546.¹⁶⁸

The junk sailed north up the bay for several hours, a distance of twenty-five miles.¹⁶⁹ Fishing boats with tall, matted sails glided past. These were manned by individuals who had a yellowish hue and narrow eyes and wore a loincloth about their hips and a broad straw hat that came to a point above their head. Wooded hills became visible, and low, grey-brown, wooden houses with straw roofs weighted down with stones. North of Yamagawa the bay widened out, and the villages could no longer be distinguished on the right or left. The tall, blue mountains in the foreground drew nearer. An island, the active volcano of Sakurajima, rose out of the waters to a height of more than 3,280 feet, with its barren peak and broad, wooded base filling almost completely the northern side of the bay. Terraced rice fields could be distinguished on its slopes along with cherry orchards and orange groves and tranquil farmsteads.¹⁷⁰ Looking back toward the south, one could see the tall, dark mountains overreached by the steep, pale blue pyramid of Kaimondake. The junk now turned its course towards the left, to the west side of the bay opposite Sakurajima. At the foot of a green, wooded hill could be seen a maze of masts and grey straw and shingled roofs amidst green gardens. Towering over them, one above the other, were lofty temples and many-storied pagodas with concave, sloping roofs. This was Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, the southernmost kingdom of Japan, and the homeland of Anjirō.¹⁷¹

twelve days. The trouble that had broken out shortly before this in Ningpo would also have militated against a choice of this longer route.

¹⁶⁶ In 1556 Duarte da Gama stated that the Chinese had sailed with Xavier from Chincheo to Japan and had arrived there "contra toda a razão e tempo" (MX II 416). Xavier himself wrote before sailing from Malacca: "Japan is two hundred leagues from China. The pilots say that we will arrive in Japan on the tenth or fifteenth of August" (EX II 151). He wrote from Japan: "Many ships sail from Japan to China, a voyage of ten or twelve days" (*ibid.* 210), and he noted that if one did not sail from China by August 1, he would have to wait a year for the next monsoon (*ibid.* 224). But Xavier probably did not sail from China until August 3.

¹⁶⁷ *Japan-Pilot* 411 (with picture).

¹⁶⁸ See Vol. III, p. 273.

¹⁶⁹ In Kagoshima I was told that it took a motorboat three hours to pass from Yamagawa to Kagoshima. The distance is twenty-five miles, and since a junk could not make more than five miles an hour or, under the best circumstances 6.5 (according to Mills, *Malaya* 43), it took Avān's junk around five hours to pass from the entrance of the bay to Kagoshima.

¹⁷⁰ Twenty-seven eruptions of Sakurajima have been recorded since 1468; that of 1779 caused the formation of a number of small islands (Ramming 498). Since 1850 the island has been connected with the east side of the Ōsumi peninsula. The last eruption, in 1914, also altered the landscape. Lava destroyed fields and three villages. Of the fairest of these, Arimura, only a confused heap of stone blocks remained. Of the 2,000 homes in the larger of the two others, Nishisakurajima, 1,100 were destroyed, in the smaller, Higashimura, 400 of 800, and their fields (cf. *L'Information d'Extrême-Orient* 56 [Tōkyō-Paris, March 27, 1918] 16-17).

¹⁷¹ "Sin poder tomar otro puerto de Japán, venimos a Cangoxima, que es la tierra de Paulo de Santa Fe," Xavier wrote (EX II 185-186). In a letter of Brother Pedro de Alcáçova written in 1554 after his return from Japan, which is only preserved in a

As the ship drew nearer the city, the voyagers could distinguish its features. Near the southern boundary of the city rose the steep, bright brown slopes of Shiroyama.¹⁷² To the right of it, on the north, was a dark green, wooded hill with the large Buddhist monastery of Fukushō-ji¹⁷³ on its lower slopes, and behind it the temple and cemetery of the ruling house of the Shimazu. To the right of this hill was a long wooded knoll, and behind it could be seen twin peaks. On the north the knoll fell precipitously into the bay and left an open view upon the tall, pale blue volcanic range in the north. In the south, it became a bright yellow precipice visible from afar.¹⁷⁴ Here the junk steered its course. At the

copy, it is said (in *Codex Ulyssiponensis* I 201): "Partimos da China a dous de Agosto e chegamos a Japão aos quatorze do dito mes. A primeira terra que tomamos do Japão foi huma ilha que se chama Tanuxuma onde ja estivera o Padre Mestre Francisco, cujo senhor nos fez muito agasalhado." He adds that he remained there eight days and traveled on from there to Bungo. But at the close of his letter, Alcáçova writes correctly: "A primeira terra que o Padre Mestre Francisco tomou foi Cangoxima" (205v). The two contradictory statements also passed over into the other copies and printings of this letter (cf. Q 6045), for example, in *Cartas* 1598, ff. 23 and 27v. Melchior Nunes Barreto also states in his letter of January 8, 1558, that Xavier had traveled from Tanaxuma to Meaco (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105); and Valignano in his still unpublished work **Libro Primero del principio y progreso de la Religión Christiana en Japón*, quotes from Alcáçova's letter: "Tanuximam insulam, ubi Xaverius versatus antea fuerat, descendimus," and he observes on this: "In printing this letter some erroneously changed the name of Tanuxima, which is a small island out in the sea, into Cangoxima, which was the capital of Saçuma, letting themselves be deceived by the similarity of the words, since P. Xaverius in his letter on his voyage says that he came to Cangoxima without mentioning Tanoxima. But the truth was that the first land in Japan on which P. Xaverius landed was the island of Tanoxima, which lies in the sea opposite Saxuma, and from there he sailed with his ship to Cangoxima.... And on the same island of Tanoxima Brother Pero Dalcaçova landed with his companions before he went to Bungo" (297). But Xavier's letter is here decisive, and his assurance that they had not been able to put in at any other harbor than Kagoshima is confirmed by the letter of his companion Juan Fernández of October 8, 1561, in which he wrote: "En Cangaxima que es el primero puerto, donde llegó nuestro bienaventurado Padre Maestro Francisquo, que está en el cielo, no ay iglesia material" (*JapSin.* 4, 217v). The same was written by Luis de Almeida in 1562 (*JapSin.* 4, 217v) and Frois in 1582 (*JapSin.* 9, 155v). Both letters are only extant in copies, and in both the city *Cangaxuma* is written, whereas the original letter of Frois of 1584 (*ibid.* 313v) correctly has *Cangoxima*. We consequently suspect that the copyist of Alcáçova's letter once wrote *Tanaxuma* by mistake instead of *Cangaxuma*. [Diego Pacheco, in "Xavier and Tanegashima," *Monumenta Nipponica* 29 (1974) 477-480, has argued convincingly against Schurhammer with respect to Xavier's visiting Tanegashima. He shows that "the text of both Alcáçova's letter and Xavier's letter is correct. Alcáçova and his companions stopped at Tanegashima, not Kagoshima, in 1552. Xavier also called in at Tanegashima, but this was during his return voyage to India toward the end of November 1551" (480).—Translator's note.]

¹⁷² Shiroyama means: Castle Mountain.

¹⁷³ According to the Hollander Selderens, who passed through Kagoshima around 1660, the monastery was a beautiful structure. Its interior was extraordinarily rich; the roof of its temple rose above all the other buildings. His panorama of the city shows the monastery with three roofs, one over the other (by which the principal gate is probably meant), surrounded by gardens on a slope of the mountain above the city. Its number is 14 (A. Montanus, *Denckwürdige Gesandtschaften der Ost-Indischen Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern an unterschiedliche Keyser von Japan* (Amsterdam, 1669) 425-426. A large colored panorama of Kagoshima from 1843, and thus before the destruction of the temple and monastery by the Japanese Nationalists in 1869, shows the individual buildings of the monastery complex of Fukushō-ji; it has been published in *Sappan Enkaku Chizu* (Collection of Old Maps of Satsuma), Kagoshima, 1935, part 3, n. 5.

¹⁷⁴ The steep slope of Tagayama. When we visited Kagoshima in 1957, Mr. Kōno, the director of the newspaper *Minami Nippon Shimbun*, placed at our disposal a

foot of the slope was the mouth of the Inari River, which provided a protecting harbor; and it was here that the ship anchored.¹⁷⁵ It was August 15, the feast of the Assumption, when Xavier and his companions stepped for the first time upon the soil of Japan.¹⁷⁶ It was also the fifteenth anniversary of his vows on Montmartre.

motorboat for a cruise in the bay so that we could observe its entrance, as Xavier did at the time of his arrival.

¹⁷⁵ Left of the entrance on the west bank of the Inari River, not far from its mouth (beyond the present second bridge), is a small Shintō shrine, the Kasuga-jinja; and opposite it on the other side of the street, where the little gardens are joined with several houses, not far from the stop Kasuga-jinja in the ward of Shimizu-chō, there is today a small stone monument with the inscription: "Here was the harbor of the old fleet [Sappan-suigun]. Erected Taisho 12 on the tenth day of the third month [1923]." According to tradition this was at the time of St. Francis Xavier the location of the landing place, where Portuguese ships and also the junk of the saint came to land. Outside the mouth of the river, at the foot of Tagayama on the northern bank, the strand is called *Gion-no-su* (Gion Beach) after the Gion shrine located there. As I was told during my visit in 1957, some authors erroneously identify this as the former landing place. Here there is standing an old, solitary pine called *Ryūkyūjin-no-matsu* (Pine of the Ryūkyū People), and it is also indicated on the map of the city of 1955. Here, according to the latter authorities, the Ryūkyū people used to land; and they often tied their ships to this tree. This beach was known for its cherry blossoms, and the city map of 1843 shows ships here with the title: "Ryūkyū ships which used to come to see the blossoms."—The appearance of the city has been here greatly altered. The entire area, with its docks and station east of the street on which the Kasuga shrine stands, is now connected with the Tagayama coast by a bridge. It was only won from the sea after Xavier's time, between 1600 and 1615. It is already shown in the city map of 1843 covered with houses. This map, in a smaller format, together with another old city map, has been published by the mayor Katsume Kiyoshi, *Kagoshima no oitachi* (The Growth of Kagoshima) (Kagoshima, 1955). The second city plan gives the name of the Tagayama slope as *Daigan* (Great Cliff) and indicates the Gion shrine to the right of it. It also has the Kasuga-jinja.—In 1943 Father Dorotheus Schilling, O.F.M., informed me that his fellow religious, Father Alexius Hipp, a missionary in Tomakomai (Hokkaidō), had told him in 1940 that in 1933/34 he had baptized the Yoshimura Shinichi family which owned a field in Kareki very near to Kagoshima where, in earlier centuries, ships destined for Kagoshima had anchored in the mouth of a small river, and where according to tradition Francis Xavier had also landed. By this is obviously meant the landing place in the mouth of the Inari River, and *Kareki* (Withered Tree) probably refers to the old pine near which the people of Ryūkyū were accustomed to land, if Kareki is not a mispronunciation for Aheki, an old name of the Inari River, as Father Cieslik suspects.

¹⁷⁶ According to the letter which he wrote November 5, 1549 (EX II 185). The same date is given by Torres, his companion, on September 29, 1551 (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 91). In his letter of January 29, 1552, when his memory was no longer so sure, Xavier wrote that he had arrived in Kagoshima on August 20 (EX II 254).

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS IN KAGOSHIMA (AUGUST—OCTOBER, 1549)

1. A NEW CULTURAL WORLD (AUGUST, 1549)

It was the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the eighteenth year of the period of Tembun, according to the Japanese lunar calendar, when Xavier, on the feast of the Assumption, August 15, 1549, stepped, in Kagoshima, for the first time upon Japanese soil.¹ It was one week after the Bon festival,² the Buddhist All Souls' Day, when the graves of the deceased had been purified, sprinkled with water, and their bamboo vases filled with fresh flowers.³

Xavier and his companions were kindly received⁴ by the captain and by the mayor of the city;⁵ and they were warmly welcomed as guests in the home of Anjirō's mother, wife, and daughter. He had been thought to be dead, and his unexpected return was a source of great happiness to all his family.⁶

¹ Cf. Tsuchihashi 90. The year 1549 was the eighteenth year of the period Tembun. The first day of the seventh month of the Japanese lunar calendar corresponded to July 25 of the calendar of the West.

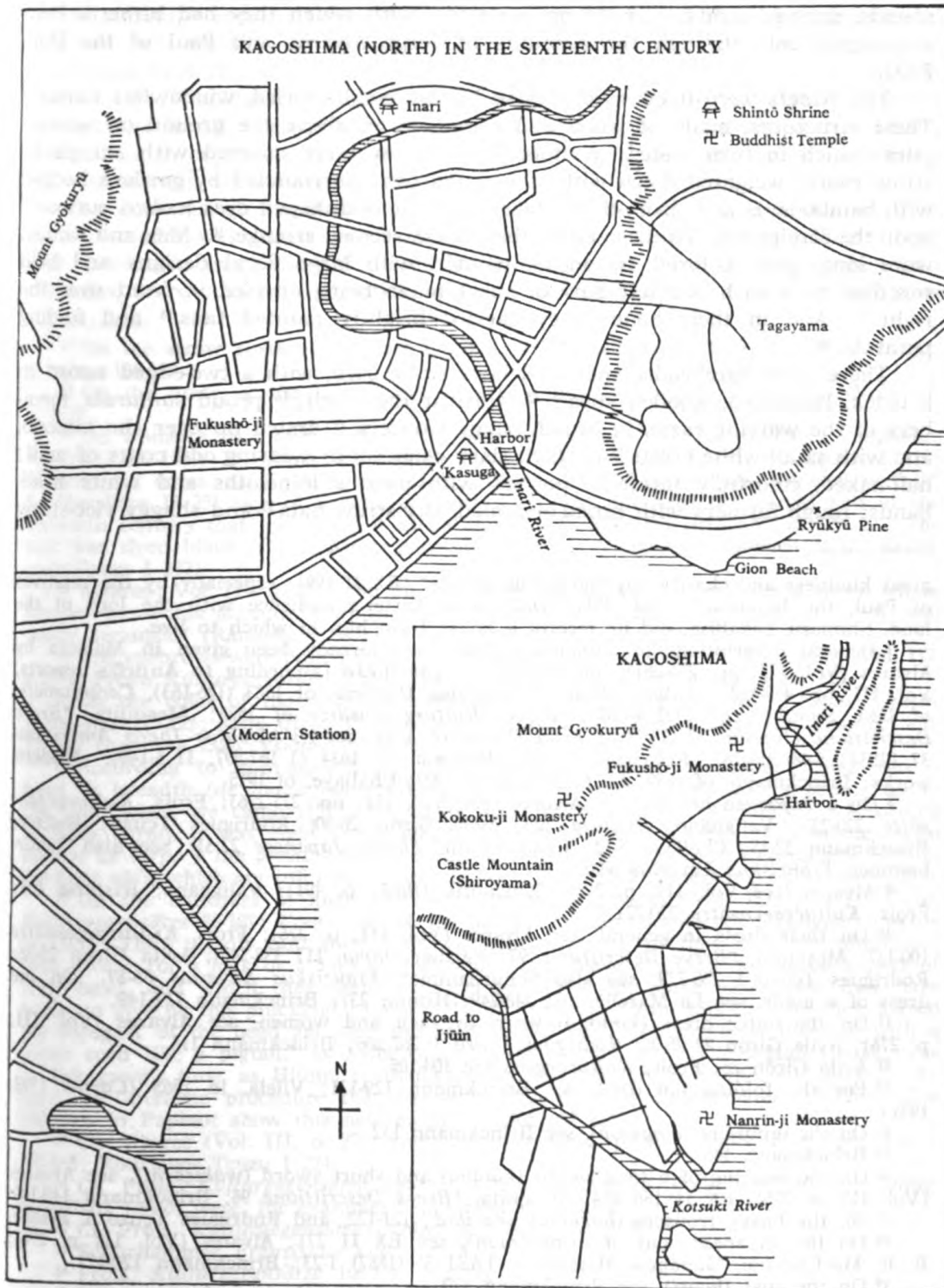
² The Bon festival was on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the Japanese moon calendar, and thus on August 8 in 1549 in the Western calendar. The Kagoshima historian Shigeno Yūkō, in his valuable *Nichinan Kirishitan shi* (History of the Christians of South Japan) (Kyōto, 1951) 57, writes that Xavier arrived in Kagoshima on August 15, 1559, according to the Japanese calendar in the eighteenth year of the period Tembun on the twelfth day of the seventh month. In this year August 15, according to Japanese reckoning, fell on the twelfth day of the seventh month. But 1559 was not the eighteenth year of the period Tembun but the second year of the period Eiroku, and Xavier did not arrive in 1559 but 1549. In his later *Satsuma Kirishitan Shiryō-shūsei* (Collection of Historical Sources for the History of the Kirishitan of Satsuma) (Kagoshima, 1966) 28, the year 1559 is omitted, but all the rest is retained. Father Marcelino Ayerbe, O.F.M., in his "Yajiro y San Francisco Javier," *España Misionera* 9 (1952) 343-356, has Xavier land correctly in Japan on August 15, 1549, but he repeats the error of Shigeno, whose first work he cites (352-353). He also adds something new in that he writes that the twelfth day of the seventh month was the day of the Bon festival, which began on the thirteenth day and ended on the fifteenth of the seventh month. It thus began, according to Western reckoning, on August 6 and ended on August 8, 1549.

³ Cf. the data on the Bon festival in Kagoshima given by the Maria who had been baptized by Xavier, in GS IV 305. On the Bon festival see H. Weipert, "Das Bon-Fest" MDGNVO 8 (1900) 145-174. Older data are given by Vilela, in 1561 (*Cartas*, 1598, 92; Cooper 359-360); Avila Girón, in 1615 (*Archivo Ibero Americano* 37 [1934] 264; Cooper 358); Rodrigues Tçuzu, in 1634 (I, 298); Cocks, in 1615 (Cooper 358-359); Caron, in 1672 (Arnold 107-108 549-551); and Kaempfer, in 1691 (III 138). More recent works: Coates, in 1925 (11-12); Rammings, in 1941 (615-616); *Annual Events in Japan* (50-51); and Boxer, *Christian Century*, in 1951 (50-52).

⁴ "Con mucha beninidad y amor," Xavier wrote (EX II 199). Torres noted somewhat more skeptically: "Fuimos rrecebidos de los Señores de la tierra como jente estranjera e que esperaba algun provecho temporal de nosotros e asi no nos fizieron mal ni bien" (91-92).

⁵ "Fuimos recebidos del capitán del lugar [*jōdai*] y del alcalde de la tierra [*bugyō*]" (EX II 199).

⁶ We conclude this from Xavier's data, who wrote that they were received with



Here, in the Land of the Rising Sun, the newcomers found themselves suddenly transported into an entirely new and exotic world;⁷ and they encountered strange sounds, strange sights, and strange customs, with which they had hitherto been acquainted only through the accounts of Jorge Alvares and Paul of the Holy Faith.

The streets were lined with greyish brown, single-storied, windowless homes.⁸ These structures, made of wood and raised an ell above the ground on wooden piles, which in turn rested on stone foundations, were covered with shingle or straw roofs⁹ weighted down with stones and were surrounded by gardens hedged with bamboos. Bright, ivory-tinted faces with almond-shaped eyes looked curiously upon the foreigners. To these latter their dress seemed strange.¹⁰ Men and women wore long, gaily colored kimonos¹¹ painted with large floral designs and held together by a sash, the left part of the kimono being crossed in front over the right.¹² And in their hands they carried brightly painted fans¹³ and folding parasols.¹⁴

There were bareheaded men and boys to be seen, with a two-edged sword in a black, lacquered, wooden sheath¹⁵ worn at their belt;¹⁶ proud *samurais*, members of the warrior caste, in broad, baggy trousers,¹⁷ drawn up over the kimono, and with small white crests¹⁸ on their dark cloaks,¹⁹ or wearing odd coats of mail; half-naked, colorfully tattooed²⁰ porters with narrow loincloths and white headbands; rough farmers with broad-brimmed, rice-straw hats²¹ and shaggy rice-straw

great kindness and charity "by the whole people" (EX II 199), especially by the relatives of Paul, the Japanese" (*ibid.* 254). Only after Xavier's audience with the lord of the land, Shimazu Takahisa, did he receive a house from him in which to live.

⁷ General descriptions of Japanese culture had already been given in Malacca by Alvares (Vol. III, pp. 276-281) and in Goa by Lancilotto (according to Anjirō's reports, Vol. III, pp. 479-492). Later authors: Valignano, *Historia*, of 1583 (126-163), *Ceremoniale*, of 1563, *Sumario*, of 1593 (4-67); Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* of 1585; Mesquita, **Breve Descrittione* (JapSin. 22, 93-98v); Avila Girón, of 1615, cc. 1-3 (*Archivo Ibero Americano* 37 [1934] 5-48 259-267; Rodrigues Tçuzu, *Historia*, of 1634 (I 167-507, II 5-140). Modern works: Brinckmann, of 1889; La Mazelière, of 1907; Challaye, of 1915.

⁸ On a Japanese house, see: Alvares (see Vol. III, pp. 275-276); Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 220-233; Valignano; *Historia* 128, Avila Girón 26-30; Rodrigues Tçuzu; Baltzer; Brinckmann 33-48; Challaye 8-12; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* 22-31; see also Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius* 6-90.

⁹ Alvares (see Vol. III, p. 275); Lancilotto (*ibid.*, p. 491); Valignano, *Historia* 128; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 220-221.

¹⁰ On their dress in general, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 100-137; Mesquita, **Breve Descrittione* 97 (Eglauer, *Japan* III 338-340); Avila Girón 22-26; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 260-279; see also Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius* 86-87. On the dress of a noble, see La Mazelière II 248-249; Hitomi 237; Brinckmann 117-149.

¹¹ On the outer dress (*kimono*) worn by men and women, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); Avila Girón 22 25-26; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 262-266; Brinckmann 118.

¹² Avila Girón 25; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 104-105.

¹³ For the folding fan (*ōgi*), see Brinckmann 129-131; Vilela, in 1565 (*Cartas* 1598, 193v).

¹⁴ On the umbrella (*amagasa*), see Brinckmann 132.

¹⁵ Brinckmann 146.

¹⁶ On the wearing of a long sword (*katana*) and short sword (*wakizashi*), see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); EX II 186 254; Mesquita, **Breve Descrittione* 98; Brinckmann 140-149.

¹⁷ On the baggy trousers (*hakama*), see *ibid.*, 121-122, and Rodrigues Tçuzu I 268-269.

¹⁸ On the Japanese coat of arms (*mon*), see EX II 271; Alvares (Vol. III p. 276); R. R. MacClatchie, "Japanese Heraldry," *TASJ* V (1887) 1-23; Brinckmann 120-121.

¹⁹ On the coat (*haori*), see Brinckmann 120.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 132-133; Challaye 19.

²¹ On the straw hat (*kasa*), see Challaye 13-14; Brinckmann 123.

mantles;²² bald-shaven bonzes in long white robes and black or grey cloaks;²³ women with long, jet-black hair tied together at the nape of the neck²⁴ like that of the Malays,²⁵ with painted eyebrows,²⁶ and teeth stained black,²⁷ their colorful kimonos held together by a sash a hand in width;²⁸ men with the forepart of their head bald and their hair trimmed and tied together at the back in a stiff, upright tuft;²⁹ gold-gilded statues of the gods³⁰ shimmering out of the darkness through the broad, open portals of Buddhist temples, at times seated, like Shaka and Amida, in celestial rest on lotus leaves, at times grimacing like fierce demons and threatening their beholders.³¹

The customs of the people were also strange.³² The left was the place of honor,³³ white was the color of mourning.³⁴ When they entered a house, they had to remove their shoes,³⁵ since the floors, except those of the kitchen and verandas, were covered with thick straw or rush mats,³⁶ all about six feet long

²² On the straw cloak (*mino*), see Challaye 19; Brinckmann 21 132; Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 108-109.

²³ On the dress of the bonzes, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 279); Lancilotto (Vol. III, p. 483).

²⁴ On women's hairdress in Xavier's time, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 278). Valignano, *Sumario*, of 1583, 20; Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 120-121 134-135; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 127; Mignon, old dress, pl. 27; later pls. 73 85; Hitomi 237. "The hair was allowed to fall," La Mazelière II 251 says of women and girls. "It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that they piled it up in chignons." See also Brinckmann 126-127. The hair was dyed black (Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 118-119; Valignano, *Sumario* 36-37; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 277).

²⁵ Alvares: Vol. III, p. 278. On the hairdress of the Malay women in Malacca, where Alvares wrote his account, Barbosa observed in 1516: "They wear their hair long and neatly arranged" (Ramusio I 342v).

²⁶ The eyebrows were pulled out and others painted on instead; cf. Lancilotto, Vol. III, p. 574; Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 120-121; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 277; Brinckmann 123.

²⁷ On the color of the women's teeth, see Valignano, *Sumario* 36-37; Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 122-123; Avila Girón 17; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 277; Brinckmann 128; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* 45-46; Cooper 38-39 48.

²⁸ According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, the girdle for women in Xavier's time was a hand in breadth (*de huma mão traversa*), or more among prominent women, "up to the time when we came [1577] to Japan, and still long after" (I 266-267). According to Avila Girón, it was eight spans long and as broad as the girth of a saddle: *ocho palmos de largo y tan ancho como una cincha gineta o pretal* (25). According to Hitomi the huge *obis*, which are still used today, did not appear until the seventeenth century (237).

²⁹ On the hairdress of men in Xavier's time, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 98-101; Cooper 37 44 48; picture in Papinot 643 666. Valignano wrote in 1583: "They usually pull their hair out with tweezers, so that they are completely bald except for a lock or a bun of hair which they leave standing on the back part of their head, and which they then bind together. But for some years now they have begun to give up this plucking" (*Sumario* 17-18). Instead, "from this time on they shaved the forepart of the head and tied the hair on the back of their head together with a paper cord like a pigtail," as Avila Girón wrote in 1615 (11). The pigtail (*mage*) was in Tokugawa's time, as Hitomi further explains, laid forward over the bald part of the head, an intricate procedure that has been described by Brinckmann (124-126). The pictures in Papinot show this new hairdress (466 682 816).

³⁰ Cf. Alvares (Vol. III, p. 279) and Lancilotto (*ibid.* p. 484); Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 162-165; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 274.

³¹ Cf. Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 164-165. The statues of Fudō and of the temple guardians (*Ni-ō*) were, for example, frightening to behold.

³² Cf. Frois, *Kulturgeschichte*; Valignano, *Sumario* 33-52.

³³ Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius* 88.

³⁴ Frois, *Kulturgeschichte* 108-109; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 266.

³⁵ Valignano, *Sumario* 36.

³⁶ On the interior of the house, see the plans in Beltzer 20 and Challaye 8; Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius* 88-90; and the bibliography given above in n. 8. On the

and three feet wide, and always scrupulously clean. At night, during heavy rains, and in winter, the house was closed on the outside by sliding wooden panels,³⁷ which were wholly or partially opened during the day in good weather. Behind these, within the house, there were other sliding panels made of translucent white paper glued to wooden frames.³⁸ The rooms of the house, which were separated from each other by sliding paper screens,³⁹ were bare. Furnishings such as tables, chairs, benches, cabinets, and beds were lacking. Instead of cabinets there were shelved niches⁴⁰ which could be closed by sliding paper doors. These held the objects of common use such as blankets, small tables, bowls, books, and clothes, which were stored in black coffers made of cowhide⁴¹ or in black-lacquered, wooden boxes.⁴² The people sat, ate, and slept on mats. In the evening a cotton-filled quilt⁴³ was spread upon the floor; another quilt and a wooden pillow⁴⁴ were placed over it, and their bed was made. On the far side of the house, away from the street, was a veranda without balustrades⁴⁵ but with a brightly polished wooden floor, at one end of which was the kitchen,⁴⁶ and at the other the toilet.⁴⁷

In the principal room of the house, the parlor, which was larger than the others, there was an alcove with a raised floor, the *tokonoma*,⁴⁸ the place of honor in the house. On its solid back wall was hung a picture scroll,⁴⁹ and before this was placed a vase of flowers or twigs⁵⁰ which had been arranged according to fixed rules, or a small statue of a god, or some ornamental object. Next to the *tokonoma* was another alcove closed off with a sliding door pasted with paper used for keeping various vessels and utensils. There was also a sliding paper panel which, when drawn back, provided a view upon the garden⁵¹ with its graceful little trees and dwarf pines, small pools, tiny islands, bushes, flowers, and paths lined with flags.

One part of the room could be separated from another by folding screens, known as *byōbu*,⁵² covered with paper and at times beautifully painted. Since there were no doors or locks in the house, it was impossible to obtain any other privacy. The Japanese, who were accustomed from childhood to live in drafts,

mats (*tatami*), see Valignano, *Sumario* 6-7; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 222-223; Avila Girón 27-28; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 216-220; Cooper 217-218 224; Brinckmann 36; Baltzer 18-20.

³⁷ *Amado*. Cf. Brinckmann 34.

³⁸ *Shōji*. See Brinckmann 34-38; Baltzer 14.

³⁹ *Fusuma*. See Brinckmann 37 41-42; Baltzer 14.

⁴⁰ *Chigai-dana*.

⁴¹ Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 224-227.

⁴² Brinckmann 96.

⁴³ *Futon*. See Cooper 224; Brinckmann 100.

⁴⁴ *Makura*. See Valignano, *Sumario* 33; Brinckmann 100; Cooper 224.

⁴⁵ *Engawa*. See Brinckmann 34-35; Baltzer 15 19 29.

⁴⁶ On the kitchen, see Brinckmann 109-110; Cooper 222.

⁴⁷ On the toilet, see Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 224-225; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 359-360; Cooper 221-222; Brinckmann 36 101; see also the plan in Challaye 8.

⁴⁸ On the *tokonoma*, see Rodrigues Tçuzu I 358-359; Baltzer 33-35; Brinckmann 38-41.

⁴⁹ In the time of the Ashikaga (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) picture scrolls (*ka-kemono*) began to be hung on the wall of the *tokonoma* (Hitomi 141-142).

⁵⁰ On the art of arranging flowers (*ikebana*), see J. Condor, "The Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangements," *TASJ* XVII.2 (1889) 1-97; Willi Prenzel, *Der Blumen Köstlichkeit* (Leipzig, 1928); see also Rodrigues Tçuzu I 358-359.

⁵¹ On the Japanese garden (*niwa*), see Alvares (Vol. III, pp. 275-276); Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 228-231; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 220 361-362; J. J. Rein, *Japan* II (Leipzig 1886) 310-326; Brinckmann 81-92; Cooper 222-223.

⁵² On the *byōbu*, see Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 222-223; Brinckmann 102-104.

usually left one section of the sliding panels in the walls open in order to give free course to the fresh breeze.⁵³ Since there were no windows in the house, if the outer wooden panels were closed, it became dark and paper lanterns had to be lit.⁵⁴ Protection from the cold was provided by a *hibachi*,⁵⁵ a metal brazier filled with glowing wooden coals, or through a fire pit built into the floor and concealed by a large cover resting upon a wooden frame.⁵⁶ Precious or seldom used objects, like the gifts which Xavier had brought for the king of Japan, were kept in a fireproof structure apart from the house.⁵⁷ And no house was lacking a household shrine with the picture of a god, before which incense-sticks were burned and offerings placed.⁵⁸

Guests to a home were welcomed with numerous bows and entertained with little bowls of bitter tea,⁵⁹ the Japanese national drink, and with rice cakes.⁶⁰ Meals were served three times a day. Before each one was set a low, small, red-lacquered table, on which the food was placed in a series of red- or black-lacquered dishes and bowls: soup, rice (the principal food of the Japanese), vegetables, fruit, seaweed, and raw, dried, smoked, or broiled fish,⁶¹ and along with these a bowl of sake, or rice wine.⁶² Food was carried to the mouth with two chopsticks,⁶³ an art which could only be learned with repeated practice. The meals themselves were taken while squatting on one's out-turned heels, a posture that was extremely painful for foreigners, and to which they could only become more or less accustomed after months of effort.⁶⁴

⁵³ Cf. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* 25-26; Buschan 44.

⁵⁴ On the paper lanterns (*andon*), see Brinckmann 100-101.

⁵⁵ On the *hibachi*, see Rodrigues Tçuzu I 361; Brinckmann 107-109.

⁵⁶ On the fire pit (*kotatsu*), see Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 228-231; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 220 361-362; Brinckmann 109.

⁵⁷ *Kura*; cf. Brinckmann 47-48.

⁵⁸ On the domestic shrines, *kami-dana* among the Shintoists, *butsu-dan* among the Buddhists, see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 277); Avila Girón 264 (*que todos los gentiles tienen con sus Hotoke muy endiademados y cercados de rayos*); Brinckmann 114.

⁵⁹ "Acostumbran universalmente en todo Japón usar de una bevida...che llaman chaa" (Valignano, *Historia* 147); cf. Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276). Rodrigues Tçuzu describes in very great detail the tea ceremony and the other ceremonies connected with it in his *Historia* I 437-507, published in a Spanish translation with a detailed and valuable commentary by Alvarez Taladriz in *Juan Rodrigues Tsuzu, S.J., Arte del Cha* (Tōkyō, 1954); see also Anna Berliner, *Der Teekult in Japan* (Leipzig, 1930).

⁶⁰ Called *mochi*; cf. Valignano, *Ceremoniale* 250-253.

⁶¹ On the mealtimes, see Alvares (Vol. III, pp. 274-276); Lancilotto (Vol. III, p. 490); Valignano, *Sumario* 41-43; Frois *Kulturgegensätze* 170-183; Avila Girón 43-45; Cooper 189-202. On the eating of raw fish and seaweed, see Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 172-175 180-181; Valignano, *Sumario* 38-85. Before his voyage to Japan Vilela wrote from Cochin on April 24, 1554, about the food in Japan: "From the information which we have, the land of Japan is poor and colder than Portugal; it has many mountain ranges and much snow. The people are cultured and intelligent. Their food consists of beet leaves strewn with a little barley meal. There is lacking in this land olive oil, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, sugar, honey, and vinegar. It is also said that there is neither saffron, nor cinnamon, nor pepper, nor salt; and they season with barley bran. There is nothing which can be given to the sick as medicine" (*Cartas*, 1598, 30).

⁶² On the wine from rice (*sake*), see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 174-175; Valignano, *Sumario* 42; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 400-403.

⁶³ On the chopsticks (*hashi*), see Alvares (Vol. III, p. 276); Valignano, *Sumario* 41-42; Avila Girón 43-44; Rodrigues Tçuzu I 228.

⁶⁴ Valignano made the following comment on the Japanese manner of sitting: "Y no menos se padece en su manera de asiento, porque están las rodillas en el suelo, asentados sobre sus pies, cosa que para ellos es descanso y para los otros grandissimo cansacio y pena, hasta que poco a poco se van acostumbrando con el tiempo" (*Sumario* 43, cf. 33).

Anjirō's return home became the chief topic of conversation in Kagoshima. From morning till late at night his home was filled with curious visitors. They came to see the white bonzes of "the Southern Barbarians," as the Portuguese merchants who had come to Satsuma during the past six years were called.⁶⁵ But they also wished to see their black Malabar servants⁶⁶ from distant Tenjiku, the marvelous land of India, which no Japanese had previously visited, and to hear Anjirō's account of this far distant region. They had forgotten his earlier life. All were proud of him, and no one was offended by his conversion to the religion of the foreigners.⁶⁷ Even in Japan one could pass from one Buddhist sect to another without difficulty, and different members of the same family belonged at times to different sects.⁶⁸ Paul therefore took advantage of the opportunities afforded by these visits to speak of the new doctrine with warmth and zeal, while Xavier, Torres, and Fernández sat near him like mute statues, unable to take any direct part in the discussions.⁶⁹

2. SHIMAZU TAKAHISA, THE DUKE OF SATSUMA (AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1549)⁷⁰

The prince of the land, the duke (*daimyō*) Shimazu Takahisa, was also interested in Anjirō's return and the arrival of the foreigners. When they reached Japan, he was not living at the Shimazu Palace in his capital of Kagoshima. Civil war had been raging in Satsuma for a long time. The southwestern province of the large island of Kyūshū, where there were the two main branches of the Shimazu, the northern part of the province under Sanehisa, the lord of Izumi, and the southern part under Katsuhisa, the lord of Kagoshima, were struggling for the primacy with varied fortunes.

In 1527 the childless Katsuhisa had adopted Takahisa, the fourteen-year-old son of Isaku Tadayoshi, and had then resigned his ruling powers. He and his adopted son had then gone to Kagoshima to take over the rule there. But still in this same year Sanehisa had captured Kagoshima and along with it Isaku, the ancestral palace of Tadayoshi, and had brought almost the whole of Satsuma under his control. In a night attack, Tadayoshi had regained his ancestral home and from there had slowly regained his lost territories. In 1536 he had retaken Ijūin, and in 1539 Ichiku, his castle near the northwestern frontier. This caused Sanehisa to conclude a peace,⁷¹ and in 1542 the family council of the Shimazu finally recognized Takahisa as its head.⁷²

⁶⁵ Cf. Schurhammer, "O descobrimento de Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543" (GS II 485-581, especially 526-550; and EX II 199).

⁶⁶ Cf. Alvares (Vol. III, p. 274); Cooper 71.

⁶⁷ EX II 199-200.

⁶⁸ Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 166-167.

⁶⁹ EX II 201.

⁷⁰ The Shimazu are discussed at length in Ōta Akira, *Seishi Kakei Daijiten* (Dictionary of Families and Genealogies) II (Tōkyō, 1934-1966). In April, 1959, Father H. Cieslik, S.J., gathered for us from Japanese sources the principal data on Shimazu Takahisa up to the time of Xavier's arrival. We have also used Kani-ichi Asakawa, *The Documents of Iriki* (Tōkyō, 1955), which also contains the original Japanese texts (genealogy 419-420); Paul Aoyama, S.V.D., *Die Missionstätigkeit des heiligen Franz Xaver aus japanischer Sicht* (Steyl, 1967); Ijichi Moshichi, *Shimazu Takahisa-kō* (The Prince Shimazu Takahisa) (Kagoshima, 1920); Henri Bernard, S.J., etc., "Infiltrations occidentales au Japon avant la réouverture du dix-neuvième siècle" (*Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* XI, Tōkyō, 1939); and the historical atlas *Sappan Enkaku Chizu* (Kagoshima, 1935) with maps 3 4 (Satsuma in 1543 and 1550).

⁷¹ *Cieslik; Asakawa 301-302 310-323 390-391; Murdoch 99-100. *Frois wrote from Ku-

Portuguese merchants had come to Japan for the first time in 1543, landing at the island of Tanegashima south of Satsuma. They had taught the people there the use of firearms,⁷³ and this had assured Takahisa's tactical superiority over his adversaries.⁷⁴ Every year since then Portuguese ships had come to his harbor with their precious wares.⁷⁵ Since 1545 the prince had been living with his adoptive father in the centrally located Ijūin, eleven miles from Kagoshima. From there, partly through diplomacy, and partly through military expeditions, he had striven to make the still remaining feudal lords recognize his dominance.⁷⁶

Despite all the confusion that had been caused by the wars of the preceding fifty years, the study of Chinese literature was in bloom in Satsuma, especially among the bonzes and *samurais*, but above all at the court of the ruling prince. The favorite reading of Tokiwa, Takahisa's grandmother, was the *Rongo*, which contains the instruction of Confucius to his disciples.⁷⁷ His father, Tadayoshi, was considerably more than a brave warrior who read the Chinese treatise of Shu Shi on military tactics. In 1478 the learned bonze Keian Genjū had come to Kagoshima; and for thirty years, till the time of his death in 1509, he had taught the prince and the nobles there the Neo-Confucianism of Shu Shi, which had been brought from China—a materialism without God, soul, or belief in an afterlife. He had also composed a new commentary on Shu Shi's teaching, which was reproduced through block printing.⁷⁸ According to it, man was only a wave on the sea which rose and fell without leaving a trace behind.⁷⁹

Tadayoshi had had as teachers two of Keian's disciples, the bonzes Shunden and Shunju; and he had himself sought to bring the philosophy of Shu Shi into

chinotsu on October 30, 1582, that the first kingdom in Japan where Xavier landed thirty-five years earlier was Satsuma, and that the first harbor he entered was Kagoshima, where the king lived with his court, and which was also the capital of his kingdom. At that time the king [Takahisa] had nothing more than his kingdom of Satsuma; but now he [that is, his successor Yoshihisa] had four kingdoms, and he was more powerful than the king of Bungo (*JapSin.* 4, 155v-156). In 1556, after years of battle, Takahisa had brought the neighboring province of Ōsumi to admit his overlordship. He had then begun his battle for Hyūga. In 1578, through his victory on the Mimitsugawa River, this province also was completely subjected to his son Yoshihisa. The following year the victor had also occupied south and central Higo (Murdoch 99-112; cf. the map for 1586 in *Sappan Enkaku Chizu*, n. 7). When Xavier wrote in 1552 that the duke [Takahisa] was the lord of many lands, he meant the territories subject to him in Satsuma (EX II 259). In 1550, according to the atlas just mentioned, map 4, he possessed here in the southeast the regions of Yamagawa, Ibusuki, and Ei, in the southwest Kaseda, in the center Kawanabe, Taniyama, Isaku, Nagayoshi, Kagoshima, Sakurajima, Ijūin, Kōriyama, Yoshida, Ichiku, and Kushikino.

⁷³ Aoyama 54.

⁷⁴ GS II 535-538 548-549.

⁷⁵ In 1549 he was already using Portuguese firearms in war (Ijichi 93; Aoyama 55).

⁷⁶ *Cieslik. According to Anjirō's letter of November 20, 1548, there were at least three Portuguese ships in Satsuma in 1546 (DI I 336).

⁷⁷ *Cieslik.

⁷⁸ Bernard, *Infiltrations* 11. The book, Chinese *Lun Yü*, was allegedly brought to Japan by the Korean bonze Ajiki in 248 A.D. (Papinot 518). An English translation was published by James Legge in his *Chinese Classics* in 1861; a Latin translation by Angelo Zottoli, S.J., in 1880; an Italian by Luigi Magnani, *Il Libro delle Sentenze di Confucio* (Parma, 1927).

⁷⁹ *Shushi shin-chu* (Aoyama 53; Bernard, *Infiltrations* 10-11).

⁸⁰ Bernard, *Infiltrations* 11, Aoyama 53. On Shu Shi (Chinese: *Chu Hsi*), 1130-1200 A.D., and his educational system, see Stanislas Le Gall, S.J., *Le philosophe Tchou Hi, sa doctrine, son influence* (Variétés Sinologiques 6), Chang-Hai, 1894; Léon Wieger, S.J., *Histoire des croyances* (T'ou-sè-wè, 1917) 632-637; H. Bernard, S.J., *Sagesse Chinoise et Philosophie Chrétienne* (Tientsin, 1935) 77-81; M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion* (Tōkyō, 1964) 223-224 260-262.

harmony with the teachings of Buddhism and Shintoism. He was a passionate reader; even on his travels he could not separate himself from his books; and a picture of Confucius had the place of honor in his *toko-no-ma*.⁸⁰ In 1539 he wrote for his son Takahisa ten rules for a good government. In these he emphasized the need of learning, diligence, sense of community, cooperativeness, and above all obedience to local authorities. But he also suppressed freedom of movement and made entrance into a monastery dependent upon the permission of the government.⁸¹ In 1543 he composed a didactic poem which immediately became a canon of instruction and had to be memorized by those who were in school. Each of its verses began with a corresponding sign from the *iroha*, the Japanese syllabary (*kana*) arranged in its popular, non-technical, order, and gave instructions on the meaning of existence, the advantages of a moral life, the art of ruling, and the duties of the lords of the land and of their subjects.⁸²

Like his father, Takahisa also sought to unite the teachings of Confucius, as expounded by Shu Shi, with the duties of a pious Buddhist and Shintoist.⁸³ In 1539, when he was sixteen years old, he had been sent by his father to Bōnotsu, where the following year, under the direction of the learned superior of the Shingon monastery of Ichijōin, he had undertaken the study of the sacred books.⁸⁴ In 1546, as the ruling prince, he had obtained from the emperor Go-Nara-Tennō for the monastery in Bōnotsu and the Zen monastery of Fukushō-ji in Kagoshima the honorary title of Chokugan-ji (monastery, in which prayers are offered in the emperor's name for the welfare of the state).⁸⁵ Three times a day he read and meditated upon a Buddhist work, preferably "the last book of Shaka," the *Hokke-kyō*,⁸⁶ and upon the *Hannya Shinkyō*,⁸⁷ which contained the quintessence of the penultimate work of the founder of Buddhism.⁸⁸ But he did not on this account forget his call to arms. Like his father, who had become a bonze in 1527, he

⁸⁰ Bernard, *Infiltrations* 11; Aoyama 53.

⁸¹ Edited in Ijichi 75-85; cf. Aoyama 54.

⁸² A French translation is given in J. M. Martin, "Le code de morale d'un seigneur japonais du XVI^e siècle," *Psyché* 7 (1952) 519-525. The mayor Katsume, whom we visited in 1957, still had been obliged to learn by heart the didactic poem when he was in school.

⁸³ Takahisa was educated in a Shingon monastery, and he adhered to this sect throughout his life. He also had a Shingon bonze as a councillor. He had a temple of this sect as a family sanctuary in Ijūin. In addition to various *sūtras*, it had a statue of Fudō and Amida. He moved it to a mountain in 1556 and made it the center of the Shingon sect in his kingdom. But in 1540 he had also rebuilt the Zen monastery of Fukushō-ji with the family graves of the Shimazu after these had been badly damaged in the civil war. In 1556 he founded a second Zen monastery, Nanrin-ji, in Kagoshima. In 1551 he had the old Shintō shrine Kagoshima-Jingū, which had been erected in 708 in honor of the imperial ancestral goddess, and which had been burned down in the civil war of 1527, rebuilt through the Shingon bonze Nisshū. On the advice of this latter and of a Shintō priest, he erected a temple to honor Kannon, the goddess of mercy in 1560 (Ijichi 97-114; Aoyama 2 and 55).

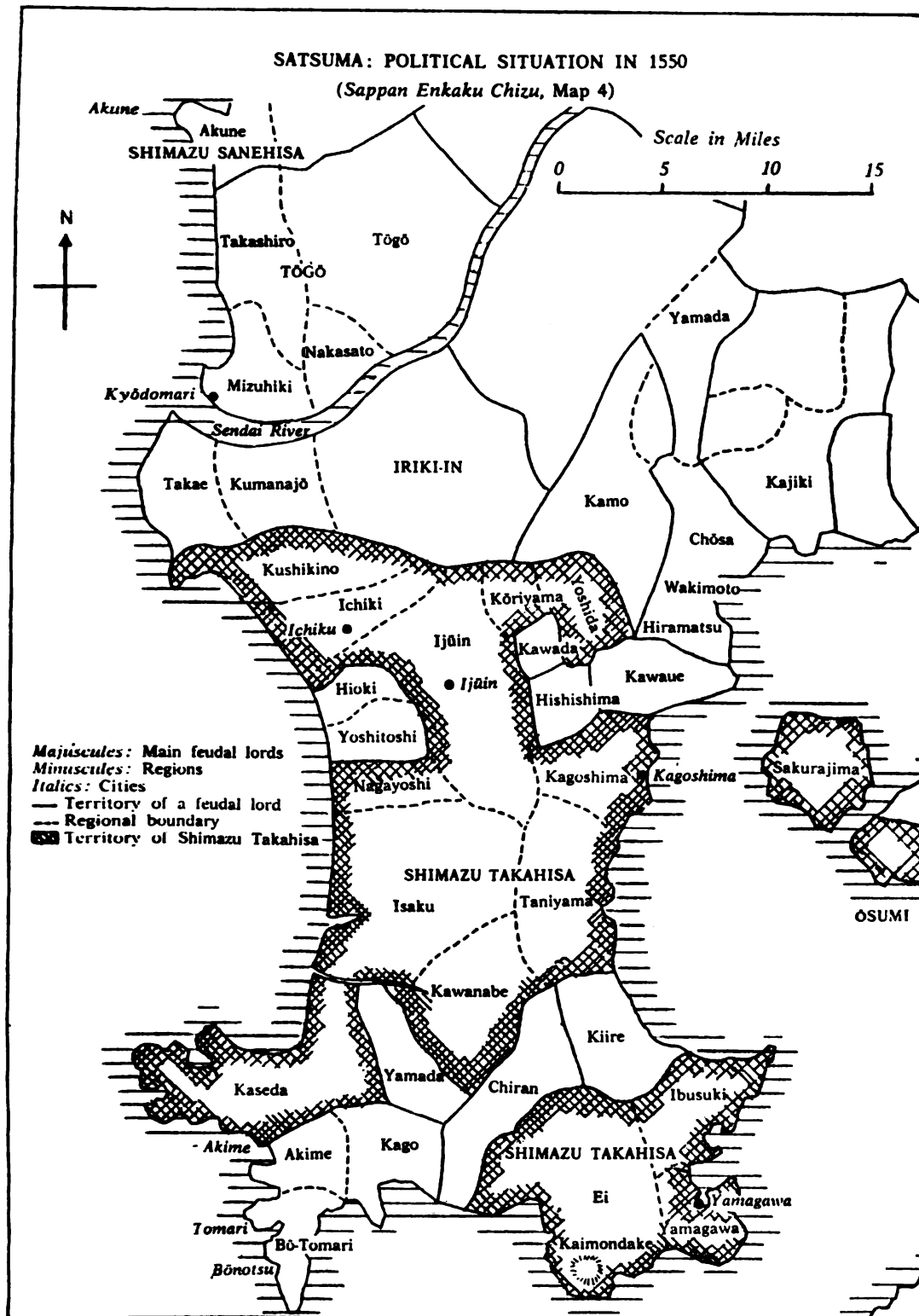
⁸⁴ Aoyama 54.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 55; Ijichi 110; Shigeno 72.

⁸⁶ Sanscrit title: *Saddharma-pundarika*.

⁸⁷ Sanscrit title: *Prajña Paramita Hridaya Sūtra*, the principal writing of the Zen sect. It discussed the search for the Void, the Nothing, the Freedom from Thoughts, the Absolute Repose, the Denial of Everything Positive, in order to attain by this means the central actuality of life since this could not be attained by human reason. On this *sūtra*, see E. Conze in JRAS, London, 1948, pp. 33-51, with a list of editions, translations and commentaries. An English translation is given by M. Müller in *Sacred Books of the East* 49 (1894), from the Sanscrit text; cf. D. T. Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (Kyōtō, 1935) 27-32.

⁸⁸ Bernard, *Infiltrations* 12.



remained actively engaged in ruling his country and in fighting for dominance in Satsuma.⁸⁹

Soon after his return to Japan, Anjirō went to Ijūin, which lay four hours northwest of Kagoshima.⁹⁰ There he was warmly received by Shimazu Takahisa in his castle of Ichijūjō.⁹¹ The prince was delighted with his visit and asked him many questions about the customs and the military prowess of the Portuguese. Anjirō answered all of his questions, and the duke was highly pleased with the information that he thus received. When Anjirō showed him a very touching altarpiece of Mary with the Christ Child⁹² which Xavier had brought with him, Takahisa was greatly taken with it. He knelt down and revered it with much respect and ordered all those present to do the same.⁹³ He then showed the painting to his mother, who was astonished by its beauty and expressed her delight with it. A few days later she sent a nobleman to Kagoshima with a request that a copy of the picture should be made if this were possible. Since there were no materials for making such a replica in the city, her wish could

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 11-12; *Cieslik.

⁹⁰ Ijichi 101. Our only source on this visit is Xavier (EX II 200-201). Xavier estimated the distance as five leagues (*ibid.* 200), Frois at five or six (5).

⁹¹ Murano 29. Murdoch erroneously transfers the residence to Kokubu in northeastern Kagoshima (100). The palace on this site was not built until the time of Shimazu Yoshihisa, who ruled from 1571 to 1611, as I was told by local historians in Kagoshima in 1957.

⁹² It was probably one of the altarpieces painted on wood, like those which Flemish masters painted for the Portuguese. On this see Almeida, *Historia de Portugal* III (1925) 722-725 737-738. The best painter in Lisbon under King Manuel was the Fleming Francisco Henriques, who had seven or eight assistants come from Flanders, all of whom died with him of the plague of 1518-1519, as the petition of the painter Garcia Fernandes of 1540 declares (V. Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* [Lisboa, 1902] 524; HCBP I 19-20. In 1864 Abbé Robin, pastor of Digna in the diocese of Saint Claude, undertook to carry out Xavier's plan of building a church to Mary in Miyako, the former capital of Japan. Since this was not as yet possible at the time, he wished that a bronze statue of from twenty to twenty-five pounds "should be made according to the facsimile of the painting which Xavier brought to Japan," so that a native Christian might bury it near the city on a hill suitable for the future sanctuary and to obtain possession of the site until better times came for the church of Japan. The pope approved of the plan and the pastor had six fine bronze statues made in Rome ("reproductions du tableau apporté par saint François Xavier des Indes au Japon"). Pius IX blessed them in the Gesù in Rome on October 31, 1865, under the name of "Notre-Dame de Meaco." One of these was sent to Msgr. Cousin, bishop of Nagasaki, who gave it to the first church built in Miyako in 1890. It was 1.31 feet high and represented the Blessed Virgin with the Christ Child on her knees and bore the inscription: "SFX vovit 1550, Pius P. IX benedixit 1865" (A. Drive, *Marie et la Compagnie de Jésus* [Paris, 1913] 199-200). In *Katholische Missionen* 41 [1912] 76, there is a photograph of this statue with the inscription: "Replica of a Marian statue which St. Francis Xavier brought with him to India." It of course has nothing to do with the painting which the saint brought with him to Japan, since we do not know what it looked like, though Brou thoughtlessly copies Drive, without naming him, when he states that the picture represented Jesus on Mary's knees (II 136).

⁹³ Takahisa probably took the painting for a representation of Kannon, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, who is often represented as holding a child in her arms and is difficult to distinguish from a Christian representation of the Mother of God. Henry Venn, a Protestant, was offended by this "act of Mariolatry" (*The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier* [London, 1862] 182), as was his translator, W. Hoffmann, when he wrote: "Unfortunately the first step in the conversion of Japan was marred by a worship of Mary" (*Franz Xavier, ein weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild* [Wiesbaden, 1869] 215). There can of course be no question of a "worship" of Mary by the prince or the missionaries. The Protestant missionary in Japan, H. Haas, who was better acquainted with the ceremonies of the Japanese court, took no offense at this (I 86).

not be granted. But another request which she had made, for a written account of the teachings of Christianity, could be fulfilled. Anjirō spent several days composing a treatise in Japanese on the objects of Christian faith, and when it was completed he sent it to her.⁹⁴

One month later Xavier went with Anjirō as his interpreter to visit the duke in Ijūin. The road passed over the Nishida Bridge in the western part of Kagoshima and then, for some twenty minutes, across the plain to the foot of a mountainous range where, near an old wayside shrine, the "Mountain Road" began.⁹⁵ This led to the right for an hour steeply up from the deeply cut bed of a stream to a plateau with many small hills through which the road wound its way. It then passed the village of Yoko-i, and in two hours arrived within sight of the small city of Ijūin.⁹⁶ This lay on the Kaminogawa River at the foot of Jōyama, the mountain⁹⁷ on which the castle of the prince was located on a plateau surrounded by a wall and ditch. From Ijūin the road passed upwards between bamboos and ferns, at first towards the left, along a rock wall. To the rear, in the east, could be seen the wooded slope and the broad plain with its dark blue mountains on the distant horizon until suddenly, over the city and hills there rose majestically, like a mighty, threatening giant, the smoking volcano of Sakurajima, which immediately dominated the entire scene. The road continued upward past woods and fields and over many terraces until the top of the mountain was reached a half an hour later. From here there was a splendid panorama of hills and woods and fields surrounded by lofty mountains. In the east, on the far side of the bay opposite Kagoshima, were the pale blue heights of the neighboring province of Ōsumi, towered over by the volcanic peak of Sakurajima.

Here was the fortress, whose various components had already been described by Alvares: an outer, surrounding wall of earth thirteen feet high and twenty-six feet wide, overgrown on the inner and outer sides with bamboo, and with a stone wall erected without mortar, and a single, narrow, easily defended entrance. Within the ring of the wall was a series of houses, each with a main entrance located on an artificially constructed hill from forty-six to fifty-three feet high and, at the top of the mountain, higher than the other buildings, the palace of the prince.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ The mother of the prince, the wife of his father Tadayoshi, was the daughter of Shimazu Satsuma-no-kami Narihisa from a collateral branch of the Shimazu, the grandfather of Sanehisa (Ijichi in his chronology of the life of Takahisa, p. 1). Xavier does not mention Takahisa's wife. She was the daughter of Iriki-in Shigetoshi and died in Ijūin on September 2, 1544, after giving birth to four sons of her husband: Yoshihisa in 1533, Yoshihiro in 1535, Toshihiro, and Iehisa. After her death she received the Buddhist posthumous name of Sessō-myōan-daishi (Asakawa 391; Ijichi 5).

⁹⁵ Named *Mikkan-zaka*. This was the old road which the princes of Satsuma always took on their court trips to Edo. We are indebted to Father Cieslik for the description of the route, which he took in 1957.

⁹⁶ The city had 16,500 inhabitants in 1965. The Japanese map of middle Satsuma 1:200,000 shows a group of houses, *Kojō* (Old Castle) 1.86 miles south of Ijūin. In 1267 Shimazu Nagahisa was named governor of Ijūin. His brother Tadatsume built a castle in Furujo. His grandson Hisakane transferred it to Ijūin. In 1288 it was reported that a Shintō shrine had been erected in this castle of Ichiuji-jō (cf. *Ijūin Kyōdo-shi* [Local History of Ijūin], edited by the municipality of Ijūin, 1958, P. I, p. 30).

⁹⁷ In 1957 we visited the mountain of the castle with Father Cieslik and a teacher from Ijūin as our guide.

⁹⁸ Jorge Alvares described the buildings of the kings of Japan in general and then gave a detailed account of his visit in "the fortress of the king" from the harbor (of Yamagawa), where he had been. Ijūin is exactly two leagues from the west coast of Satsuma, but more than three from its east coast. Alvares perhaps sailed to the west

It was September 29, the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, when Xavier and Anjirō arrived at the fortress of Ijūin. Xavier was accustomed to revere this saint every day as the prince and defender of the whole Church Militant and as the special patron of the great empire of Japan, along with the protecting angels of its people and all the saints so that they might obtain their conversion from God.⁹⁹ He and his companion were admitted to an audience with Shimazu Takahisa, the ruler of the province. In keeping with the traditions of the land, Xavier presented him with a few small gifts;¹⁰⁰ and he was himself, as a foreigner,¹⁰¹ received by the duke with every sign of honor.¹⁰² Since his land was poor and mountainous, Takahisa was interested in securing for himself the profitable trade with the Portuguese.¹⁰³

The prince was thirty-five years old. His full face was adorned with a short moustache and goatee, and on his cloak he had his coat of arms: a white wheel with a cross.¹⁰⁴ Among the books which Xavier had brought with him from India were a very rich and ornately illuminated Bible and a beautifully decorated *Glossa ordinaria*.¹⁰⁵ When he showed his treasures to the duke and told him that the whole of their holy law was contained in them, Takahisa replied that they must carefully preserve the books which contained the law of the Christians; for if the law of Jesus Christ was good and true, the devil must be greatly displeased by it.¹⁰⁶ He was very glad to grant the permission that had been requested for the preaching of the new doctrine and to provide for the support of the missionaries and their companions. When Francis asked him to furnish him with an opportunity of going to the king of Japan in Miyako, the prince declared that he was also ready to take care of this, but the winds for the voyage to the north would not be blowing until April.¹⁰⁷ A few days after the audience Takahisa published an edict in which he confirmed his permission for the preaching of the new doctrine and allowed all of his subjects who wished to do so to become Christians.¹⁰⁸

To Xavier and his companions he further lent a little house in Kagoshima to live in, where they all took up their residence: Xavier, Torres, Fernández, Do-

coast and then on horse or by foot to Ijūin. In 1949 a stone monument was erected on the peak of the mountain, which was densely covered with a growth of bamboo. Over it was placed an inscription in Japanese and English which states: "Here is the place where Prince Takahisa Shimazu and the missionary Zabiell [Xavier] met on September 29, 1549, in the eighteenth year of Temmon. 1. 5. Showa 24 [1949]."

⁹⁹ EX II 205.

¹⁰⁰ Torres 44 92.

¹⁰¹ Frois 5.

¹⁰² EX II 210.

¹⁰³ Frois 18.

¹⁰⁴ Father Cieslik has taken photographs for us of two portraits of Takahisa. In one he is dressed as a knight with a keen-edged sword, bow and arrow, quiver, *mon* (coat of arms), and a high tall cap (painting in the possession of the Matsubara shrine in Kagoshima). In the other he is represented dressed as a bonze and seated on a chair after his retirement (a *kakemono* in the possession of the Shōko-shūsei-kan Museum).

¹⁰⁵ Frois 14.

¹⁰⁶ EX II 210-211. Xavier showed both books to the prince of Yamaguchi. From Takahisa's reply we conclude that he also showed them to him. This latter perhaps thought of using these foreign sacred books as a practical means for banishing the evil spirits which caused epidemics, accidents, and other hardships (Aoyama 67), as the sacred writings of the Shingon sect were employed.

¹⁰⁷ EX II 207 228. On November 5, 1549, Xavier wrote that the time for sailing to Miyako would come after five months; cf. Torres (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 44 54 92; Frois 5).

¹⁰⁸ EX II 211.

mingos Dias, the two servants, the Chinese Manuel, and the Malabar Amador, and probably Anjirō's companions, Antonio and Joane, as well.¹⁰⁹

3. LAYMEN AND BONZES (AUGUST—OCTOBER, 1549)

Anjirō gave honor to his name of Paul of the Holy Faith. He preached day and night with fiery zeal. His mother, wife, and daughter, and many of his relatives and friends, both men and women, became Christians; and since a large part of them could read and write, they quickly learned the prayers. The new teaching with regard to the Creator of all things, about whom they had never heard before, attracted many listeners, who approved of Paul's explanations, since they were open to rational arguments and had hitherto adhered to their pagan sects only through ignorance. Their passage over to the new teaching, moreover, caused no one offense.¹

The first one to become a Christian² was a poor³ young man of the warrior

¹⁰⁹ Frois 6; cf. GS IV 304-305. The small house probably lay, like that of Anjirō, in the Samurai Quarter between the landing place on the Inari River and the Shimazu Palace or the Fukushō-ji monastery, as we were informed in Kagoshima in 1957.

¹ EX II 201 228-230 254 and Paul's letter of November 5, 1549 (SIE 89).

² Bernardo was the first Japanese to visit Europe, where the excellent qualities of his character, his humility, prudence and piety, his zeal for the faith, his sense of justice, and his exemplary life were everywhere such an object of admiration that the testimonies of twenty-one eyewitnesses were taken in his regard. Xavier knew him in Japan (EX II 355-358; Teixeira 877-878); Pérez in Malacca (*Informação* 72), Barzaeus (DI II 441), Frois (*Geschichte* 17-18), and Teixeira in Goa (877-878); Nadal (*Ep. Nadal* II 40-41; III 33; IV 785), Mirón (EX II 353), Quadros (DI II 337), Cipriano Soares (*Litterae Quadrimestres* II 496-497) in Lisbon; NN (*ibid.* 679), Monclaro (*ibid.* V 247), Gracida (*ibid.* 953-954) in Coimbra; NN (*ibid.* III 77) in Salamanca, Luis de Mendoza (*Ep. Mixtae* IV 840) in Segovia; Ignatius (MI *Epp.* VIII 263), Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 4, 7 and 17 in FN IV 654-657 722-723), Gonçalves da Camara (FN I 544-545 548), Polanco (*Chron.* II 777; III 398 409; IV 188 378 551), B. Palmio (FN III 278-279), Geeraerts (*Polanci Complementa* II 578) in Rome. Father D'Elia, S.J., gives a good survey of his life in "Bernardo il primo giapponese venuto a Roma (1555)," *Civiltà Cattolica* 102.3 (1951) 277-287 527-535. He accurately cites his sources, the MHSI, but only the numbers of the volumes used at the time without their titles, but the numbers were later changed. His numbers correspond to the following volumes: 6-10 (MI *Epp.* 6-10), 17 (MI *Scripta* 4), 19-20 (MX 1-2), 39-40 42 (*Ep. Nadal* 1-2 4), 44 (*Polanco Compl.* II), 50-51 (*Ep. Mixtae* 4-5), 53-57 (*Polanco, Chron.* 2-6), 60-63 (*Litt. Quadr.* 2-3 5), 66 (FN I), 67-68 (EX 1-2), 70 72 (DI 1-2). Some further data are to be found in Maffei, *Hist. Ind.*, c. 15; Valignano (**Libro primero* 174-175); *Rodrigues Tçuzu (46v); Franco, *Ano Santo* (709).—*His life*: Bernardo accompanied Xavier to Miyako and Goa, sent by him, he sailed to Lisbon in 1553, where the visitor Nadal received him into the Society and sent him to Coimbra to study. He traveled from there in 1554 by way of Salamanca, Segovia, Barcelona, and Naples to Rome, where he arrived at the beginning of 1555 and remained until October 18. He then returned by land through Florence and Pisa to Genoa, by sea to Alicante, and again by land through Murcia to Lisbon and Coimbra, where he continued his studies and died a saintly death in February, 1557. According to Ribadeneyra, who was his confessor in Rome and on familiar terms with him, Bernardo was the first man (*hombre*) to be baptized in Japan (FN IV 654-655). According to Nadal, he was the second to be converted by Xavier in Japan (*Ep. Nadal* II 40). According to Camara, he was one of the first whom Xavier converted on those islands (FN I 545). A sheet of paper inscribed by Bernardo with some lines in Japanese and an Italian translation, which he gave in Rome in 1555 to the later bishop of Würzburg, Friedrich von Wirsberg, and which Nadal saw in the bishop's possession still in 1568, is no longer to be found in the episcopal archives, which on March 16, 1945, lost sixty percent of its contents, as the present archivist, Dr. A. Wendehorst, wrote to us on January 17, 1968 (on this see *Ep. Nadal* III 333; IV 785).

³ EX II 358.

caste, a *samurai*⁴ who had been born in Kagoshima⁵ and had received the name of Bernardo in baptism. He became greatly attracted by Father Master Francis and never wished to be separated from him.⁶ Bernardo did not have an attractive exterior;⁷ but he was humble, prudent, pious, devoted to prayer and eager for knowledge; and he consequently made great progress in the Christian faith.⁸

In addition to Bernardo there was the owner of the house which the prince had designated as the residence for Xavier and his companions.⁹ She was baptized with the name of Maria and was from then on a zealous Christian. Her four or five brothers and sisters living in the city did not, however, follow her example; instead, they remained members of the Amida sect and also continued to pray to their *kamis* and *hotokes*.¹⁰ Another neophyte received the name of Marcos as a remembrance of the evangelist Mark, the companion of St. Peter.¹¹

⁴ Barzaeus calls him "homem de muita marca he fidalgo, de quem se spera muito fruito nas provincias de Japão" (DI II 441).

⁵ Ribadeneyra (FN IV 655).

⁶ Camara says of him that after his conversion he was Xavier's most faithful companion in all his efforts and travels (FN I 545); and Bernardo told Ribadeneyra that he had slept for seven months in the same room with Xavier (FN IV 656-657). This was perhaps already the case in Kagoshima.

⁷ Frois 18.

⁸ This was the evidence given by Frois and all the eyewitnesses who had known him close at hand.

⁹ *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes: "Entre os Christãos que em Satçuma fez o B. P. Francisco, foi o dono da casa, em que se agasalhou elle e seus companheiros, em paga da hospedagem, que era huma velha dona [she was old when the priests visited her in 1579 and 1583] honrrada, muito boa Christam" (38v). In Cros this becomes: "Entre les chrétiens que le Bienheureux Père fit à Cangoxima il faut compter le maître de la maison où lui et ses compagnons furent logés. La dernière descendante des hôtes vivait, à la fin du siècle dernier. C'était une excellente chrétienne" (Vie II 52).

¹⁰ On this see Father Frois' letter of November 29, 1584, from Katsusa, in which he gives an account of the visit of the Japanese Brother Damião "two months before" to Maria (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9, 313v-314). The letter contradicts the date of her death in *Rodrigues Tçuzu, who writes that the vice-provincial Gaspar Coelho had her brought to Nagasaki, where she was supported by the Society and died in September, 1583, because of her virtue and the fidelity with which, despite all the persecutions of the pagans, she persevered in the faith which she had learned from Father Francis and to thank her for the hospitality which she had shown him (38v). The year 1583 is clear in the Madrid copy. Is it a scribal error for 1585? In the Lisbon copy there is only 15; the place for the two following numbers is left blank. Almeida had twice before this visited the only Christian woman from Xavier's time who still remained alive in Kagoshima (ARSI: *Jap Sin.* 46, 38v; 45, 61). On her see Schurhammer, "Kagoshima" GS IV 304-305, where we still erroneously followed Cros.

¹¹ In 1552 Xavier asked Joane to greet Marcos when he returned to Kagoshima (EX II 482). Nothing more is known about him. In 1598 it was said of one of the witnesses in Nagasaki, Bartolomeu Yoshidika (*sic*), one of the most eminent citizens of the city, who was sixty-four at the time, that he had been baptized forty-nine years earlier by a priest of the Society of Jesus (ARSI: *JapSin.* 31, 166v). This would take his baptism back to 1549 and to Kagoshima, but the dates given in such hearings are not to be insisted upon. The Jesuit priest and martyr Seb. Kimura was a grandson of the first Christian baptized by Xavier in Hirado (*ibid.* 60, 26-v). In 1682 Constantine Phaulikon, the powerful minister of the king of Siam, married a prominent Japanese of the capital of the land, Ayuthia, whose grandmother, Ines Martins, declared that she was the granddaughter of the first Christian whom Xavier baptized in Japan (*Mémoire du Père de Bèze sur la vie de Constance Phaulkon* [Tokio, 1947]. The editors of this work, Jean Drans and Henri Bernard, concluded from this that her ancestors had thus been in Kagoshima or its environs in Xavier's time (25). But Hirado is here to be read instead of Kagoshima. In 1586 Frois met a Christian woman in Shimonoseki

The chief obstacle for further conversions was the ignorance of the language of the country on the part of Xavier and his companions. On their voyage to Japan, Juan Fernández had already learned some Japanese,¹² but they were not able to communicate with the people around them without an interpreter. When Anjirō was talking with his visitors who, especially in the first weeks filled the house from early morning until late in the evening, Francis and his confreres had to remain silent, since they did not understand the questions posed by their visitors nor the answers that were given to them.¹³ Since they had received their own house in which to live from Takahisa, they had somewhat more free time for themselves than would have otherwise been the case. Though most of their day was spent in dealing with their neighbors, they prolonged their vigils in prayer and in the study of the basic principles of Japanese.¹⁴ As a consequence, Xavier had made such progress by the end of September that, after spending forty days on it with Anjirō's assistance, he was able to explain the Ten Commandments in the language of the country.¹⁵

He and his confreres further used their free time to become acquainted with the land and the people in the vicinity. Their dwelling, like Paul's earlier home, was in the *samurai* quarter, which passed on both sides of the Inari River from the harbor to the foot of the mountain.¹⁶ Immediately south of it was the quarter of the merchants and craftsmen. The city itself was known for its many temples, bonzes, pagan priests, magicians, and soothsayers.¹⁷ Kagoshima lay in one of the most conservative provinces of Japan,¹⁸ and the old Shintō religion was here evident in the numerous shrines of the gods.¹⁹ These were recognizable by the free-standing gateways, the *torii*s, with their two horizontal beams. The shrines were for the most part simple, unadorned, greyish brown, wooden structures with two rooms, an empty vestibule, and a closed sanctuary, which could only be entered by a sacrificing priest. Within the sanctuary there were only three objects, the so-called "three jewels," wrapped in cloths: a mirror, the symbol of the sun-goddess; a sword, and a crystal.²⁰ On the left, near the harbor, was the Kasuga shrine,²¹ dedicated to a follower of the sun-goddess.²² In addition to

whom Torres had baptized twenty-five years earlier in Hirado. She was called Ines, but was obviously different from her namesake in Siam (*Cartas* II, 1598, f. 173v).

¹² Frois 5.

¹³ EX II 201.

¹⁴ Frois 5.

¹⁵ EX II 190.

¹⁶ *Cieslik, April 19, 1963.

¹⁷ On January 22, 1584, Frois wrote that he would report what he had heard from the mouth of Father Luis de Almeida a few months before his death (he died in October, 1583) about his visit to Satsuma the preceding year. There was no other city in the whole empire of Japan where the worship and reverence of idols flourished so much, and there was no other with as many bonzes and temples as Kagoshima (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 61). On April 24, 1584, he wrote that Kagoshima was "abominavel em idolatrias, feitiços, agouros e outras maldades" (*ibid.* 4, 313v).

¹⁸ Aoyama 73.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 34, and "Villion's extract from the *Satsugū Chiri-sankō* (Geographical Notices on Satsuma and Ōsumi).

²⁰ Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 13 123 138 174.

²¹ The shrine is today a station for the streetcars which go to the Wakamiya-Hachiman temple at the foot of the old fortified mountain of Shimizu-jō.

²² The Kasuga shrine is dedicated to the Shintō god Ame-no-koyane, who with his companion prevented the sun-goddess Amaterasu from returning to her cave with a straw rope, from which he had induced her with a trick in order to give sunlight again to the earth (Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 13-14). On Hachiman, see *ibid.* 74-78 104, on Inari *ibid.* 110-111.

this there were the Gion shrine at the foot of Tagayama, the popular Inari shrine, guarded by two stone foxes and dedicated to the goddess of rice, the Suwa shrine, and others. But the Buddhists also had their temples, where idols gleaming with gold and enthroned on altars could be seen in the mystical half-darkness, and where the faithful kindled fragrant sticks of incense in their honor and stuck them in vases filled with ashes. The principal branches of the Buddhists in Kagoshima were the Shingon-shū, Ji-shū, and, especially, the Zen-shū, sects; but in addition to these there were also the black-dressed followers of the Hokke and Jōdoshin-shū sects.²³

The Shingon sect with its mysteries and mythical rights, to which Anjirō had belonged before his conversion, worshiped Dainichi as its principal god; but it also revered the *kamis*, the Shintō gods, and the *hotokes*, the Buddhist gods; and, in addition to the Daijō-in, it also had other temples.²⁴ Besides these, there were the grey-dressed bonzes of the Ji-shū,²⁵ who, through a repetition of the formula *Namu Amida Butsu*, confidently invoked Amida,²⁶ the savior of the Western Paradise. In 1284 an ancestor of Takahisa had built for them the great monastery of Jōkōmyō-ji in the northern part of the city.²⁷ The largest of all the Buddhist monasteries was, however, that of the black-dressed Zen bonzes,²⁸ the mighty complex of Fukushō-ji.

Already before his return to his own country, Paul of the Holy Faith had told Xavier of this monastery, and the latter had given an account of it in a report which he wrote to his confreres in Europe on June 22, 1549, two days before setting out for Japan:

Paulo de Santa Fee, the Japanese, our companion, told me one thing which consoled me much; and what he told me is that in the monastery of his land, where there are

²³ Katsume 254-255; Aoyama 62.

²⁴ Aoyama 62. On the Shingon sect, see Steinhilber-Oberlin 91-127; Reischauer 94-102; Eliot 336-339; Anesaki, *History* 123-133.

²⁵ By the grey bonzes, whom Alvares distinguished from the black in 1547, Paul of the Holy Faith in 1548, and Lancilotto in 1549, are meant, as we have already indicated in Vol. III, p. 574, the bonzes of Ji-shū. Xavier expressly states that the grey bonzes dressed like mendicant friars (*frayles*) were the Ji-shūs (EX II 188 208; *ibid.* 268-269), as does Vilela in 1561 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 129). The sixth of the "Eighteen Laws of Ieyasu" also distinguishes three types of Buddhist bonzes according to their dress (Haas I 285).

²⁶ The **Sumario dos erros, em que os gentios do Japão vivem e de algumas seitas gentílicas, em que principalmente confião*, which was composed by Cosme de Torres or one of his subjects and brought by Melchior Nunes Barreto from Japan to India in 1556 (DI III 715) and is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, *Fondo Gesuitico 3611* (new number 1488), n. 33, ff. 134-137v, distinguishes three Amida sects: two with black-dressed bonzes, and a third with grey-dressed. The first worshiped along with Amida the Shintō gods (the Jōdo-shū). The second prayed only to Amida and preached (the Jōdo-shinshū). The third worshiped only Amida and did not preach (the Ji-shū) (135). On the Ji-shū sect, see Eliot 243-244. On the Jōdo sect, see the monumental work of H. Coates and R. Ishizuka, *Hōnen the Buddhist Saint* (Kyōto, 1925), a kind of encyclopedia of the sect. Its colored frontispiece shows the bonzes in grey dress.

²⁷ Aoyama 36 64. It lay in the north of the city, northeast of Iwasakitani (**Villion's* excerpt from the *Satsugū Chiri-sankō*).

²⁸ The Zen sect was divided into two branches: the Rinzai branch, which only meditated, and the Sōtō branch, which meditated and studied books. On the sects see H. Dumoulin, S.J., *Zen, Geschichte und Gestalt* (Bern, 1959); *Östliche Meditation und christliche Mystik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1966); H. Haas, "Die Kontemplationsschulen des japanischen Buddhismus," MDGLVO X.2 (Tokyo, 1906) 157-221, where the history of the Sōtō branch is given on pp. 183-188, that of its founder Dōgen (Shōyō Daishi, 1200-1253) and of its reformer Keizan (Kōtoku Emmyō 1268-1325) on pp. 210-217, and the genealogy of their successors to Ninjitsu Busshō on list 2.

many *grades* and a school, they have among them a practice of meditating²⁹ which is as follows: He who has charge of the house, their superior, who is the most learned, calls them all together and addresses them in the manner of a sermon; and then he says to each one of them that they should meditate for the space of an hour on the following:³⁰ When a man is dying and cannot speak, since the soul is being separated from the body, if it could then speak in such a separation and withdrawal of the soul, what things would the soul say to the body?³¹ And also, of those who are in hell or purgatory, if they would return to this life, what would they say? And after the hour has passed, the superior of the house examines each one of them on what he experienced during that hour when he meditated; and if he says something good, he praises him; and, on the other hand, he reproaches him when he says things which are not worth remembering.³² They say that the *padres* preach to the people every two weeks, and many people come to their sermons, both men and women, and they weep during the sermons, especially the women; and he who preaches has painted hell and its torments, and he shows these figures to the people; and this was told to me by Paulo de Santa Fee.

I asked him if he remembered any saying which he had heard from any preacher. He told me that he remembered that he had once hear a *padre* of theirs say when he was preaching that an evil man or an evil woman is worse than the devil, saying that the evils which he could not do by himself he does with the help of an evil man or of an evil woman, such as stealing, bearing false witness, and other sins of this kind. They tell me that the people are very eager to learn. When I shall have experience from there, I shall write to you at great length.³³

The monastery about which Paul had spoken to Xavier was the monastery of the Zen sect, the most influential Buddhist sect in Satsuma, and an offshoot of the Sōtō-Zen sect, which, in addition to meditation, also fostered the study of books. Sekioku Shinryō, a bonze of this sect from the ruling dynasty, had founded it in 1394; and the ruler of the time, Shimazu Motohisa, had designated it as the burial place for his family and had given it a large piece of land on the condition that its forest should not be cut down and no hunting should take place in it. Motohisa's son, who had studied at the university of Ashikaga in Kantō, had become the third superior of the monastery.³⁴ The buildings, which had been

²⁹ On *zazen*, Zen meditation, see Hugo M. Enomiya [Lassalle, S.J.], *Zen-Buddhismus* (Köln, 1966); H. M. Enomiya-Lassalle, S.J., *Zen-Weg zur Erleuchtung* (Freiburg, 1971); *idem*, *Zen-Meditation. Eine Einführung* (Köln, 1975); H. Dumoulin, S.J., *Östliche Meditation und christliche Mystik* (pp. 295-307, translation of the teaching on meditation [Zazen Yōjinki] of the Keizan); *idem*, *Zen, Geschichte und Gestalt* (162-168 267-279); *idem*, *Der Erleuchtungsweg des Zen im Buddhismus* (Frankfurt, 1976). An account of life and meditation in a Rinzai-Zen monastery is given by Gerta Ital in *Der Meister, die Mönche und Ich im Zen-Buddhisten-Kloster* (Weilheim, 1966).

³⁰ Five similar points for meditation are given in the **Sumario dos erros* of 1556 (136-v). The paradoxical points for meditation (*kōan*) used in the Rinzai school were not employed according to the strict tradition in the Sōtō school (Enomiya, *Zen-Buddhismus* 26-28). The forty-eight *kōan* texts of the *Wū-men-kuan*, one of the two most important collections, have been translated into German by Dumoulin in *Wū-men-kuan. Der Pass ohne Tor* (*Monumenta Nipponica Monographs* 13, Tokyo, 1953). Seventeen of these along with other Zen texts have been translated by Schüej Ōhasama and A. Faust in *Zen. Der lebendige Buddhismus in Japan* (Gotha, 1925).

³¹ In the **Sumario dos erros*, this is the last of the five points for meditation, and the answer reads: "At the end one finds that all is nothing" (136v).

³² EX II 152. This going to the Zen master to give an account of the meditation is called *dokusan*; on this see Enomiya, *Zen-Buddhismus* 30-42 45-53.

³³ EX II 152-153.

³⁴ The best survey of the history of the Fukushō-ji monastery is given by Tsukiji Kenkichi in "Tsurumaru-jō-shi—Fukushō-ji-shi (Remains of Tsurumaru-jō—Remains of Fukushō-ji)," *Kagoshima-ken Bunka-zai Chōsa-hōkoku-sho* (Studies on the Investigation of the Cultural Properties of the Prefecture of Kagoshima) I (Kagoshima, 1954) 73-99.

badly damaged in the last civil war, had been restored by Takahisa in 1540.³⁵ It was the largest monastery of the sect in the land and had an annual income of 1,350 *kokus* of rice³⁶ from its own estates. Within it there were more than a hundred monks.³⁷

The monastery of Fukushō-ji lay at a distance of a quarter of an hour from the harbor³⁸ at the foot of the wooded Mount Gyokuryō, a continuation of Shiroyama, the mountain at the foot of which the castle was located. Xavier visited it soon after his arrival, and he became more familiar with it than with any other site in Kagoshima.³⁹

In addition to discussing the monastery, the author gives the text of a biographical list of the fifty-nine abbots, to the destruction of Fukushō-ji in 1869. The original of this list was formerly in the monastery archives. The graves in the Shimazu cemetery are also described with a map. Cf. the summary data in Shigeno 72 76, and Aoyama 51-52. On the foundation of the monastery, see Kimaki Sakae, *Kaizan Sekioku Zenshi to Fukushō-ji* (The Founder Sekioku Zenshi and the Fukushō-ji) (Kagoshima, 1934). According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, the Fukushō-ji monastery belonged to the subordinate branch of the Yeghesō (*Historia* 31v), which devoted itself to the study of Buddhism, while the Gozan monastery was more occupied with literature and poetry (*idem, Arte breve* 95v)! cf. *Mon. Nipponica* 5 (1942) 48 232.

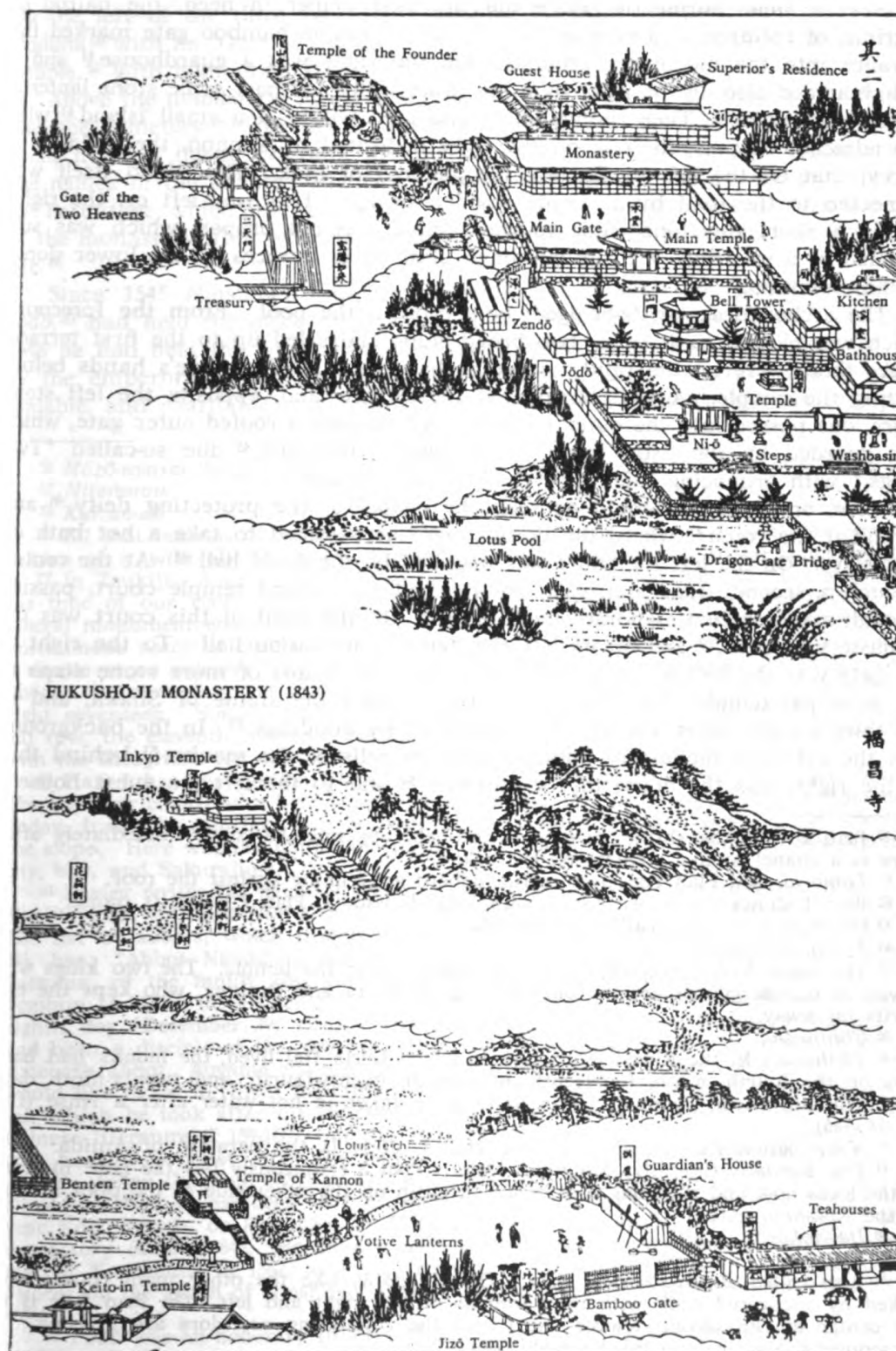
³⁵ Ijichi 110; Shigeno 72; Aoyama 55.

³⁶ Aoyama 36. The *koku* is a dry measure for polished rice amounting to 180 liters. The annual consumption per person is 1.12 *kokus* (Ramming 319).

³⁷ Frois 6.

³⁸ A high school is standing on the site today. After the bombardment of Kagoshima by the English in 1863, the monastery was destroyed by the patriots in 1869 in order to use the money of the bonzes for the training of soldiers and to build a fleet to match that of the English.

³⁹ The main source for our description of the monastery is the drawing in the *Sonkoku-meisho-zue* (Sights Worth Seeing in the Three Lands), a work commissioned by the prince Shimazu Nariakira. It was published in Kagoshima in 1843 and again in Tōkyō in 1905 and 1966. It is concerned with the three provinces of Satsuma, Ōsumi and Hyūga. The description of the monastery is given on pp. 79-86 of the new printing. We have called the drawing Plan 1. From the same year, 1843, comes the great panorama of Kagoshima with a somewhat altered representation of the monastery. This is plan 4.1 in the historical atlas *Sappan Engaku Chizu* (also in Katsume in a smaller format, and a section with the monastery in Shigeno). We have called this representation Plan 2. There is another, smaller plan of the city, probably also of the first half of the nineteenth century in Katsume, but it gives a superficial, and at times erroneous, picture of the monastery. It still, however, has some new captions. We call this Plan 3. The plan on p. 9 in Shigeno, *Satsuma Kirishitan Shiryō-shūsei* (Kagoshima, 1966), portrays the Tsurumaru Castle, which was at the center of the city. In the seventeenth century the Dutchman Selderen described the monastery as follows: "In the middle of this southern part of the city, there is a beautiful temple whose roof can be seen from afar above all the other buildings. Interiorly it is extraordinarily precious" (Montanus 426). The added panorama of the city gives three floors to the main building of the monastery (by which the main gate is probably intended). In 1611 Nuno de Soutomayor was shown a stone in Kagoshima from which Xavier used to preach (GS IV 424). And Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote in 1634: "There [in Kagoshima] is an elaborate bonze monastery with the name of Fukushōji of the Zen sect. Before it is a large square with a gate of the surrounding wall with stairs on which one mounts up to the temple. The saintly priest sat upon the topmost step so that he could be seen and heard by all (31v)." The stone stairs are still preserved. Dumoulin gives the plan of a typical Zen monastery (the Rinzai monastery of Tōfuku-ji in Kyōto), with its seven obligatory buildings (the *Shichi dō garan*): (1) *Sammon* (Main Gate), (2) *Hondō* (Main Temple), (3) *Hattō* (Hall for Preaching), (4) *Tōsu* (Toilet), (5) *Yūshitsu* (Bathhouse), (6) *Zendō* (Meditation Hall), (7) *Kōri* (Storeroom). But the seven main buildings are given differently in different works. The monastery of course also had the cells of the monks, kitchen, refectory, residence of the abbot, guest house, treasury, and so forth (*Zen* 148 151 305). Our Plan 1, of 1843, which we have followed in our description, may on the whole represent the monastery as Xavier saw it.



Near a small shrine of Jizō,⁴⁰ the Buddhist helper in need, the patron of pilgrims, of children, and of pregnant women, a simple bamboo gate marked the entrance into the monastery grounds. On the right was a guardhouse⁴¹ and a path, bounded also on the right by a low wall, which led past some stone lanterns to the lotus pool.⁴² There immediately appeared within it a small island⁴³ with two adjacent chapels, the one on the right dedicated to Kannon, the goddess of mercy, that on the left to Benten, the goddess of luck. The island itself was connected to the road by a simple wooden bridge. This was left on the right, and in a short time one came to the temple precinct proper, which was surrounded by a wall and, with its buildings, climbed in terraces up the lower slopes of the mountain.

The arched dragon-gate-bridge⁴⁴ here crossed the pool. From the forecourt, which was planted with trees, two broad stone stairs led up to the first terrace, where there were on the right two stone basins for washing one's hands before visiting the temple. A wall terminated the terrace, and, opposite the left stone stairs, one passed into the outer temple court through a roofed outer gate, which was guarded by the usual giant stone figures, the *Ni-ō*,⁴⁵ the so-called "Two Kings," with grimacing mien and threatening attitude.

Here, on the right, could be seen the chapel of the protecting deity,⁴⁶ and beyond it the room⁴⁷ where the bonzes were accustomed to take a hot bath on fixed days. On the left the court was bounded by the *Jō-dō* hall.⁴⁸ At the center, through a second stone stairway, one reached the second temple court, passing through a two-storied elaborate main gate.⁴⁹ On the right of this court was the monastery kitchen,⁵⁰ and on its left the *Zen-dō*, meditation hall. To the right of the gate was the bell house.⁵¹ One then came by means of more stone steps to the principal temple, the *Hon-dō*, which contained the statue of Shaka, and to the third temple court, which was surrounded by buildings.⁵² In the background was the extended monastery building with its cells of the monks;⁵³ behind this, to the right, was the house of the superior,⁵⁴ and to the left the guest house.⁵⁵

⁴⁰ Plan 2 calls the shrine *Kannon-dō*, probably by mistake, since immediately after there is a chapel to this goddess on the island.

⁴¹ *Tomo-ya*. On Plan 1 a spear and a halberd are leaning against the roof.

⁴² Plan 1 shows the pool covered with lotus blossoms, Plan 2 gives its name.

⁴³ On Plan 3 [?] it is called *Nakashima*.

⁴⁴ *Ryū-mon-bashi*.

⁴⁵ The usual *Ni-ō-mon* (Gate of the Two Kings) near the temple. The two kings who served as temple guards are the old Hindu gods Indra and Brahma, who kept the evil spirits far away.

⁴⁶ *Chinju-sha*.

⁴⁷ *Yūshitsu*. In the Rinzai monastery in which Gerta Ital lived, the monks had bath days on the fourth, ninth, fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-fourth, and twenty-ninth days of the month. Everywhere in Japan baths were taken in hot water after a rinse (Ital 140 145-146).

⁴⁸ Abbreviation for *Jōdo-dō* (Paradise Hall)? *Jōdo* is the paradise of Amida.

⁴⁹ The *Sammon* (literally: Mountain Gate). Plan 3 erroneously has the gate in front of the lotus pool and then has it sketched in again on the other side of the pool instead of the *Ni-ō-mon* gate.

⁵⁰ *Dai-dokoro*.

⁵¹ *Shōrō*.

⁵² Also called *Butsu-dō*. On Plan 1 the *Hondō* is like the other main rooms also linked by a covered walk with the verandas on the right and left. On Plan 2 it is in the center of the second temple court and the connecting corridors are missing. It consequently also had no third temple court.

⁵³ Without title. Plan 1 portrays the front of the building with curtains.

⁵⁴ *Hōjō*.

⁵⁵ *Kyaku-den*.

On the left of the third court was another building complex, the Treasury of Buddha⁵⁶ with its "Gate of the Two Heavens,"⁵⁷ and to the right of it the founder's temple,⁵⁸ with high stone stairs leading up to it.

Above the monastery, in the shade of camphor trees at the edge of the woods, was the cemetery⁵⁹ with the graves of the princes of the land and, over all of them, those of the superiors of the monastery, a narrow row of low columns with the names of the abbots. Right of the cemetery, a road led up the mountain to the hermitage, which also belonged to the monastery. It was here that the superior of the monastery lived when he withdrew from his usual labors to lead a solitary life.⁶⁰

Since 1545 Ninshitsu,⁶¹ as the fifteenth abbot, with the honorary title of *tōdō*,⁶² had held the office of superior of the Fukushō-ji monastery;⁶³ and since 1546 he had held the title of Busshō-Daien-Zenshi, which had been given to him by the emperor Go-Nara-tennō.⁶⁴ The superior of the monastery was a pious, amiable, and charitable man, revered above all for his knowledge, his exemplary

⁵⁶ *Hōzō-nyorai*, largely concealed by clouds on Plan 1; only the roofs are to be seen.

⁵⁷ *Nitenmon*.

⁵⁸ *Kaizan-dō*.

⁵⁹ All that remains of the monastery apart from the first stone stairs is the cemetery. A plan of it with all the graves, except those of the abbots, is to be found opposite p. 77 in Tsukiji. A lithographed plan of the cemetery, which the guardian gave us at the time of our visit in 1957, has the graves of the abbots with all the others. The funeral monument erected to Shimazu Takahisa bears the family coat of arms and his posthumous name of Daichū. To the left, above, on the western edge of the cemetery, a simple stone gateway leads to the graves of the abbots. A depression in the center divides the row of graves into two halves; on the left there are sixteen graves, on the right seventeen. Simple, truncated columns bear the names of the deceased. In the left row, the eleventh column, counting from left to right, marks the grave of Ninshitsu with the ideograms for *nin* (patience) and *shitsu* (room).

⁶⁰ Plan 1 has the caption *Shinkō-in*; Plan 3 has instead of this *Fukushō-ji inkyo-ji*. The superior could retire here when he made *inkyō*, that is, when he retired from office. Today, from the cemetery, can be seen on the right a solitary house in the woods on the slope. Here was the temple of Inkyō. From here there is a brilliant view upon the city, bay, and Sakurajima.

⁶¹ Xavier writes his name as *Ninxit*. Instead of this, the copy of Frois' history has *Nenjit* (6 121 124) and *Ninjit* (6-7). *Ninshit* is the Satsuma pronunciation of *Ninshitsu*. The list of abbots, which is derived from the former monastery archives (in Shigeno 84), has: "Abbot Ninshitsu, earlier name Bunshō, disciple of Abbot Tenyū, born in Satsuma, of the family Hagiwara, a branch of the Ban family; lived since the year Tembun 14 [1545] in this temple, died in the year Kōji 2, in the eleventh month, twenty-eighth day [December 29, 1556]." His civilian name was thus Hagiwara Bunshō. He had been a disciple of the eleventh abbot, Tenyū, as was also his successor, Kikan, the sixteenth abbot. Aoyama erroneously gives Ninshitsu also the name of Tenyū (72). Haas would like to see in *Ninxit* the father of Shimazu Takahisa, who, under the name Nisshin-sai, which he took after his retirement, was held in high esteem for his knowledge of Chinese literature (I 159-160), but this is impossible. The portrait "of a Satsuma prince, who became a priest, from the period of the painter Sesshū" (1420-1506), in S. Bing, *Artistic Japan* (London, 1889) p. 177, n. 14, also has nothing to do with Ninshitsu. Our Ninshitsu died, as has been said, on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month of the year Kōji, that is, on December 29, 1556, as is indicated on the list of the abbots of the monastery (Tsukiji 84). He cannot, as a consequence, be the superior whom Almeida met in Kagoshima in 1562, as Frois erroneously maintains (122-124); cf. J. Laures, S.J., "Notes on the Death of Ninshitsu, Xavier's Bonze Friend," *Monumenta Nipponica* 8 (1952) 407-411.

⁶² *Tōdō* was an honorary title for high dignitaries of the Zen sect (Frois 122; Aoyama 71-72).

⁶³ Shigeno 84, whose text agrees verbatim with that in Tsukiji, 84.

⁶⁴ Ijichi 110; Aoyama 72.

life, his great dignity, and his age, since he was already eighty years old.⁶⁵ Xavier frequently visited him with Paul as his interpreter, and there soon developed a warm friendship between the venerable old superior of the monastery and Master Francis. The fact that the priest had come six thousand leagues from Portugal to speak of God and of the means for saving one's soul made a deep impression upon Ninshitsu, as it did upon all the others, both bonzes and laymen. But the superior was unable to make up his mind on one question, whether the soul, as his visitor maintained, was immortal, or whether it died together with the body. At one time he was of one opinion, at another time another.⁶⁶ The teachings of Zen had nothing with respect to an immortal soul, and the daily meditations which the bonzes had to make had the sole aim of leading to a recognition of the existence of a "Nothing," the impersonal Absolute, without form, without attributes, and that man was only a wave in the sea of this Absolute which came and went without leaving a trace behind.

Every year the monks of his monastery had to spend an hour to two hours a day for a hundred days upon this meditation as the chief exercise of their order. One day the superior brought his guest into the *Zen-dō*, the meditation hall, where the monks were sitting on cushions upon a raised platform in long rows to the right and left. They were bolt upright, motionless, silent, close to each other with their legs crossed, their hands folded before them, their eyes half closed, and faced towards the wall.⁶⁷ The priest asked his guide what his subjects were doing here.

Ninshitsu then smiled and said:

Some of them are counting up how much they received during the past months from their faithful; others are thinking about where they can obtain better clothes and treatment for their persons; others are thinking about their recreations and their amusements; in short, none of them are thinking about anything that has any meaning at all.

On another occasion Francis asked him whether youth or old age, which he was now in, seemed better to him. Ninshitsu thought for a moment and then replied: "Youth." When he was asked his reason for this, he stated that when one is young, one's body is still free from sickness and difficulties, and one still has the liberty of doing unimpeded what one wishes. Francis then asked him:

If you saw a ship sailing from a harbor which has to arrive at another harbor, when should the passengers be happier: when they are still in the midst of the open sea, exposed to the winds, the waves, and the storms, or when they see that they are already near the harbor and begin to pass through the bar in order to rest there from the past storms and shipwrecks?

⁶⁵ EX II 190.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Cf. Aoyama, who produces reasons to show that Ninshitsu, despite everything, still probably believed in the continued existence of the soul after death, and thus in its immortality: (1) The Keizan branch of the Sōtō sect, to which the Fukushōji monastery belonged, was particularly observant of feasts for the dead; (2) Ninshitsu came from the conservative province of Satsuma; and (3) he was the abbot of the family monastery of the princes of the land, in which their ancestors were especially honored (73).

⁶⁷ In the sixteenth century, the Zen bonzes made the ninety-day exercises (*gōko-e*) twice a year, as A. Imaeda has observed in his Japanese history of the Zen sect (*Zenshū no Rekishi*) (Aoyama 23). On this see the pictures in Dumoulin, *Zen* 56-57 (bonzes at meditation, at the *dokusan*, the visit to the Zen master, at mealtime), and Enomiya-Lasalle, *Zen Weg zur Erleuchtung* 17 (*Zendō* with cushion), 32 (seated at *zazen*), 48 (bonze with the *kyōsaku*, the warning stick), 96 (Zen master).

To this Ninshitsu replied:

Father, I understand you very well. I know for sure that the sight of the harbor is naturally more pleasant and delightful for those who are to enter it. But since I am still uncertain and have not as yet decided which is the better harbor, I do not know how or where I must land.⁶⁸

In his visits to the Fukushō-ji monastery, Xavier also became acquainted with Tokudō Shunka, the administrator of the institution. Like Ninshitsu, he was a disciple of Tenyū, the eleventh superior of the monastery, which he had ruled from 1462 till his death in 1532. Tokudō Shunka, who was already in his late fifties when he became known to Xavier, was eager to learn what his foreign visitor taught, since he had himself zealously studied Chinese block prints on the teaching of Shaka and Amida.⁶⁹

A second companion of the superior was Un-shū. He was almost ten years younger than Shunka, but he shared his thirst for knowledge and his zeal for study. Before his entrance into the monastery, he had held a high position in the world. Highly esteemed by the prince, he was as humble as his master. He too struck up a friendship with the foreign priest. The latter's teaching about a Creator of all things made a great impression upon him, though it was also difficult for him to understand the terminology, of the priest, which was so different from that of Zen philosophy, and that of his interpreter, who was little experienced with Zen teachings.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Frois 6-7. The comparison of human life with a voyage was obvious to Xavier, who had made so many stormy voyages, and he could find it frequently used by the Church Fathers, for example, by Sts. Augustine, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, and Maximus of Tyre: St. Augustine, for example, has our Lord say to Martha with reference to her sister Mary Magdalene: "Tu navigas, illa in portu est" (*Sermo 27: De verbo Domini*). In the Parisian breviary of 1523, in the eighth and ninth readings of Matins for the *Commune unius Confessoris extra tempus paschale*, (ff. 64-65) was the text: "Navegantibus nobis per hoc mare magnum valde pertimescendum est, ne navem nostram aut procella tempestatum arripiat, aut fluctus absorbeat, aut in aeternam praedam pirata crudelis abducatur. . . . *Lectio 9: Beati autem viri huius merita iam in tuto posita securi magnificemus, qui gubernaculum fidei viriliter tenens, anchoram spei tranquilla iam in statione composuit divitiis onustam navem optato in littore collocavit.*" *Ex sermone sancti Ambrosii* (f. 65).

⁶⁹ Tokudō Shunka came from the province of Ōsumi. His secular name was Ijichi. Takahisa had a high regard for him because of his virtue and learning. In 1556 the prince built, in the midst of an extensive pine woods on the hill of Matsubara south of the city, between the Kōtsuki River and the seacoast, the large monastery of Nanrinji, which was subject to that of Fukushō-ji. He gave it a statue of Buddha and designated it as the burial place for his family and appointed Shunka as its first superior. Like Ninshitsu he had been a disciple of Tenyū, the eleventh abbot of the Fukushō-ji monastery, who held the office from 1462 to 1532. Emperor Ōgimachi-tennō, who ruled from 1558 to 1586 granted him the title of a Zen master with the name of Tentoku-Shōtō. He died on January 21, 1582. When Brother Almeida visited him in 1562, he was already almost seventy. He was delighted with Almeida's visit and did not tire in speaking to him about Christian doctrines. His room was full of books in open cases from top to bottom, and he told his visitor that he had read more than seven thousand books printed in China on the teaching of Shaka that had been composed by scholars of Tenjiku (India), China, and Korea; but what he had once heard from Father Master Francis, although the latter could hardly make himself understood because of the lack of a good interpreter (*que quasi não tinha lingua para se explicar*), had already convinced him that his teaching contained the essentials of truth. Cf. Almeida's letter of October 25, 1562 (copy in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 272v-274, edited with some abbreviations in *Cartas* 1598, 106-107v). This was used by Frois in his history and furnished with important new data (122-126). See also Tsukiji 83-84; Ijichi 113-114.

⁷⁰ Unshū had his origins in Satsuma. He was the seventeenth abbot of the monastery

In India Xavier had already learned from Paul something about Shaka, the founder of Buddhism.⁷¹ According to tradition, Amida⁷² was, like Shaka,⁷³ the son of a king, but he had been born long before him. Like him he had married, and his wife had borne him two children: Kannon, regarded by many as the sun; and Seishi, regarded by many as the moon.⁷⁴ After the death of his wife, Amida, like Shaka, became a bonze and performed very great penances to redeem mankind.⁷⁵ He also made a meditation to discover the means which would enable him to redeem mankind. This meditation lasted for thousands of years. He made it in a place where there were five rocky peaks, each four leagues in circumference. Every three years an angel came from heaven and swept with his fine robe the stone upon which Amida sat meditating, and all five peaks were in this way completely worn down before Amida finished his meditation.⁷⁶ He then made

of Fukushō-ji, where he died on November 26, 1562, and received the posthumous name of Genzai (Shigeno 84; Tsukiji 84). Like Ninshitsu he had the title of a *tōdō*. He also had under his jurisdiction the Nanrin-ji and a third monastery (probably the large Kōkoku-ji monastery on the fortified mountain to the south of the Fukushō-ji monastery, from which Shunka summoned a learned bonze in 1562 to speak with Almeida, as is recorded by Frois, p. 123). He was regarded as a saint and was a man of great authority when Almeida came. The prince consulted him about his affairs. He was already old in 1562, when he was visited by Brother Almeida. He was much pleased with the brother's visit. He told him that he had always been eager to know what Francis had preached: he had never been able to understand him correctly for lack of an interpreter who could explain what he was saying (*por falta de huma lingua que lh'o declarase*). He then began to ask many questions about things which he wished to know: if anything survives after a man's death; if there is a Creator; the reason for the change of seasons; why the earth quakes; where rain comes from; and many other matters. Since Almeida had brought a good interpreter with him, he could give satisfactory answers about all of them to Unshū. The latter came so far as to declare that he would tread upon all of Shaka's and Amida's books, and promised that from then on he would pray only to the true God. Since all the things of Japanese religion had been written and taught by men of former times, it was clear that they could not all be true, and that they had no power whatever to save men. Both bonzes finally asked the brother, with hands upraised, to baptize them in secret. Shunka intended to teach the *fidalgos* and prominent individuals who came to him the elements of Zen meditation in order to lead them afterwards to a knowledge of the Christian faith. Both said that if the prince or a prominent lord died, they would have to conduct his funeral and during it read prayers from their sacred Buddhist books. When Almeida insisted that they should openly confess their faith and leave their monastery, they were finally even ready to do this, but they could not be further instructed and baptized because of the sudden departure of the brother (Almeida's letter of October 25, 1562, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 272-274, edited with abbreviations in *Cartas* 1598, 106-107v; Frois 122-126, where he is erroneously identified with Ninshitsu).

⁷¹ See Vol. III, pp. 485-486.

⁷² The following is from the **Sumario dos erros*, f. 135. Frois gives a similar account in his letter of January 20, 1565 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 5, 197-v). Amida was the main god of the Jōdo sect, but he was also frequently worshiped in Zen monasteries. Yung-ming, one of the greatest syncretists of Chinese Buddhism (909-957 A.D.), strove to unite Zen and Amida piety (cf. Dumoulin-Fuller Sasaki, *The Development of Chinese Zen after the Sixth Patriarch in the Light of Mumonkan* [New York, 1953] 36-37).

⁷³ Twenty-six hundred years before Shaka (Frois).

⁷⁴ Both were usually represented together with Amida. "Before their birth they were one with Amida. From compassion he wished to share himself with men and he begat Kannon, Mercy, and Seishi, Truth. Both are identical with Amida" (Frois). In Shintoism the main goddess was Amaterasu, the sun-goddess. Her brother Susanoo, according to the *Kojiki*, was the moon-god. In Ryōbu Shintō both were made into Buddhist gods (cf. Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 12-14 35-41 43-48 98-100 103).

⁷⁵ Millions and millions of thousands of millions (Frois).

⁷⁶ So many thousands of years that they are not to be counted by human mind. One stone there was forty leagues long, wide, and deep. Every three years an angel

forty-eight promises in the books which he composed. One of these was that anyone who called upon him with the words *Namu Amida Butsu* would obtain pardon for all his sins, even the most serious, and that he would be received into Jōdo, his Paradise in the West.⁷⁷

Among the visitors who came to see Anjirō and the priests there were also many bonzes who were interested in the new teaching of the foreigners.⁷⁸ The bonzes were very numerous and powerful in the city.⁷⁹ Some wore a black cloak, others a grey one, like that of mendicant monks; and the greys and the blacks had a mutual hatred for each other.⁸⁰ The Hokke-shū were fanatically opposed to all the other sects. Their adversaries said of them: "When a Hokke becomes a *hotoke* [Buddhist saint], cow dung becomes bean soup."⁸¹ The bonzes enjoyed great authority for various reasons: they ate no fish or flesh but only rice, fruit, and vegetables, and this only once a day; they, especially the black-robed bonzes, were forbidden under the penalty of death to have sexual intercourse with women; and they explained the old fables about the gods to the people. The bonzes taught that it was a very great sin to eat meat or fish; and when the people saw that the foreign priests often did so, they murmured about it. When the priests gave them clear arguments to prove that this was no sin, their hearers were not much convinced by them.⁸²

The grey bonzes of the Ji-shū sect had double monasteries, where they lived together with the *bikunis*, as their female bonzes were called; and they conducted their nightly prayers in choir together with them. The people were offended by this, and the laity all said that when these female bonzes became pregnant they took medicines to procure an abortion. Both the black and the grey bonzes had many boys of prominent families in their monasteries, where they taught them how to read and write and abused them for sinful purposes, as they openly admitted. The laymen agreed with Xavier and his companions when they condemned these unnatural sins as a severe offense against God. But the vice was so general and so deeply rooted that the bonzes were not reproached for it.⁸³

Xavier was accustomed to visit their monasteries with an interpreter without being invited. He presented the bonzes with problems or asked them questions without further ceremonies, as if he were a guest in their house. He often warned them to avoid this ugly vice; but they did not take his reproofs seriously. They simply laughed them off without showing any shame for their sins.⁸⁴

But during all his studies and apostolic labors, Xavier did not lose sight of his primary goal, his voyage to the king and to the universities of Japan.

came down to console Amida in a very fine dress weighing half an ounce, and since at each visit he brushed the stone with it, this became worn out and he immediately created a new stone. Five stones were worn out in this way through Amida's meditation and his penance for saving the people (Frois).

⁷⁷ This was the teaching of the Jōdo sects, especially the Ji-shū, Ikkō-shū, and Yūzū Nembutsu-shū branches.

⁷⁸ EX II 190; Paul of the Holy Faith (SIE 89).

⁷⁹ EX II 204; ARSI: *JapSin.* 46, 38.

⁸⁰ EX II 189. In Kagoshima there were the grey Ji-shū and the black Hokke.

⁸¹ *Hokke ga hotoke ni nareba, ushi no kuso ga miso ni naru* (Haas I 135-136). The Hokke sect was in Kagoshima only from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century and was only diffused among the lower classes (Aoyama 20 36-37). They wore a black cloak over their white lower garment (Vilela's letter of October 6, 1571, in *Cartas* 1598, 321v). On the sect, see Steinilber-Oberlin 261-280 301-310; Reischauer 122-128; Eliot 275-285; Anesaki, *History* 191-205.

⁸² Frois 11.

⁸³ EX II 188-189.

⁸⁴ Frois 6-7; EX II 188-189.

Among the bonzes who visited the priests were two who had studied at the universities of Kantō and Miyako.⁸⁵ From them and from a Portuguese who, like others of his countrymen, had seen the capital of Japan,⁸⁶ Xavier was able to learn much about it and its environs.

Sakai, a large trading center, was the harbor for Miyako, which lay within the interior a two days' journey away.⁸⁷ The capital, as he was told by the Portuguese, was larger than Lisbon. The king and the greatest lords of the empire⁸⁸ lived there. The city had more than ninety thousand houses, more than two hundred monasteries, and a university with five principal colleges. Outside the city there were five more universities: Kōya-san, the main center of the Shingon sect, Negoro, Hiei-zan, and Ōmi, each with more than 3,500 students, and, high up in the cold north in the province of Kantō, the university of Ashikaga, the largest and most important in Japan, which was attended by more students than any other; and, in addition to this main university, there were many smaller universities in other places.⁸⁹ Francis further learned that the king of Japan was on friendly terms with the king of China, and if he gave one a pass, the recipient could easily enter into the closed Middle Kingdom.⁹⁰

Xavier's plan was now complete. During the winter, with Paul's help, he would compose a detailed explanation of the articles of the faith in Japanese and have them distributed throughout the land by means of block prints.⁹¹ Five months later, in the spring of the year, as soon as the south wind blew, he would set sail for Miyako in order to bring the message of Christ to the king. He would ask him for permission to preach the Gospel and urge him to send an embassy to the governor in India for the founding of a Portuguese factory in Sakai, the harbor of Miyako.⁹² He would then erect a church to our Lady in the capital so that during storms on the China Sea voyagers would call upon Our Lady of Miyako as their protectress.⁹³ He would further strive to find an entrance for the faith in the universities of Miyako and Kantō and make an appeal to the universities of Christendom, the pope in Rome, and other religious orders for their cooperation.⁹⁴ If God gave him ten more years of life, and he succeeded in converting the king of Japan and in bringing the faith to China,⁹⁵ great things, with the help of grace from above, would be seen in those lands.⁹⁶

He would immediately summon three confreres to Japan, where, God willing, they would meet him in Miyako;⁹⁷ and he hoped that before two years had passed many others would follow them.⁹⁸ And, God willing, before three years were over, the doctor from the University of Coimbra, Antonio Gomes, would come so that he might go to one of the great universities in Miyako or Kantō.⁹⁹ In

⁸⁵ EX II 210 225.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 229.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 223-224 229.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 229.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 207-209.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 210.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 211.

⁹² *Ibid.* 207 229.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 229-230.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 209-210.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 223.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 210.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 214-215 217-218 222-223.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 191.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 227.

the meantime, St. Paul's College in Goa should take in as many Japanese and Chinese boys as possible and train them as interpreters for the coming confreres.¹⁰⁰

4. THE DEPARTURE OF THE JUNK (BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER, 1549)

Soon after Xavier's arrival in Kagoshima, the warm south wind which had brought him there ceased to blow. Instead of it, in the mornings and evenings, a cool breeze usually blew in from the sea,¹ bringing occasional rains with it in September and October. But from the middle of September on the weather was mostly dry and the sky cloudless. The days became cooler. The chrysanthemums bloomed and the leaves of the trees took on all shades of red and yellow in a spectacular play of color. The temperature sank markedly in October. Xavier and his companions, weakened by the tropical climates of India and still wearing their light clothing, were already shivering from the cold in their house, open to the wind and weather with its sliding panels and windows pasted with paper.² Before the coming of November, most of the trees had already lost their foliage, though not the camphor trees³ in the mountain forest of the Fukushō-ji monastery, or the oaks, firs, cedars, and stands of bamboo. The rice fields after the harvest were no longer lustrous, but a dull, greyish green; and the people were now busy with their winter sowing of wheat, barley, and rape. A sharp, cold wind blew from the north. The time had come for the departure of Avân's junk.

But his wife was never to see him again in Malacca. He had died in Kagoshima, and his ship was to take his coffin with his earthly remains to China. As an experienced captain he had brought his passengers safely to Japan, but Xavier and his companions had vainly striven to help him on his last voyage into another life: he had died a pagan. Many Japanese, persuaded by Paul about the good qualities of the Portuguese,⁴ nevertheless wished to sail on his junk. Among these were the two bonzes who had studied in Miyako and Kanto and wished to become better acquainted with Christianity in India.⁵ The mestizo Domingos Dias was sailing with them as far as Malacca, and he was taking with him the letters, all dated November 5, which had been given to him by Xavier, Torres, Fernández, and Paul.⁶

Anjirō's letter was short. It was addressed to Xavier's confreres in Goa, and it read as follows:⁷

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 217-218.

¹ On the weather, see J. J. Rein, "The Climate of Japan," *TASJ* 6 (1878) 491-529, and Makino-Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan* (Tokyo, 1938).

² EX II 220.

³ Montanus already speaks of the many camphor trees in Satsuma (361 377). Cf. E. Grasmann, "Der Kampfbaum," *MDGNVO* 6 (1895) 277-315. He mentions the frequency of the tree in the bay of Kagoshima (281) and of a camphor tree within the city limits of Kagoshima which was 112 feet high, 25 feet in circumference, and estimated to be from one to two thousand years old (284-285).

⁴ EX II 230.

⁵ *Ibid.* 225-226.

⁶ *Ibid.* 232; SIE 88-89; DI II 110.

⁷ The letter did not arrive in Cochín along with Xavier's long letter until January, 1551, from where it was sent to Europe in two copies. Both were made by Luis Mendes, and Henrique Henriques wrote on both of them: "Trelado de huma carta que Paulo Japão mandou aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus em a India. Seia dada ao Padre Ignacio, preposito da Companhia de Jesu. Em Roma." One copy is ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 17-17v, the other, inaccurately edited in SIE 88-89, is ARSI: *Goa* 10, 114-114v. Since the copies had to be made with great haste (cf. EX II 168-169), some words have been skipped in the

May the grace and love of Jesus Christ our Lord ever help and favour us. Amen.

In His great mercy God fulfilled my longing and brought me to Japan so that I might make my mother, wife, and daughter,⁸ along with many of my relatives, men and women, and many⁹ others of my acquaintance, Christians. And now that they are Christians, I am living with other desires. I ask God that he may give them perseverance to the end. And, for the love our Lord, I am also asking you, my Fathers and Brothers, that you be particularly mindful to recommend me and all my newly converted relatives to God in your prayers, for it is not sufficient for our salvation that one begins to serve God if one does not persevere unto the end.

I hope that with God's help a large part of Japan will be converted to our faith, for they are happy to hear me when I speak to them about the things of Jesus Christ. Even the priests of Japan are not offended; on the contrary, they are much pleased when I speak to them¹⁰ of the law of the Christians.

We are all well in body; may it please God that we be also well in spiritual matters. Although we are physically far from each other, it seems to me that we are united in spirit; and on the Day of Judgment we shall again be physically united,¹¹ when we shall rise with body and soul. May God grant that this may happen so that we may go to rule with Jesus Christ.

From Kagoshima,¹² the fifth of November, 1549.

Your dearest younger brother,

Paul of the Holy Faith.

In a long letter¹³ which he wrote to his confreres in Goa, and indirectly to all the others, Xavier gave a detailed account of his voyage from Malacca to Japan and of his first impressions of, and labors in, Kagoshima, and of his plans for the Japanese mission. The letter was not written on a single day. Xavier was more than once interrupted in the course of its composition, but he would then take up his task again.

In the first part of his letter, he described his voyage on the junk from Malacca to Pulo Timon and Cochinchina, during the course of which the captain and his Chinese sailors continually brought offerings to the ship's idol and cast lots for guidance on their voyage. He then spoke of the storm on the vigil of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, how the daughter of the captain fell into the sea and was devoured by the waves, and how the captain and his men brought offerings to their idol and cast lots to see why the girl had died. The answer had been that if Manuel, the Chinese, had died, she would not have fallen into the sea. Xavier then continued:

conclusion of the second copy. A third copy was probably sent to Portugal and served as the prototype for the text of *Cartas* 1598, 16-v. For the manuscript of Luis Mendes, see DI II 132, the letter of December 22, 1550, signed by Lancilotto but written by Mendes. In ARSI: *Goa* 10, 113-v there is a Spanish translation which goes back to the prototype for the *Cartas*. Maffei's Latin translation of 1571 and the translations derived from it abbreviate the text. Streit IV 370 gives the editions of the same.

⁸ Wife, mother, and daughter (*Cartas* 1598, and ARSI: *Goa* 10, 113).

⁹ "Much" is missing in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4.

¹⁰ "To them" is missing in ARSI: *Goa* 10.

¹¹ "In the spirit, it seems to me, we are always united and physically" is lacking in ARSI: *Goa* 10. Instead of *estemos*, the SIE have *estamos*. Instead of *em spu*, *Goa* 10 has *xpu*.

¹² *Kangoshima* is the Satsuma pronunciation for Kagoshima. In his *Documents Nouveaux* I 425, Cros erroneously posts the letter from Gongora. He corrects this by suppressing it in *Vie* II 69. The editors of Polanco's *Chronicon* II 140 erroneously date the letter in 1550.

¹³ EX II 166-212. Schurhammer, "Der 'Grosse Brief' des Heiligen Franz Xaver" (GS III 605-629), gives the history of the letter.

See on what our lives were dependent—upon the lots of demons and on the power of their servants and ministers. What would have happened to us if God had permitted the demon to do all the harm to us that he desired?

When I saw such manifest and great offenses that were being committed against God our Lord because of the many idolatries, without my being able to prevent them, I many times petitioned God our Lord before we saw ourselves in that storm that He might grant us the great favor that He would not permit such grievous errors in the creatures which He had made to His image and likeness; or that, if He did permit them, He should inflict increasingly greater pains and torments upon the enemy, the cause of these spells and pagan rites, greater than those which he had experienced before, every time that he persuaded and induced the captain to cast lots, putting his faith in them, and having himself adored as God.¹⁴

Francis then described what had transpired within his soul during that stormy night, when he felt as if he were physically near the evil spirits in the howling and raging of the winds:

The day that we encountered these misfortunes and all that night, I asked God our Lord to do me the great favor of wishing to grant me to feel and to know through experience many things with respect to the cruel and dreadful terrors which the enemy causes when God permits him, and he has a great opportunity to bring them about; and also with respect to the remedies which one must use against the temptations of the enemy when he finds himself in similar trials. I shall cease writing about them since it would take too long to give an account of them, and not because they are not to be reported. The greatest of all the remedies at such times is to show very great courage against the enemy, completely distrusting oneself and having great confidence in God, placing all strength and hopes in Him, and, with such a great protector and defender, to refrain from any show of cowardice, since one has no doubts about coming off victorious.¹⁵ Many times I thought that if God our Lord had inflicted greater pains upon the demon than he had before, he sought to gain revenge for them that day and night; for many times he suggested this to me, saying that the time was at hand when he would be avenged.

But since the demon can do no more evil than what God allows him at such times, one must have greater fear of distrusting God than he has of the enemy. God permits the demon to disturb and vex those creatures who through pusillanimity cease to confide in their Creator, failing to obtain strength by hoping in Him. Because this evil of pusillanimity is so great, many who began to serve God live in desolation, since they do not advance carrying the sweet cross of Christ with perseverance.¹⁶ The miserable consequence of such a dangerous and harmful pusillanimity is that a man disposes himself for little,¹⁷ since he trusts in himself, such a trivial thing that he is, when he sees that he is in need of greater forces than he has—which compels him to place all of his confidence in God—he lacks the courage in great matters to use well the grace which God our Lord gives him so that he may hope in Him; and those who have some opinion of themselves, having greater confidence in themselves than is warranted, despising lowly matters, without having been much tried or exercised by conquering themselves in them, are weaker than the pusillanimous in great trials and dangers; for, being unable to complete what they have begun, they lose heart for little things, as they have lost it in those which are great. And since they feel such repugnance in themselves and shame to be exercised in them, they run great danger of being lost or of living in desolation, not recognizing the weaknesses in themselves, attributing them to the cross of Christ, saying that it is difficult to carry forward.

¹⁴ EX II 181-182.

¹⁵ Cf. the rules for the discernment of spirits for the first week of the Exercises, n. 12 (MI Ex. 522-525).

¹⁶ Cf. Matth. 11:30.

¹⁷ Cf. the first and fifth annotations of the Exercises (MI Ex. 224-225 228-229).

O Brothers! What will happen to us in the hour of death if we do not equip and dispose ourselves in life so that we know how to hope and to trust in God, since at that hour we shall see ourselves in greater temptations and trials and dangers than we have ever seen, both of spirit and of body? Those therefore who live with desires of serving God ought to labor and humble themselves much in little things, always lowering themselves,¹⁸ having great and solid foundations in God so that in great dangers and labors, both in life and in death, they know how to hope in the supreme goodness and mercy of their Creator, through the fact that they have learned how to conquer temptations, where they have felt repugnance, no matter how little they might have been, since with great humility they distrust themselves and strengthen their souls, confiding much in God, for no one is weak when he uses well the grace which God our Lord gives him.

And no matter how many impediments are prepared by the enemy to his perseverance in virtue and perfection, he incurs greater danger when he is manifesting himself to the world and sees himself in great tribulations, and loses his confidence in God during them, than when he passes through the trials which the enemy offers him. If men would convert the fear which they have of the demon in the temptations, fears, and menaces which he places before them, in order to withdraw them from the service of God, into a fear of their Creator, leaving it to His care, being convinced that a greater evil will come upon them in failing to fulfill the will of God than that which could come upon them from the demon, how consoled they would live! And what progress they would make, knowing from their own experience how little they are of themselves, and, on the other hand, clearly seeing how much they can do when they are, so to say, completely in God's embrace! And how weak and confused the demon would be, seeing himself conquered by those who were once enthralled to him!¹⁹

After this excursus, which was caused by his concern for his distant confreres, and probably also by his remembrance of Antonio Gomes, Xavier returned to the account of his voyage to Japan and described how the captain was only deterred from wintering in China by the threats of being punished by the Portuguese if he stayed on Sancian, and by his fear of the pirates anchored in the harbor of Chincheo. He also noted how the captain was brought against his will by the wind and waves to Japan. He then expressed his first impressions of that land:

From Japan, from the experience which we have of the land, I would let you know what we have learned about it: First of all, the people with whom we have thus far conversed are the best that we have yet discovered; and it seems to me that, among pagan nations, there will not be another to surpass the Japanese. They are a race of very fine manners and generally good and not malicious, a people of an astonishingly great sense of honor, who prize honor more than any other thing; they are in general a poor people; and the poverty that exists among *hidalgos*²⁰ and those who are not, is not considered to be a reproach. They have something which it seems to me is not to be found in any Christian regions, and it is this: The *hidalgos*, no matter how poor they may be, and those who are not *hidalgos*, no matter how much wealth they may have, have as much honor for a very poor *hidalgo* as they would have for him if he were rich; and for no amount would a very poor *hidalgo* marry into another caste (*casta*) that was not *fidalg*, even though he would be given great riches; and they do this because it seems to them that they would lose their honor by marrying into a low caste; for they have a greater esteem for honor than for wealth.²¹ They are a people

¹⁸ On the three degrees of humility see *ibid.* 368-371.

¹⁹ EX II 182-184; cf. the twelfth rule for the discernment of spirits of the first week of the Exercises (MI Ex. 522-525).

²⁰ The warrior caste of the *samurai* is meant (cf. Aoyama 58).

²¹ This was at the time particularly true in Satsuma, where many old families were proud of the blood of their ancestors; and it was precisely at this time that they began

of great courtesy in dealing with each other; they have a great esteem for arms and great confidence in them; they always carry swords and daggers, and all the people do this, both *hidalgos* and the common people;²² from the time that they are fourteen, they carry a sword and dagger.²³

They are a people who do not tolerate any injuries or words that are uttered in contempt. The people (*la gente*) who are not *hidalga* have a great attachment for the *hidalgos*; and all the *hidalgos* are greatly concerned to serve the lord of the land, and they are greatly subject to him; and it seems to me that they do so because it seems to them that, if they did the contrary, they would lose their honor more than because of the punishment which they would receive from their lord if they did the opposite.²⁴ They are a temperate race in their eating, though in their drinking they are somewhat more generous,²⁵ and they drink rice wine²⁶ since there are no vines in these regions.²⁷ They are men who never gamble,²⁸ because it seems to them that it is a great dishonor, since those who gamble desire what is not theirs, and from this fact they can come to be thieves. They swear little, and when they swear it is by the sun.²⁹ A large portion of the people can read and write,³⁰ which is a great help for learning the prayers and the things of God in a short time. They do not have more than one wife.³¹ It is a land where there are few thieves, and the reason for this is the severe justice which they employ with regard to those whom they discover to be such, since they do not spare the life of anyone; they have a profound abhorrence for this vice of theft.³² They are a people of great good will, very sociable, and eager to know.

They have a great delight in hearing about the things of God, especially when they understand them. Of all the many lands which I have seen in my life, both those which are Christian and those which are not, I have never seen a people who are so consistent

to fix the grades of social standing. They despised the wealthy merchants, or corsairs, who engaged in private export trade in Yamagawa, Bōnotsu, and elsewhere (Aoyama 58).

²² Valignano wrote in 1601: "At the time when Maffei was writing [1571], there was no one in Japan, either high or low, who was not always armed with sword and dagger. Now however it is only the soldiers, not the merchants, craftsmen, farmers, and lower classes, since Kampakudono [Toyotomi Hideyoshi] took all their weapons away from them" (**Libro primero* 37v-38v).

²³ *Katana* and *wakizashi*. In their fourteenth year, through the *gempuku* ceremony, boys were usually declared to have reached manhood and received a man's name and the right to carry arms (Aoyama 58). In 1551 Torres wrote: "From their thirteenth year boys carry sword and dagger, which they never lay aside" (59).

²⁴ Similarly, Torres in 1551 (*ibid.* 59-60), and Alvares (see Vol. III, p. 277); cf. Aoyama 59-60. Because of their loyalty to their king, Xavier's family had become impoverished.

²⁵ Cf. Alvares, Vol. III, p. 276. But on their feasts they ate and drank abundantly (Aoyama 59).

²⁶ *Sake*.

²⁷ Mass wine had to be imported from Portugal. Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote in 1637: "There are few grapes, since they are not cultivated, and those that are available are not suitable for wine. In the forests there is a kind of wild, black grape, which the Japanese do not eat. From information supplied from here, it was decided in Rome that Mass wine could be made from these if there was none from Europe, as has already happened" (I 145).

²⁸ This was true only of the lower classes. Gambling, especially at court, filled a large part of the day (Haas I 274).

²⁹ In conservative Kagoshima the sun and moon worship of the old Shintō religion was still widespread. In the Shingon sect, which was strong there, and whose founder had made the Shintō deities into incarnations of Buddha, the sun was worshiped as a symbol of Dainichi (cf. Aoyama 60), and Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, was the legendary ancestral lady of the Japanese imperial house.

³⁰ Cf. Alvares, Vol. III, p. 280, and Aoyama 31. The boys began their schooling on the sixth day of the sixth month of their sixth year (Haas I 285).

³¹ But, in addition to their wife, they frequently had concubines (cf. Haas I 273 284; Valignano 152).

³² Cf. Alvares, Vol. III, p. 276, Torres in 1551 (59), Valignano 137.

with respect to theft. They do not adore idols in the shape of animals;³³ most of them believe in men of ancient times, who, from what I have heard, were men who lived like philosophers.³⁴ Many of these worship the sun³⁵ and others the moon.³⁶ They are pleased to hear of things conformed to reason, and even though there are sins and vices among them, when they are given reasons which show that what they do is wrong, they look upon what is in conformity with reason as being right.

There are fewer sins among the laity, and I see that they are more subject to reason than those whom they there regard as priests, whom they call *bonzos*,³⁷ who are inclined to sins abhorrent to nature, and which they confess and do not deny; and this is so public and manifest to all, both men and women, young and old, that they do not regard it as strange or an abomination, since it is so very common. Those who are not *bonzos* are greatly pleased to hear us condemn that abominable sin, since it seems to them that we have much reason for saying how evil are those who commit such a sin, and how much they offend God. We frequently tell the *bonzos* that they should not commit such shameful sins; and everything that we tell them amuses them since they laugh about it and have no shame when they are reproached about so vile a sin. These *bonzos* have many boys in their monasteries, sons of *hidalgos*, whom they teach how to read and write, and they commit their corruptions with them; and this sin is so common that, even though it seems an evil to them all, they are not upset by it.³⁸

Among these *bonzos* there are some who dress in the manner of friars (*frayles*) and are dressed in a grey habit, all shaved, so that it seems that they shave both the whole of their head and beard every three or four days. These live very freely. They have nuns (*freylas*) of the same order, and they live in common with them; and the people have a very bad opinion of them, since it seems to them that so much conversation with nuns (*monjas*) is bad. All the laity say that when one of these nuns (*monjas*) feels pregnant, she takes a medicine by means of which she immediately expels the creature; and this is very well known; and it seems to me, according to what I have seen in this monastery of friars and nuns (*monjas*), that the people have good reason for what they have conceived about them. I asked certain individuals if these friars (*frailes*) had some other sin, and they told me that they had, namely with the boys whom they teach how to read and write.³⁹ And these *bonzos*, who are dressed as friars, and the others, who are dressed as priests (*clerigos*), look upon each other with mutual disfavor.⁴⁰

³³ In contrast to the Indians.

³⁴ Shaka and Amida can be here meant in particular.

³⁵ Amaterasu, the sun-goddess.

³⁶ Susanoo, according to the *Kojiki* the moon-god.

³⁷ Japanese *bōzu*.

³⁸ On this vice, which was so prevalent in Japan at the time, see our essays on Kōbō Daishi (GS II 693-694 703), and the Yamabushis (*ibid.* 707), and Torres (47); Valignano (Schütte, *Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, 110); Frois, *Geschichte* 338-339; also, with respect to the Zen monasteries, in addition to Frois 9, Dumoulin, *Zen* 200 308, who cites Zennosuke Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi* (History of Buddhism in Japan) I (Tokyo, 1944) 335-337. Tsuji is of the opinion that pederasty had become widespread in the Zen monasteries. The first notice of it is found in an edict of the *shōgun* Hōjō Sadatoki for the Engakuji monastery in Kamakura of the year 1303. In following times restrictions were frequently imposed upon the living quarters, dress, and so forth of handsome boys. The literature of the five Zen colleges (*Gozan Bungaku*) contains, according to him, numerous love songs for the boys who were educated there.

³⁹ Anjirō had already spoken of these double monasteries in India (Vol. III, pp. 483-484). From Vilela's letter of August 17, 1561, it follows that the Ji-shū are meant. His letter is only preserved in a copy (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 136-140v) and in translations (*ibid.* 133v 145v 157v). Vilela here repeats all that was written by Xavier on the double monasteries of the grey bonzes and their moral failings, and he gives the name of the sect. In the copy they are called *Gipos*, in the translations *Gipos* and *Gippi*. In the orthography of the time, *p* and *x* are often confused, and *Gipos* is obviously a false reading for *Gixos*, that is, Ji-shūs. *Cartas* 1598, 92, erroneously have *Jenxu*, that is, Zen-shū. The other data with respect to the grey bonzes are also in greater compliance with the Ji-shū. According to the **Sumario dos erros*, the grey bonzes were like Fran-

I was greatly amazed by two things in this land: the first to see that great and abominable sins are held in such slight regard; and the reason for this is that people in the past became accustomed to live in them, and the people of the present have taken their example from them. See how continuation in vices against nature corrupts what is natural. And similarly, a continued indifference towards imperfections destroys and annihilates what is perfect. The second is to see that the laity live better in their state than the *bonzos* live in theirs; and, though this is manifest, the esteem which they have for them is amazing. There are many other errors among these *bonzos*, and the worst of these are found among those who have the greatest knowledge.

I spoke many times with some of the most learned of these, especially with one to whom all in these parts are greatly attached, both because of his learning, life, and the dignity which he has, and also because of his great age, since he is eighty years old; and he is called Ninxit, which means "Heart of Truth" in the language of Japan.⁴¹ He is like a bishop among them,⁴² and if he were conformed to his name, he would be blessed. In the many conversations which we had, I found him doubtful and unable to decide whether our soul is immortal or whether it dies together with the body; sometimes he agreed with me, and at other times he did not. I am afraid that the other scholars are of the same mind. This Ninxit is such a great friend of mine that it is amazing. All, both the laity and the *bonzos*, are much pleased with us; and they are greatly astonished in seeing how we have come from such distant lands, as is Portugal from Japan, which is more than six thousand leagues, solely to speak about the things of God and how people have to save their souls by believing in *Yeshu Christo*, saying that this for which we have come to these lands is a thing commanded by God.

The prospects for the Gospel in Japan were great and the author of the

ciscans and were a subordinate sect of Jōdo-shinshū, who worshiped only Amida (135v). Xavier writes that the bonzes of the double monastery were dressed like mendicant monks (*frayles*) (EX II 188), and that in Miyako there were in addition to the usual bonzes others also like mendicants (*frayles*), called *Gixu* (Ji-shū), and nuns called *Amacata* (*ibid.* 207-208). In Paul's report on Japan, it is stated that the grey sect of the double monastery had been founded three hundred years earlier (see Vol. III, p. 483), according to Lanciotti's account of a holy man (Vol. III, p. 572). The Ji-shū were founded in 1275 by Ippen Shōnin. Paul further states that the grey bonzes were little educated (see Vol. III, p. 484). Xavier notes that they were hated by the black bonzes because they knew little and lived badly (EX II 255); on this see Aoyama 60-64.

⁴⁰ The black bonzes were the *hokke*, who wore a black cloak over their white robe.

⁴¹ Xavier writes his name as *Ninxit*, the copyist of Frois' history *Ninjit* (6-7) and, since *e* and *i* are often almost identical for him, *Nenjit* (122-124). *Ninjit* is the Satsuma pronunciation of *Ninjitsu*. The ideogram *nin* (a combination of the signs *hito* [= men] and *ni* [= two]), which is read in Chinese as *jenn*, means, according to L. Wieger, *Caractères Chinois*, (T'ou-sè-wê, 1916), the fundamental virtue of Confucianism: "humanity (33), perfection, beneficence" (835); according to Koyanagi Shigita, *Shinshū Kanwa Daijiten* 142 (Tokyo, 1938) 77: "kernel"; or, according to Mencius: "heart of men, all virtues"; according to Confucius: "the actual heart." In earlier orthographies the sign for "heart" was also added to it. On *Ninjitsu*'s tombstone two other ideograms are given for the name: the sign *nin*: to bear with patience, and the sign *shitsu*: room. The first ideogram here is a combination of the signs *tō*: sword, and *shin*: heart. Xavier's authority may not have known the Chinese ideogram for *Ninjitsu* and may have explained it from the way it was pronounced: *Ninjitsu*. On this see also Laures, "Notes on the Death of *Ninshitsu*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 8 (1952) 407, and Hiyane Yasusada, *Sei Saberiō-den* (Tokyo, 1934) 230-231.

⁴² He had the honorary title of a *tōdō* and several other Zen monasteries were subject to his monastery, for example, two in Kagoshima in 1562. In the second half of the sixteenth century there were more than 1,400 temples in southern Japan under the jurisdiction of the Fukushō-ji monastery (Aoyama 74-75). According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa* (Macao, 1620), *chōrō* is the highest rank in the Zen sect and is like that of a high ranking bishop. There were two types: doctors and masters, *xeito* [seitō] and *tōdō* (96r).

letter made a fervent appeal to his distant confreres to prepare themselves for the great harvest which was beckoning. He therefore continued:

I would have you know one thing for which you should give frequent thanks to God our Lord, namely, that this island of Japán is greatly disposed for the great increase of our holy faith; and if we knew how to speak the language, I have no doubt that many would become Christians. May it please God our Lord that we learn it in a short time, for we have already begun to become acquainted with it; and we are explaining the Ten Commandments forty days after beginning to learn it.⁴³

I am giving you such a minute account of this so that you may all give thanks to God our Lord, since regions have been discovered in which your holy desires can be fulfilled and accomplished; and, similarly, so that you may prepare yourselves with many virtues and desires to endure many labors for the service of Christ our Redeemer and Lord, and so that you may always remember that God has a greater regard for a good will filled with humility, by means of which men offer themselves to Him, making this offer of their lives solely for His love and glory,⁴⁴ than He esteems and values the services which they render, no matter how great they may be.

Be ready, since it is not unlikely that I shall write to you before the completion of two years that many of you should come to Japán. Dispose yourselves therefore to seek much humility, by accusing yourselves in those things where you feel, or should feel, repugnance, striving with all the forces which God gives you to know yourselves interiorly, no matter who you are; and by this means you will increase in greater faith, hope, and confidence and love in God and charity towards your neighbor, since from distrust in oneself is born confidence in God, which is truth; and in this way you will advance in inner humility, of which you will have a greater need in every region, and more in these, than you think. I advise you not to take account of the good opinion in which you are held by people, unless it be for your own confusion, since by neglecting this some individuals have come to lose their inner humility and have become somewhat proud;⁴⁵ and with the passage of time, not knowing how ruinous this is, those who praised them come to lose their devotion for them, and they themselves become troubled, since they are without consolation from within or without.

I therefore ask you that in all your affairs you base yourselves entirely upon God, without trusting in your own ability or knowledge or human opinion; and in this way I shall have to regard you as being ready for all the great adversities, both spiritual and physical, which can come upon you, since God raises up and supports the humble, especially those who in small and lowly matters see, as in a clear mirror, their own weaknesses, and conquer themselves in them. When such individuals see themselves in greater tribulations than they have ever seen before, when they encounter them, neither the demon with his ministers, nor great storms at sea, nor evil and barbarous people on land and sea, nor any other creature can injure them,⁴⁶ since they are sure, because of the great confidence they have in God, that these can do them no harm without His consent and permission.

And since all their intentions and desires to serve Him are manifest to Him, and since all creatures are under His obedience, there is nothing which they fear, because of their confidence in Him, except that alone of offending Him; and they know that when God permits the demon to exercise his office, and to persecute His creatures, this is for their probation and greater knowledge of themselves, or in punishment for their sins, or for their greater reward, or for their humiliation;⁴⁷ and in this way they give great thanks to God, since He has done them such a favor; and they love their

⁴³ "Ya comenzamos de gostar della, y declaramos los diez mandamientos en quarenta dias que nos dimos aprenderla" (EX II 190).

⁴⁴ Cf. the meditations of the Exercises for obtaining a perfect love of God (MI Ex. 430-431) and on the kingdom of God (*ibid.* 320-321).

⁴⁵ Cf. the meditation on the Two Standards (*ibid.* 350-355).

⁴⁶ Cf. Rom. 8:39.

⁴⁷ Cf. rule 9 of the first week on the discernment of spirits (MI Ex. 520-521).

neighbors who persecute them, since they are an instrument through which they obtain so great a good; and since they have nothing with which they can repay them for so great a favor, they pray to God for them with much affection so as not to be ungrateful; and I hope in God that you will be among these.

From his own experience, Xavier could show his confreres how useful and necessary it was for missionaries in Japan to place all their trust in God alone. He thus continued:

I know a person⁴⁸ to whom God has granted a great grace, since he has occupied himself many times, both in dangers and apart from them, in placing all his hope and confidence in Him, and the advantage which he obtained from this would be very long to describe. And since the greatest difficulties which you have up to now seen are small in comparison with those which you who are coming to Japan will have to see, I ask and pray as earnestly as I can that, for the love and service of God our Lord, you will greatly dispose yourselves, going against your own affections,⁴⁹ since they are an impediment to so much good; and have great regard for yourselves, my Brothers in Jesus Christ, for there are many in hell who, when they were in this present life, were a source and instrument for others to be saved through their words and to enter the glory of paradise, but they, for lack of inner humility, went to hell for having placed their foundation in a false and treacherous opinion of themselves; and there is no one in hell who, in this present life, labored and employed means by which he obtained this inner humility.

Always remember that word of our Lord which says: *Quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur?*⁵⁰ Some of you should not place your foundation in seeing that you have been for a long time in the Society, and that you are longer in it than others, and that on this account you are of greater moment than those who have not been in it for so long a time. I would be pleased and greatly consoled to know that those who are the oldest are frequently occupied with the thought of how little they have profited by the time they have been in the Society, and how much they have lost by not advancing in it, but have instead fallen back; for those who do not increase in the way of perfection lose what they have gained; and the oldest who are occupied with this should be greatly confused and should dispose themselves by seeking more for interior than for exterior humility, and they should regain their strength and spirit for acquiring what they have lost; and in this way they will be a source of great edification, giving an example and good odor of themselves to the novices and to the others with whom they converse. All of you exercise yourselves in this continuous practice, since you desire to distinguish yourselves in the service of Christ.⁵¹

The Japanese mission required their most serious efforts.

And believe me that those of you who come to these regions will be well tried to the extent of your abilities; and no matter how much diligence you may employ in regaining and acquiring many virtues, be sure that you will not do too much. I do not tell you these things to let you understand that it is a laborous thing to serve God, and that the yoke of the Lord is not sweet and light;⁵² for if men would dispose them-

⁴⁸ By this Xavier means himself.

⁴⁹ Cf. the first annotation of the Exercises (MI Ex. 224-225).

⁵⁰ "What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?" (Matth. 16:26). This saying of Christ, which Ignatius had held up for Xavier's eyes at the time of his conversion (Vol. I, pp. 168-172), had been recommended by Xavier in 1548 to the king of Portugal as a subject of meditation (EX I 420-421).

⁵¹ Cf. the meditation on the kingdom of Christ (MI Ex. 315-321).

⁵² Cf. Matth. 11:30.

selves to seek God,⁵³ taking and embracing the means necessary for this, they would find so much sweetness and consolation in serving Him that all the repugnance which they experience in conquering themselves would be very easy for them to overcome, if they knew how great were the joys and delights of spirit they have lost by not using violence against their temptations, which in those who are weak are accustomed to hinder so great a good and knowledge of the supreme goodness of God and repose from this laborious life, since to live in it without tasting God⁵⁴ is not life but continuous death.

But in their longing for the pagan mission, it was necessary that, during their period of studies, they should be on their guard against the wiles of the devil. He therefore continued:

I fear that the enemy may disturb some of you by proposing great and arduous tasks in the service of God which you would have to do in other regions than those which you have to do where you now are. The demon arranges all of this to the end that he may sadden and disturb you that you are not producing fruit in your souls and in those of your neighbors in the regions where you presently are, suggesting to you that you are wasting your time. This is a clear, manifest, and common temptation for many who wish to serve God; and I earnestly ask you to resist this temptation, since it is so harmful to the spirit and to perfection, since it impedes one from making progress, and makes one turn back with great aridity and desolation of spirit.⁵⁵

Therefore each one of you should labor in the places where you are to gain profit, first for yourselves and then for others, being sure that in no other region can one serve God so much as where he is by obedience, being confident in God our Lord that he will give to your superior to sense when it will be time to send you under obedience to those regions where you will serve Him more; and in this way you will advance in your souls, living in consolation and taking great advantage of the time, since this is something so very precious but not recognized as such by many, since you know how strict an account you will have to give to God our Lord about it. For just as you are not producing fruit in the regions to which you wish to go, since you are not there, so you do not gain profit, either for yourselves or for others, in the regions where you are, since your thoughts and desires are fixed on other regions.

Those of you who are in the college of the Holy Faith should make many proofs of yourselves and exercise yourselves in knowing your weaknesses, revealing them to persons who can help you and provide a remedy against them, as are your confessors, already proved, and other spiritual persons of the house, so that when you leave the college you will know how to take care first of yourselves and then of others from that which experience has taught you and those persons who have helped you in spirit. And know for certain that many kinds of temptations will come upon you when you go alone or two by two, exposing you to many proofs in the land of infidels and in the storms of the sea, which you did not experience when you were in the college; and, if you do not leave much tried and proven in knowing how to conquer your own disordinate affections with great knowledge of the wiles of the enemy, judge for yourselves, Brothers, the danger you will run when you manifest yourselves to the world, which is entirely based on corruption, how you will resist it if you are not truly humble.

The time spent in study in St. Paul's College should not be considered to be lost, and they should in humble obedience exercise themselves in small and lowly things in order to be prepared for the great things of the future. He therefore continued:

⁵³ Cf. the first annotation of the Exercises (MI Ex. 224-225).

⁵⁴ Cf. the second annotation of the Exercises (*ibid.* 224-227) and EX I 127.

⁵⁵ Cf. rule 4-5 of the second week for the discernment of spirits (MI Ex. 530-533).

I am also living in great fear that Lucifer, making use of his many wiles and changing himself into an angel of light,⁵⁶ may disturb some of you, reminding you of the many favors which God our Lord has given you after your entrance into the college by freeing you from many miseries which you experienced when you were in the world, inducing some false hopes in you of being brought out before the time, suggesting to you that, since God our Lord up to now, in such a short time that you have been in the college, has shown you so many favors, He will grant you many more when you will leave it in order to produce fruit in souls, making you believe that you are losing your time.

You can resist this temptation in two ways: the first is to reflect much within yourselves that if the great sinners who are in the world were where you are, since they would be away from the occasions of sin and in a place for acquiring great perfection, how changed they would be from what they are, and they would perhaps shame many of you! And I say this so that you may think that the lack of occasions for offending God and the many means and favors which one has in this house for relishing God are a reason for not committing serious sins; and those who do not perceive from where such great mercy comes to them attribute to themselves the spiritual good which comes to them from the seclusion of the house and from the spiritual persons who are in it; and they thus neglect to take advantage of the things which seem to be small, though they are of themselves great, and those who neglect them are themselves small. The second way is to relinquish to your superior all your desires, judgments, and opinions, having such great faith, hope, and confidence in God our Lord, that He in His mercy will grant him to sense with respect to your spiritual good that which is better for you.

And do not be insistent with your rector, as some are, who insist so much with their superiors and use so much force with them that they come to order what they themselves wish, though this is very harmful to them; and if this is not granted to them, they say that they live very disconsolate, and these sad persons do not perceive that the source of their discontent is within themselves, and it is increased and augmented by their attempts to do their own will after having denied it through their vow of obedience, making a complete oblation of it to God our Lord. The more such individuals strive to make use of their own will, the more disconsolate and troubled in conscience they live; and there are thus many subjects who, because of their being such proprietors and friends of their own judgments and opinions, never willingly obey their superiors except in as far as what is ordered is in keeping with their own desires.

For the love of God our Lord, beware of your being among their number. Therefore in the offices of the house which are given to you through obedience by your superior, labor with all your forces, making good use of the grace which God our Lord gives you in order to overcome all the temptations with which the enemy entices you so that you may not gain profit in such an office, suggesting that you will be able to advance more in another than in this; and the enemy is accustomed to do the same with those who study.

For the service of God I earnestly ask you to labor with all your forces in small and humble offices to confound the demon more by overcoming the temptations which he brings upon you with respect to the office than by the physical effort you employ in doing what you have been ordered; for there are many who, even though they physically perform their offices well, do not advance interiorly because they do not strive to conquer the temptations and perturbations which the enemy arouses in them with respect to the office which they have, so that they do not gain profit from it; and such individuals live almost always restless and dissatisfied, without advancing in spirit. No one should deceive himself by thinking that he will distinguish himself in great things if he has not first distinguished himself in those which are small.

Another temptation of the devil was when the students of the order coming from Coimbra wished to withdraw themselves from obedience on the pretext of zeal for souls so that they might follow their own will. He therefore continued:

⁵⁶ Cf. rule 4 of the second week for the discernment of spirits (*ibid.* 530-531).

And believe me that there are many kinds of zeal,⁵⁷ or, to say it better, of temptations. There are some who are busy in thinking up ways and means how, under the guise of piety and zeal of souls, they can avoid a bit of the cross,⁵⁸ so as not to deny their desires in doing that which they have been ordered to do by obedience, seeking to obtain something greater without reflecting that one who has no virtue for what is small will have even less for that which is great; for engaging in difficult and great affairs with little abnegation and strength of spirit, they will come to know that their zealous interests were temptations, since they find themselves weak in them. I am afraid that it may happen that some will come from Coymbra with these zealous desires and, in the ragings of the sea, will perhaps prefer to be in the holy company of Coimbra than on board ship, because there are certain desires which vanish before one reaches Yndia.

And those who reach it, when they encounter great adversities in going among the infidels, if they are not deeply rooted, they will lose their zeal and, being in Yndia, will live longing for Portugal. Thus, in the same manner, it can happen that some will enjoy the consolations of that house and will eagerly go to other regions to produce fruit in souls, but afterwards, when they find themselves without zeal there where they wanted to be, they will perhaps live longing for that college. See what happens to fervid desires which are prematurely raised, how dangerous they are when they are not well grounded. I am writing you these things not to discourage you from more difficult enterprises, distinguishing yourselves as great servants of God, bequeathing a memory of yourselves for those who will come after your days; but I am saying this solely for this end, that you may show yourselves to be great in little things, gaining much profit for yourselves in the recognition of temptations, in seeing what you can do,⁵⁹ gaining all your strength entirely from God; and if you will persevere in this, I do not doubt that you will always increase in humility and spirit, and that you will produce much fruit in souls since you will be calm and secure wherever you go. For it is reasonable that those who feel deeply their own passions and, with great diligence, take good care of them will feel those of their neighbors, providing remedies for them with charity, listening to them in their necessities, and laying down their lives for them; for just as in their own souls they will gain profit first sensing and healing their own passions, they will be able to heal and to make others sense their own; and in this way they will come to feel the passion of Christ,⁶⁰ and they will be the means for others to feel it; and I do not see how those who do not feel them in themselves can make others feel them.

After this excursus Xavier returned again to his arrival in Kagoshima, and he described the excellent reception which he had received in the city and the visit which he and Paul had made to the prince of the land. He then continued:

Believe one thing and give many thanks to God for it, that a way is opening up where your desires can be fulfilled; and if we were able to speak, we would have already gained much fruit. Paul is in such a haste with many of his relatives and friends,

⁵⁷ With the false "zeal" (*fervores*) Xavier is thinking about Coimbra. In a letter of May 7, 1547, Ignatius had warned the scholastics in the college of Coimbra about the "fervor indiscreto," the "locuras sanctas," which had been reported from there (MI *Epp.* 504-507). On January 27, 1554, Miona, Olave, Polanco, and Cogordan, who had been commissioned by the general of the order to investigate the complaints about the provincial Simon Rodrigues, condemned him for bringing the whole Society in Portugal and Spain into danger "con los fervores peligrosos, más estimados dél que las virtudes verdaderas y sólidas, quales fueron los desafíos y otros desconciertos" (MI *Scripta* I 685-686). At the beginning of 1547 Rodrigues had himself written about "el feruor en casa" of Coimbra, against which Fathers Strada and Santa Cruz had spoken (MHSI: *Ep. Broëti* 547-553). On the excesses in Coimbra, see Vol. III, pp. 216-219.

⁵⁸ "Una pequeña de cruz" (EX II 198).

⁵⁹ Cf. rule 9 of the first week on the discernment of spirits (MI *Ex.* 520-521).

⁶⁰ Cf. annotation 2 of the Exercises (*ibid.* 224-227) and the *The Following of Christ* II, c. 12, n. 4.

preaching to them by day and night, that he has been the reason why his mother, wife and daughter, and many of his relatives and friend, both men and women, have become Christians; here, up until now, people do not cause offense by their becoming Christians; and since a large portion of them know how to read and write, they quickly learn the prayers.

May it please God our Lord to grant us the language so as to be able to speak about the things of God, since we shall then produce much fruit with His help, grace, and favor. Till now we are among them like statues, since they speak and say many things about us, and we ourselves, since we do not understand the language, are mute; and we must now become like little children in learning the language, and may it please God that we may imitate them in simplicity and purity of mind. This forces us to take means and to dispose ourselves to be like them both in learning the language and in imitating the simplicity of the little ones who are without malice.

Xavier then described the many graces which God had already shown him in Japan:

And for this God has granted us many great and signal favors in bringing us to these regions of the infidels, so that we may not neglect ourselves, since this land is all full of idolatries and enemies of Christ, and we do not have anything in which we can trust and hope except in God, since we do not have here any relatives or friends or acquaintances, nor is there any Christian piety, but all are enemies of Him who created heaven and earth; and for this reason we are forced to place all our faith, love, and confidence in Christ our Lord, and not in any living creature, since because of their infidelity they are all enemies of God. In other regions where our Creator, Redeemer, and Lord is known, creatures are accustomed to be a cause and obstacle for neglecting God, as is love of father, mother, relatives, friends and acquaintances, and love for one's own country and having what is needed, both in health and sickness, when one has temporal goods or spiritual friends that help in physical needs; and that which compels us more than anything else to hope in God is the lack of persons to help us in spirit: as is the case here in foreign lands, where God is not known, He does us such a great favor that creatures help and compel us not to forget to place all our faith, hope, and confidence in His divine goodness, for these lack all love of God and Christian piety.

In considering this great grace which our Lord gives us together with many others, we are confused in seeing such manifest mercy that He employs with us. We ourselves thought that we would do some service to Him in coming to these regions for the increase of His holy faith; and until now, through His goodness, He gives us clearly to understand and feel the favor which He has done to us, so immense in drawing us to Japan, freeing us from the love of many creatures that hinder us from having greater faith, hope, and confidence in Him. Judge for yourselves now, if we were those who we should be, how tranquil, consoled, and entirely filled with joy would be our life, hoping alone in Him from whom every good proceeds, and who does not deceive those who trust in Him, but instead is more generous in giving than men are in their requests and hopes. For the love of our Lord, help us to give thanks for such great favors so that we do not fall into the sin of ingratitude; for in those who wish to serve God, this sin is a reason for God our Lord ceasing to grant greater favors than those which He does, for failure to recognize so great a good and making use of it.

It is also necessary for us to inform you of other favors which God grants to us, which He lets us recognize through His mercy, so that you may assist us in always giving thanks to God for them; and it is that in other regions the abundance of physical provisions are wont to be a cause and occasion for the inordinate appetites to obtain what they want, and the virtue of abstinence is frequently disfavored, so that men suffer notable damage both in soul and body; and from this comes the majority of physical infirmities and also spiritual, and men must suffer many pains in keeping a mean;⁶¹ and before they acquire it, many shorten the days of their lives, experiencing

⁶¹ Cf. rule 4 on moderation in eating (MI Ex. 412-415).

many kinds of pain and torment in their bodies, taking remedies to regain their health which are more distasteful to take than the pleasure they found in eating and drinking; and in addition to these difficulties, they encounter others that are greater which place their lives in the power of the physicians, who come to succeed with their cures after they have committed numerous errors in their regard.

God granted us such a great favor in drawing us to these regions which lack these abundancies that, even if we should wish to give these superfluities to the body, the land would not endure it. They do not kill or eat that which they rear;⁶² they sometimes eat fish and rice and wheat, although little. There are many vegetables on which they live and some fruits, though few. The people of this land enjoy marvelously good health, and there are many old people. In the Japanese it is clearly seen how our nature is sustained by little, even though it has nothing with which it is content. We are living in this land very sound of body. May it please God that we were so in soul!

At the conclusion Xavier added still another favor. The bonzes had shown great interest in the teaching which had been brought by the new arrivals from Tenjiku, the Heavenly Land, the home of Buddha, and in the monastery of Fushō-ji, Xavier had become a warm friend of Ninshitsu and some of his religious confreres. But he had been compelled to reproach the bonzes in other monasteries because of their scandalous lives, and he had not hidden this reproach from his visitors. He had also discovered that their teaching and his were contradictory in basic points, and that some day there would be an open conflict. Xavier had frequently longed for martyrdom, and God would perhaps grant him this grace in Japan. He therefore continued:

We are as it were forced to let you know about a favor which it seems to us that God our Lord will grant us so that with your prayers and sacrifices you will help us not to be unworthy of it, and this is that a large part of the Japanese are *bonzos* and they are greatly heeded in the land where they are, even though their sins are manifest to all; and the reason why they are held in such regard seems to me because of the great abstinence which they have, since they never eat fish or flesh but only vegetables, fruit, and rice, and this once a day and with much moderation, and they do not give them wine.

There are many *bonzos* and their houses are very poor in revenues. Because of this continuous abstinence which they keep, and because they do not have intercourse with women, especially those who are dressed in black like clerics,⁶³ under the penalty of death, and since because they know how to relate some accounts, or better to tell some tales about the things in which they believe, for this reason it seems to me that they are kept in high regard. It will not take much for us to be persecuted by them, and more than in words, because of the contrary opinions which we and they have about the perception of God and how the nations are to be saved.

What we aspire to in these regions is to bring the people to a knowledge of their Creator, Redeemer, and Savior *Yesú Christo* our Lord. We live with great confidence, hoping in Him that he will give us the strength, grace, help, and favor to succeed in this. It seems to me that the laity will not contradict or persecute us on their part were it not for the great importunities of the *bonzos*. We do not seek quarrels with them, nor through fear of them do we cease to speak of the glory of God and the salvation of souls; and they cannot do us more harm than is permitted them by God

⁶² Cf. *Alvares*, Vol. III, p. 274, and *Rodrigues* I 151 (no chickens, ducks, pigs, cows).

⁶³ Those dressed in black like clerics were, for example, the Zen, Hokke, and Jōdo bonzes. According to *Dumoulin*, the rule which was given by the founder of the Sōtō Zen sect, who died in 1253, is still preserved almost unchanged in Zen monasteries. Their food in the morning and evening consists of a light dish of rice, at noon of wheat gruel with something to go with it. Animal products such as meat, fish, eggs, and milk are not eaten (*Zen* 167).

our Lord; and the evil which comes to us from them is a favor which our Lord will grant us, if, for His love and service and through zeal for souls, we should shorten the days of our life, since they are the means through which this continuous death in which we live will come to an end, and our desires will be accomplished in a short time when we go to reign forever with Christ. Our intentions are to declare and manifest the truth no matter how much they may contradict us, for God imposes a greater obligation on us to love the salvation of our neighbors than our physical lives. We intend with the help, favor, and grace of our Lord to fulfill this command, since He gives us the interior strength to manifest Him in the midst of so many idolatries as there are in Japán.

We live in great hope that we shall have this grace, though we completely distrust our own strength, placing all our hope in Jesus Christ our Lord and in the most Holy Virgin Santa María His mother, and in all the nine choirs of angels, taking from among all of them as our special protector San Miguel the archangel as our prince and defender of the whole Church militant, trusting much in that archangel, to whom is particularly entrusted the guarding of this great kingdom of Japán, recommending ourselves especially to him every day and, together with him, to all the other guardian angels who have special care of asking God our Lord for the conversion of the Japanese, over whom they keep watch, not ceasing to invoke all those blessed saints who, seeing so great a loss of souls, always long for the salvation of so many images and likenesses of God, trusting in large measure that all our defects and faults in not recommending ourselves as we should to the whole celestial court will find compensation in the blessed of our holy Society who are there, always presenting our poor desires to the Most Blessed Trinity.

Our hopes of attaining victory through the supreme goodness of God our Lord are, with such great favor and assistance, greater than are the impediments which the enemy places before us to make us retreat, even though they do not cease to be numerous and great; and I do not doubt that they would make a great impression upon us if we based them in any way upon our own knowledge and ability. May God our Lord grant in His great mercy that the enemy may place before us such great fears, labors, and dangers so that we become low and humble, and so that we may never trust our own strength and abilities but only Him and those who share in His goodness. In this region He clearly shows us His infinite clemency and particular mindfulness which He has for us, granting us to know and feel within our souls how small we are, since He permits us to be persecuted by little labors and small dangers so that we may not forget Him by placing our foundation within ourselves; for doing the contrary, the small temptations and persecutions in those who have some foundation in themselves are more troublesome of spirit and more difficult to endure than the many great dangers and hardships are in those who, completely distrusting themselves, have great confidence in God.

In his own unworthiness, Xavier hoped to obtain this strength through the prayers of his confreres and the Bride of Christ, our Holy Mother the Church. He therefore continued:

It will contribute to our own consolation to inform you of a great concern in which we live, so that you may help us with your sacrifices and prayers; and this is that, since all our continuous ills and great sins are manifest to God our Lord, we live in due fear that He may cease to confer favors upon us and to give us the grace to begin to serve Him with perseverance unto the end, and that we do not undergo a great reform; and for this we must take as our intercessors on earth all those of the blessed Society of the name of Jesus, with all its friends and those devoted to it, so that through their intercession we may be presented to our Holy Mother, the universal Church, Bride of Christ our Lord and our Redeemer, in which we firmly believe without any possibility of doubt, and we trust that she will share with us her many and infinite merits. And, similarly, that we may be presented and recommended through her to all the blessed in heaven, especially to *Yesú Christo*, her spouse, our Redeemer and

Lord, and to the Most Blessed Virgin, His Mother, so that they may continuously recommend us to God, the eternal Father, from whom every good comes and proceeds,⁶⁴ asking Him that He may always preserve us from offending Him, not ceasing to grant us continuous favors, not regarding our ills, but His own infinite goodness, since we have come into these regions solely for love of Him, as He well knows, since all our hearts, intentions, and poor desires, which are manifest to Him, are to free the souls which for more than fifteen hundred years have been captive to Lucifer, who makes himself worshiped by them as the God of the earth, since he was not able to do so in heaven; and after he was expelled from there, he takes as much revenge as he can upon many, and also upon the afflicted Japanese.

After this third excursus, Xavier returned again to Kagoshima in order to speak about his plans for the future of the Japanese mission.

It is good that we inform you about our stay in Cangoxima. We arrived there at a time when the winds were opposed to our going to Meaco,⁶⁵ which is the principal city of Japan, where the king is⁶⁶ and the greatest lords of the kingdom; and there will not be a wind to help us to go there for five more months, after which, with God's assistance, we shall go there. From here to Meaco it is three hundred leagues.⁶⁷ They tell us great things about that city, assuring us that it has more than ninety thousand houses,⁶⁸ and that it has a great university of students in it, which has five main colleges in it,⁶⁹ and more than two hundred houses of *bonzos* and of others like friars, who are called *Gixu*,⁷⁰ and of nuns who are called *Amacata*.⁷¹

In addition to this university of Meaco, there are five main universities, the names of which are as follows: *Coya*,⁷² *Negru*,⁷³ *Fieson*,⁷⁴ *Omy*.⁷⁵ These four are in the

⁶⁴ Cf. the triple colloquy of the third meditation of the first week, the meditation on the Two Standards of the third week, and the meditation on obtaining a perfect love of God (MI Ex. 290-293 398-399 432-433).

⁶⁵ Miyako is today called Kyōto.

⁶⁶ Go-Nara-tennō, who ruled from 1527 to 1557. Like his European contemporaries, Xavier knew only one emperor, that of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. He thus always speaks of "the king" of Japan and "the king" of China.

⁶⁷ Japanese leagues (*ri*) are meant. A *ri* was about two and one-half miles. But even so the distance is exaggerated. It was around 225 *ri*, equal to 560 miles, or 150 Portuguese leagues.

⁶⁸ In Xavier's letter to D. Pedro da Silva, which is preserved only in a copy, there is "noventa e seis mil" instead of 90,000 homes (EX II 229). Rodrigues Tçuzu cites a Japanese saying on the number of homes in Miyako: "With respect to the number of households which formerly paid tribute in the city of Miyako, there is a proverb which says: *Kio Cuman faxenghen, Xira cava Juman fazenghen* [Kyō kuman hassen gen, Shirakawa juman hassen gen], that is: 'Kyōto had 98,000 homes or hearths and Shirakawa (a continuation of the same city with a river [the Kamogawa] lying between, which reaches to the foot of Hienoyama in the northeast [the ms. erroneously has *noroeste* instead of *nordeste*]) had 108,000' [the printed text has erroneously 108,900], which comes to a total of 206,000 hearths" (I 238). See also GS II 645 and III 654-655 and Ponsonby 423-425.

⁶⁹ Meant are the five Zen colleges, *Gozan*, with the names of Tenryūji, Shōkokuji, Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and Manjuji. Cf. Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild Kyōtos" (GS II 644 666 669-671).

⁷⁰ *Gixu* (Ji-shū), the Amida sect founded by Ippen Shōnin (cf. GS III 623, where Ji-shū instead of *Jisha* is to be read).

⁷¹ *Ama* is another name for *Bikuni*, a Buddhist nun; *kata*: person.

⁷² *Kōya-san* in the province of Kii, the principal monastery of the Shingon sect, to which Anjirō had formerly belonged. On September 30, 1601, Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote from Nagasaki: "A bonze from Kōya, which was one of the main universities of Japan, was also converted" (British Museum, London: *Add. Mss.* 9859, 182v). On Kōyasan, see Schurhammer, "Kōbō Daishi" (GS II 696-700), and Lancilotto (Vol. III, p. 574).

⁷³ *Negoro-dera* in Negoro (province of Kii), founded from Kōyasan, main site of the military Negoro bonzes of the Shingi branch of the Shingon sect, which under the Ashi-

vicinity of Meaco, and in each one of them we are told there are more than 3,500 students. There is another university farther from Meaco, which is called Bandu,⁷⁶ which is the largest and most important of Japán, and to which more students go than to any other. Bandu is a very great seigniory where there are six dukes, and among them there is one principal duke whom all obey, and this principal duke is obedient to the king of Japán.⁷⁷ They tell us so many things about the grandeurs of these lands and universities that we first wish to see them so that we can affirm and write the truth about them; and if it is as they say, after we have obtained experience about them, we shall write you in great detail.

In addition to these main universities we are told that there are many other little ones throughout the kingdom. And after we have seen the disposition for fruit which can be had in souls in these parts, it will be a trifling matter to write to all the principal universities of Christendom for the relief of our consciences and for the burdening of theirs, since, with their many virtues and learning, they can remedy such an evil, converting such great unbelief into a knowledge of its Creator, Redeemer, and Savior. With the desire that they shall not look upon us as least sons, we shall write to them and to our superiors and priests about the fruit which can be gained with His help and favor, so that those who cannot come here may favor those who offer themselves for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and thus share in greater consolations and spiritual delights than those which they perhaps experience there; and if the disposition of these parts should be as great as we imagine, we shall not hesitate to inform His Holiness, since he is the *vicario* of Christ on earth and the shepherd of those who believe in Him, and also of those who are disposed to come to a knowledge of their Redeemer and Savior and to be under His spiritual jurisdiction, without forgetting

kaga *shōguns* had 2,700 temples under it, destroyed in 1585 by Hideyoshi (Papinot 437); cf. also Murdoch 201-202; Steichen 108-110.

⁷⁴ *Hiei-zan* near Kyōto was the main site of the Tendai sect and of Japanese Buddhism in general. When at its height, it allegedly had 3,800 monasteries and academic institutions. When it was burned down by Nobunaga in 1571, it still had 400 of these. Cf. Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild Kyōtos" (GS II 674-680); Frois, *Geschichte* 40-43 76-81 220 358-359.

⁷⁵ *Ōmi* probably stands for the Kinshoku-ji monastery in Kibe, the largest monastery of the province of Ōmi, the main site of the Kibe branch of the Jōdo-shinshū (Ikkō) sect (Papinot 274; Ramming 54).

⁷⁶ The college of Ashikaga-gakkō in Ashikaga in Shimotsuke, one of the eight provinces of Kantō, alias Bandō (Xavier always writes *Bandu*), a famous college founded in the ninth (according to others in the twelfth) century, which became the most important center for the study of Chinese literature and Confucianism (Papinot 39), from the fifteenth century on, under the direction of the Zen sect (Murdoch 154). On December 5, 1554, Mendes Pinto wrote that Xavier had told him that the university of Bandu was much greater than that of Paris (DI III 155). Frois advises against thinking about European universities when the expression "universities of Japan" is used, since those of Japan did not have the authority, eminence, knowledge, revenues, or rank of those of Europe. The students were mostly bonzes or candidates of the order, and they employed most of their time in learning the countless characters of the Chinese and Japanese scripts. They also studied the doctrines of their sects, some moral principles from a catechetical work, and some astrology and medicine. There was only one university and public institution for these studies in Japan, that of Kantō in the kingdom of Shimotsuke in Ashikaga (*Geschichte* 11). Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote that people came from everywhere in Japan to the university of Ashikaga in order to learn all kinds of sciences, which were taught there gratis (II 56).

⁷⁷ In the second half of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth century the Kantō region north of Kyōto was ruled by a relative of the *shōgun* who had the title of *Kantō-Kubō*. Towards the end of the fourteenth century six princely families were subject to him: the Uesugi, Takeda, Yūki, Satake, Chiba, and Miura. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the main part of the Kantō region was under the Hōjō and the remaining areas under seven different princes of the land (Aoyama 69-70). The region comprised eight provinces: Musashi, Awa, Kazusa, Shimōsa, Shimotsuke, Hitachi, Kōzuke, and Sagami (Papinot 342).

to write to all the devout and blessed friars who live with very holy desires to glorify *Yesú Christo* in the souls of those who do not know Him; and no matter how many may come, there will be a place to fulfill their desires in this great kingdom and in another still greater, which is China, where one may safely go, without being ill treated by the Chinese, if he takes with him a safe-conduct from the king of Japán, who we hope in God will be our friend, and from whom this safe-conduct will be easily obtained. For I wish you to know that the king of Japán is a friend of the king of China,⁷⁸ and that he keeps his seal as a sign of friendship, so that he can give a safe-conduct to those who go there.⁷⁹ Many ships sail from Japán to China, which is a crossing which can be made in ten or twelve days. We live with great hope that if God our Lord will give us ten years of life, that we shall see great things in these parts through those who will come from there, and through those whom God will move in these parts to come to a true knowledge of Him. We hope to write to you for the year 1551 in very great detail about the entire disposition that there is in Meaco and in the universities so that *Yesú Christo* our Lord may be known in them. This year two *bonzos* are going to Yndia who have studied in the universities of Bandu and Meaco, and with them many Japanese⁸⁰ to learn the things of our law.

On the day of San Miguel we spoke with the duke of this land and he showed us much honor, saying that we should very carefully preserve the books in which the law of the Christians is written, saying that if the law of *Yesú Christo* is true and good, the demon will then be greatly burdened by it. A few days after this he gave permission to his subjects so that all those who wished to become Christians might do so. I am writing this great good news to you at the end of the letter for your consolation, and so that you may give thanks to God our Lord. It seems to me that we shall be busy this winter in writing an explanation of the articles of the faith in the language of Japán, rather full, so that it may be printed,⁸¹ since all the important people know how to read and write, so that our holy faith may be spread in many regions, since we cannot go to all of them.

Paul, our dearest brother, will faithfully translate into his own language all that is necessary for the salvation of their souls. It is now your duty, since there is such a great disposition opening up, that all your desires should principally be to manifest yourselves as great servants of God in heaven, which you will do by being interiorly humble in your souls and lives in this world, leaving all your care to God that He may grant you to be recognized by your neighbors on earth; and if you cease to do so, you will see the danger which you will incur, attributing to yourselves that which belongs to God. I live in great consolation in the thought that you will always see so many things within yourselves to reproach that you will come to a great abhorrence of all self

⁷⁸ The Ming emperor Chia-ch'ing was ruling in China from 1522 to 1566.

⁷⁹ On Japan's trade relations with China, see Wang Yi-t'ung, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); G. Hughes, "The Japanese in China," *The China Review* 2 (1873-74) 369-375; 3 (1874-75) 57-61; A. Tschepe, S.J., *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1600* (Yentschoufu, 1907). In 1401 the *shōgun* Yoshimitsu had again entered into relations with China and had sent an embassy with gifts. In 1403 he sent a second embassy to the Chinese emperor with an acknowledgment of China's authority over Japan. When this embassy returned to Japan, the emperor Yung-lo sent an ambassador with it, who concluded a treaty on trade with the *shōgun* in the name of his lord. The ambassador had brought to Yoshimitsu a hundred numbered passes (*kangofu*) and a golden seal that was so heavy that it could hardly be lifted with two hands. On the upper side it bore the image of a turtle and on the lower side the inscription: "The King of Japan" (Wang 22-39). In 1548 the last official embassy went to China with the usual imperial passes; it returned the following year (*ibid.* 79-80).

⁸⁰ Only four Japanese arrived in Malacca on April 2, 1550, among whom were the two bonzes (DI II 109-110). The others perhaps remained in Kagoshima or returned from China to Japan.

⁸¹ From the second half of the fifteenth century, Satsuma had had a press which had published many good works of Chinese literature with block plates (Katsume 231-232; Aoyama 31-32).

and disordered love; and, similarly, that you will come to such perfection that the world will not have any reason for reproaching you; and thus the praises which you receive will become a painful cross to hear, seeing clearly your faults in them.

I thus am coming to an end without being able to finish writing about the great love which I have for all of you in general and in particular; and if the hearts of those who love each other in Christ could be seen in the present life, believe, my dearest brothers, that you would see yourselves clearly in mine; and if you could not distinguish yourselves, gazing at yourselves in it, it would be because I hold you in such great esteem; and you yourselves, because of your virtues, hold yourselves in such contempt that, because of your humility, you would fail to see and recognize yourselves in it, and not because your images are not impressed upon my soul and heart. I ask you earnestly that you preserve a true love among yourselves, not allowing your minds to become embittered. Convert part of your zeal into love for each other and part of your desires to suffer for Christ into suffering for His love, conquering within yourselves all the repugnancies which prevent this love from increasing, since you know that Christ said that He recognizes those who are His by this, if they have love for one another.⁸² May God our Lord grant us to experience within our souls His most holy will and the grace to fulfill it perfectly.

From Cangoxima, the fifth of November of the year 1549.

Entirely your dearest Brother in Christ,⁸³

Francisco.

Of Xavier's other letters, some were destined for Malacca, others for his confreres in Goa. The first of these letters was addressed to Pérez,⁸⁴ the superior of the house in Malacca, to whom Paul, Torres, and Fernández also wrote.⁸⁵ In it he recommended to him the two bonzes and their Japanese companions. He also ordered him to have copies made of his "long letter" for the confreres in Portugal, and he urged him to take into the college in Malacca Chinese and Japanese boys in particular, so that they might later assist the missionaries on their voyages to China and Japan as interpreters. He also withdrew an earlier order, namely, that Bravo should be sent in November, 1550, to study in Goa. He now ordered him to remain in Malacca to help the priest in the college.⁸⁶

He wrote a second letter to the captain of Malacca, Dom Pedro da Silva, to whom he owed so much for his voyage to Japan.⁸⁷ It read as follows:

Senhor! With the great help and favor which Your Grace gave to us, both in providing us so abundantly with what was necessary, and in presenting us with gifts for these lords and in giving us such a good ship for making our voyage, we arrived in Japão on the day of our Lady in August, in peace and health, in the place of Paulo de Santa

⁸² John 13:15.

⁸³ The text of the letter is in Spanish, the signature in Portuguese: "Vosso todo en Christo Hirmão carissimo, Francisco."

⁸⁴ The letter is lost. We have reconstructed its contents from other sources in EX II 231-232, and from Pérez, *Informação* 68.

⁸⁵ DI I 110. These letters are also lost.

⁸⁶ Before his voyage to Japan Xavier had asked Ignatius to have a Mass offered for him every month in the chapel of the crucifixion in S. Pietro in Montorio (EX II 15). It seems that he now also asked Pérez for Masses for the Japanese mission. The latter wrote in his *Informação* in 1579 that after the return of the junk with Xavier's letters he had begun to offer a Mass of the Passion or of the Name of Jesus every Friday for the priests and the Christians of Japan, and he added: "I have done this from that time, which was in the year 49, until the present year of 1579, when, through the Mercy of God, I am still living. May God grant us through his kindness and mercy to persevere in His service until the battle is ended. Amen" (68).

⁸⁷ EX II 227-231.

Fee, where we were received by the captain and the mayor, and by all the people with great love.

Paul, our good companion, devoted himself with such zeal in preaching day and night to his relatives that he has already converted his mother and wife, his male and female relatives, and many other acquaintances, who are now Christians.

The land is well disposed for fruit of souls to be produced in it; and up to now it has not been a cause of concern for their becoming Christians. They are a people accessible to reason; and since through their ignorance they live in many errors, reason is held in esteem by them, which would not be the case if malice reigned among them.

Since we did not have a monsoon, we failed to go to Miaco, where the king of Japão and the greatest lords of the king stay. Five months from now we shall have our monsoon so that we can go; and with the help of our Lord, making use of the winds, we shall make our voyage. We are told so many things about Miaco, that we shall regard them as true when we shall have experienced them. It is said that the town has ninety-six thousand homes; and one of those Portuguese who saw it told me here in Japão⁸⁸ that it was greater than Lixboa; all the houses are of wood and with attics like ours. During the coming year, from the experience which I shall have had, I shall write to Your Grace; and I hope in Jesus Christ that a great part of Japão will become Christian since they are a reasonable people.

The fruit which will be achieved will be the result of Your Grace's order, both by your letters and the embarkation which you gave us, and the rich gifts which you sent for the king. I thus hope in God that what the *Senhor Conde Almirante*, your father, began,⁸⁹ Your Grace will be the reason for its coming to light; and the greater portion of the merit with God will be that of Your Grace, since that of India is entirely temporal. I am writing this to your Grace so that you may have a deep understanding of the favor which is being granted to you by God, since He is the source of this good.

But in addition to the spiritual profit, Japan also offered prospects of temporal gain.

And since the intention of Your Grace is so good for the increase of our holy faith in these regions, it will have much profit for the king. For in Çacay, which is the principal port of Japão, a two days' distance by land from Miaco, if it is God's will, there will be set up a factory of great temporal advantage; for this harbor of Çacay is the richest of Japão, where much and the greater part of the silver and gold of the kingdom is collected. I shall take good care to influence the king of Japão so that he send an embassy to India to see its grandeur and the things there which they lack, so that by this means the governor and the king of Japão will negotiate with each other on how the said factory may be established.

I am very confident that before two years have passed I shall write to Your Grace on how we have in Miaco a church of Our Lady, so that those who are coming to Japão may recommend themselves in the storms at sea to Our Lady of Miaco.⁹⁰ If Your Grace will have confidence in me and will make me your *feitor da fazenda* in these parts for what you will send here, I assure you of one thing, that I shall gain for you more than a hundred for one through a certain means which no captain of Malaca has used up till now, that is, by giving everything to the poor Christians who will be converted; and the gain will be so secure that there will be no risk whatever, since it is certain that he who gives one thing for Christ will gain a hundred in the other life. I live in fear,

⁸⁸ Alvares had already spoken of Portuguese who had sailed as far as the strait of Miyako (see Vol. III, p. 274). It is no longer possible to determine who the Portuguese was whom Xavier encountered in Kagoshima.

⁸⁹ Vasco da Gama, count of Vidigueira, who opened the way for the Gospel in the east through his discovery of the route to India.

⁹⁰ Xavier's wish was not fulfilled until 1575, when the church of Our Lady of the Assumption was built there (Frois 465-468).

since it seems to me that Your Grace will not be happy with such a profit. The captains of Malacca suffer from this evil, that they are not friends of such great gains.

Francis then came to speak about Avân, the captain of the "junk of the pirate."

The "pirate"⁹¹ died here in Cangoxima. He was good to us in all the voyage, and we could not be good to him, since he died in his unbelief; nor can we be good to him after his death by recommending him to God, since his soul is in hell.⁹²

Many Japões are going there [to Malacca] because of the good news which Paul disseminates here about the many virtues of the Portuguese. I earnestly entreat Your Grace, because of the great debt which you owe to God and to your nobility, that you show them honor, sending them for hospitality to the houses of rich and well-appointed Portuguese, so that they may show them honor and hospitality; and they will return from there as Christians, speaking as much good of the Portuguese as Paul does.

Domingos Diaz, the bearer of the present,⁹³ is a great friend of mine and I of him, because of the excellent companionship which he afforded us during our voyage. Your Grace will do me a great favor by paying him for me the great debt which I owe him.

May our Lord increase the days of your life for many years, and may He bring you back to Portugal as Your Grace and Her Ladyship, your wife, desire.

From Cangoxima, the fifth of November of the year 1549.

Your true servant and friend of soul,

Francisco.

Postscriptum: I earnestly ask Your Grace for the love of our Lord that you be kind to the *bonzos* who are going there by providing hospitality for them and by giving them what they need, since they are going with the desire to learn the law of Christ so that they may later produce fruit among the Japanese.

Xavier sent further letters to Goa. In the first of these, which was written in three copies by Brother Fernández and signed by Xavier himself, he summoned Master Gaspar Barzeus, Baltasar Gago, and Domingos Carvalho to Japan.⁹⁴ It ran as follows:

⁹¹ Xavier writes "o Ladrão."

⁹² A milder judgment would probably be given today.

⁹³ The junk did not reach Malacca with him until April 2, 1550. It was probably detained in China, since the crew wished to bury the remains of the captain there in his native land and also to engage in trade. With the ship had come four Japanese, three of whom sailed back to Japan on November 24, 1550, while the fourth remained in order to sail on to Goa, as Pérez wrote on this same day (DI II 109-110). We hear nothing more of Domingos Dias.—When Lancilotto wrote to Ignatius from Quilon on January 25, 1550, he was still unable to say anything about Xavier's voyage to Japan (DI II 8-13). On the twenty-seventh of this same month, he wrote a second letter in which he mentioned his arrival in Japan: "Padre Mastro Francesco went to Japan last year with another priest from Valencia by the name of Cosmo de Torres, a great scholar and of great abilities. We do not have news of them through letters, but certain men from China, who came from there, say that these Portuguese priests have arrived there, and that the Japanese received them with great honor. We are all hoping that God our Lord will give us during this coming year much good news about that land, since all who come from there speak very well about that people and their talents and their manner of life, much like ours in manner and customs" (DI II 17-18). This information probably came from a ship which had encountered Avân's junk on its return from Japan in Sancian or elsewhere in China and had learned from the latter of Xavier's arrival in Kagoshima. The ship which had met the junk could have arrived in Malacca at the end of 1549 and the news which it brought could have been carried by the same ship, or by another that sailed to Cochin at the beginning of January, 1550, and from there to Quilon.

⁹⁴ EX II 212-215. The document bears an inscription from the hand of Juan Fer

Jhus! May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always help and assist us. Amen.

Because of the great disposition which this kingdom of Japán has for the increase of our holy faith, I hope in God our Lord, confiding greatly in your holy desires and zeal which you have for saving the souls of your neighbors, because of the knowledge which I have of you, that you have the virtues and the inner humility which will help you to bring to effect that which you desire, I order you in virtue of holy obedience, for your greater reward, provided that your physical condition is such that you can do so, that you, Master Gaspar, Baltasar Gago, and Domingos Caravallo, come to where I shall be in Japán, which, if God so wills, will be in Miaco. And you, Valtasar Gago and Domingos Caravallo, during the voyage shall be obedient to Mestre Gaspar, from whose prudence and humility I hope that he will take good care to fulfill this charge. And since I do not doubt about your coming, since I know your great readiness of mind to obey and to make a sacrifice of your lives for the love of Him who first lay down His life for us, I do not say more than how much I am waiting for you with great hope that God will unite us in these parts. Signed by the hand of this your dearest Brother in Christ.

From Cangoxima, the fifth of November of the year one thousand five hundred and forty-nine.

{Francisco.}

The second letter was addressed to Misser Paulo, whom he had appointed superior of the mission at the time of his own departure for Japan.⁹⁵ He ordered him to write at great length about all the confreres who were in St. Paul's College, in the fortresses, and on Cape Comorin, about the fruit which they were producing, the number of those who had come from Portugal and how many preachers there were among them, about all the companions in India, and about the native boys in the college, their number and the progress they were making. He then urged him to take Chinese and Japanese pupils especially into the house.

Strive earnestly to teach and instruct Chinese and Japanese boys in this college in preference to all others, keeping a careful eye upon their spiritual life and that they know how to read and write and speak Portuguese, so that they may be interpreters of the priests who, God our Lord willing, will come within a few years to Japán and China, since it does not seem to me that in any other region of those which have been discovered one can produce so much fruit as in these; nor will the Society be perpetuated if it is not in China or Japón; and I therefore greatly recommend to you the Chinese and the Japanese.

He should send to Father Pérez in Malacca the letters which came for him from Portugal or Rome if the confreres whom he had ordered to sail there did not do so this year, though at least Master Gaspar should come. If there was a preacher in the house, he could send him to Ormuz to take Gaspar's place. If there was no one in the house for this, he should send one of the first who came from Portugal. If there was no preacher among them, he should appoint a priest for this who, through his virtue and humility, could produce fruit in souls by hearing confessions, giving the Exercises of the first week, hearing general confessions, teaching children, and occupying himself in other spiritual labors, since those who are good preach among the evil through their lives and works more than those who preach from pulpits, for deeds are more effective than words.

nández: "Obidiencya para los Padres Mestre Gaspar, Baltasar Gago e Domingos Caravallo de la Compañía de Jesús en la Yndia. Del Padre Mestre Francisco."

⁹⁵ EX II 216-220.

He further ordered him to greet "the Mother" of the house⁹⁶ and all its friends for him, including João Alvares,⁹⁷ the dean, Father Ruy Lopes, the treasurer of the cathedral,⁹⁸ and the French priest Gabriel Feroso.⁹⁹ He jokingly added that he should tell this last in his name that, since he was the vicar of Nossa Senhora da Luz, he should obtain much light from it, since during the time that he knew him, he had possessed little.¹⁰⁰

If there were many priests in the house who could teach children and slaves their prayers, he should divide them up so that they could impart these instructions at the usual hours in the Misericórdia and in the other churches. On Sundays they should preach about the life of a saint. He should tell Antonio Gomes that he should teach the prayers in the cathedral or in another church. He would prefer that he did this in the cathedral. He should see to it that the priests did this every day, especially the preachers, if any were there, so that they might preach through their example. In their instructions they should speak Portuguese as the slaves did, and as he had himself been accustomed to do when he was in Goa. When he wrote to him, he should write about this point in particular.

If the two bonzes who sailed for Malacca came to Goa, he should take great care that they were hospitably received by the Portuguese. He should show them great attention and love, as he himself had done with Paul when he was there, for the Japanese were a people who only let themselves be governed by love. He should therefore not be severe with them. If the bonzes remained in Malacca, he should see to it that the priests who were to sail to Japan were also given what would be needed by the bonzes, since they would be their interpreters. He then brought his letter to a close:

⁹⁶ Violante Ferreira, the widow of Diogo Frois, who wrote to Xavier from Malacca in 1549 (above, p. 23).

⁹⁷ João Alvares, born around 1489, had already served the king for thirty years in 1552, when Xavier recommended him to John III (EX II 306). The Franciscan guardian calls him in the same year "one of the most virtuous priests living here" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 611). In 1549 Antonio Gomes had already recommended him to the king (DI I 531), and João Soares, the *vigario* of Chale, had done the same in this same year. He was at the time already sixty years old (SR IV 246). His signature is given in Q, pl. 4, 1-2. In 1545 he is already mentioned as dean of the cathedral (Q 1543). He sailed to Portugal in 1552 (EX II 306).

⁹⁸ Rodrigo Lopes, born in 1479, had already served for many years in India when Antonio Gomes recommended him to the king in 1549. He was at the time seventy years old and would have been glad to receive the title of a royal chaplain without a stipend (DI I 531). He was already treasurer of the cathedral in 1545 (Q 1543). On December 3, 1546, he congratulated the governor on his victory at Diu in glowing terms (Q 2557; cf. 2564). His signature is given in Q, pl. 4, 1.

⁹⁹ On him see Vol. II, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ On November 28, 1548, the bishop wrote to the king: "In this city there is a French priest by the name of Gabriel Feroso. He was the chaplain of Martim Affonso de Sousa, and I gave him the vicariate of Nossa Senhora da Luz out of love for the governor; and he sailed with him to Portugal and returned from there as chaplain of Your Highness and prothonotary, which he obtained through the nuncio in Lisbon. He is thus now exempt from me and directly under the pope. He enjoys the benefice which I gave him, and if he wanted to do anything, I would have no jurisdiction over him. He has now sent me a notice that he wishes to wear a rochet at the general processions. He is the first to tap the barrel. This is a great shame since he gives an example to others and the land is by nature extremely vain and insubordinate. The clerics and dignitaries want to be prothonotaries and to be free from obedience and to wear a rochet. Your Highness must come to my assistance, and the remedy is that you immediately have this prothonotarial brief annulled; and this will discourage the others from seeking to obtain it. For he is a man without a higher education. And order these nuncios not to grant such briefs or others which are a harm to this new land" (SR IV 138-139).

The priests who are coming should be well provided with clothes made of Portuguese materials and with shoes, for we are here perishing from the cold. May our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise!

From Cangoxima, the fifth of November of 1549.

Your dearest Brother in Christ,

Francisco.

The third letter was for his problem child Antonio Gomes.

Since I am writing at such great length in the other letter, I do not have anything to write to you in this except one thing, that is, that I keep you constantly before my eyes, since I perhaps wish you greater spiritual good than you do yourself. I earnestly recommend to you, more than to all the Brothers in India, that you have special care for yourself, and that you be not negligent in such an important matter; for if you forget this, I despair of recommending anything else to you, and if I were certain that you were ever mindful of this, I would have great hopes that at some time I might write to you to come to Miaco or Bandu to fulfill your holy desires.

You should write to me in great detail about all the Brothers of India and Portugal and Rome and of the fruit they are producing, since we shall be greatly consoled by your letters; and just as I am writing a long letter to you, pay me with the same coin. Give orders for the Brothers who are to come to Japan to get ready as soon and as well as they can, as you know how to do when you are disposed for it.

Padre Cosme de Tórrez, your friend, is writing to you, who in his kindness wishes many things for you which do not suit you.¹⁰¹ Everything will come about in its own time. I am keeping you for greater things than those which you or the priest with you desire. It may well be that I shall write to you before three years have passed to come and reside in one of these great universities, where you will live perhaps more consoled and will produce more fruit than you are now producing in India, more consoled than you imagine.

He ordered him in virtue of holy obedience not to replace any of the priests whom he had called to Japan with others. He should send a copy of his long letter and one of the three letters of obedience to Master Gaspar on the ships which were sailing in March from Goa to Ormuz, or at the first opportunity, so that he might come immediately and leave Goa in April of the following year with the two others. If one of the three should have died, his place should be taken by another as seemed good to Misser Paulo and to him. It would be good if those who came brought with them at least one or two lay brothers who could be trusted since it was astounding how dangerous the land was. He should obtain from the governor some objects and gifts for the departing priests and a letter for the king of Japan. He trusted in God that if he were converted to the Christian faith, this would be followed by a great temporal gain for the king of Portugal, that is, if a factory were erected in Sakai. This latter was a city with a very large harbor and many rich merchants, where there was more silver and gold than in any other part of Japan.¹⁰²

From what he had himself experienced in India, he knew that a ship would hardly be sent from there with priests purely from a love of God and apart from other considerations. He, Gomes, should therefore act in this way to obtain an

¹⁰¹ The letter is no longer extant.

¹⁰² In 1615, when Hideyoshi burned Sakai, it had around 60,000 citizens (ARSI: *JapSin.* 58, 277). On December 5, 1554, Mendes Pinto wrote that Xavier had told him that there were a thousand merchants in the city, each of whom had 30,000 ducats, and others still much richer (DI III 154).

opportunity for the priests to sail. If the governor had a relative or friend upon whom he wished to confer a great favor, the latter would gain much if he were permitted to send a ship to Japan so that the priests might sail with him. He therefore sent him a list of things which would have great value in the harbor of Sakai.¹⁰³ The one who brought the priests would gain much silver and gold if he sailed with the wares on this list. The priests could come this way very easily and safely since the ship would be well equipped with artillery¹⁰⁴ and everything else that was necessary. But the ship would have to sail with its entire cargo in April from Goa, and in June from Malacca, with all the provisions needed on board. Under no circumstances would it be able to land in China, no matter how great a profit might be hoped there. It would not dare take on any provisions there except, at best, water on some of the islands; and it would have to sail directly to Japan without a stop. For if the ship lay over in China in order to engage in trade, it would take seventeen months to go from Goa to Japan; but if it did not lay over in China, it would complete the voyage in four and one-half months. The ship which was bringing the priests should therefore not bring much pepper with it, certainly no more than eighty *bahārs*. If they brought little, it could be easily sold in Japan at a great profit if the ship came to Sakai.¹⁰⁵ The governor should grant permission for the voyage only on condition that the ship did not lay over in China, for if a ship did not sail for Japan by the first of August from China, it would have to wait a year for another monsoon to sail there.

He should send a copy of his long letter to their confreres on Cape Comorin. He then continued:

When we shall have gained experience of Miaco, we shall then write to you at great length, both to you and to the confreres in Coimbra and the priests in Rome. If Domingos Carvalho is not yet a priest, ask the Lord Bishop to ordain him. Be very friendly with Ruy Gonçálvez,¹⁰⁶ since he is the procurator of the Christians of Cabo de Comorim, and the priests of our Society who are there have great need of the favor of Ruy Gonçálvez. About Melchior Gonçálvez,¹⁰⁷ about the college of Baçaim, and about the friars who are in it, and whether more are coming from Portugal, and about that college if it pertains to the Society—about all these let me know at great length. And about Padre Nicolao,¹⁰⁸ about the fruit which he is producing in Coulón, and if the house there, so necessary for the teaching of the sons of the Christians of Cabo do Comorim and for the priests who go to those regions, has been erected; help him in every way you can, both with the Lord Governor and with the *vedor da fazenda*, and with some assistance

¹⁰³ The letter is lost.

¹⁰⁴ Because of the Chinese pirates.

¹⁰⁵ A *bahār* of pepper cost ten *cruzados* in Cochin. Thirty *bahārs* cost three hundred *cruzados* (Orta II 257), which were sold in Japan for more than one thousand (EX II 273). Aoyama doubts that one at the time could have gained much in Japan from eighty *bahārs* of pepper, since Frois, Kaempfer, and Thunberg do not mention it in their accounts of Portuguese and Dutch trade with Japan (80). But he was not aware of the main work on this: Oscar Münsterberg, *Japans auswärtiger Handel von 1542 bis 1854* (Stuttgart, 1896). His studies show that a profitable trade in small quantities of pepper, as Xavier advised, was regularly pursued by the Portuguese and Dutch (260-261). The latter, for example, during a time when the sale of pepper in Japan was kept at its lowest possible price because of the rivalry among the English, Dutch, and Portuguese, purchased pepper in Sumatra at 0.25 silver marks per kilogram and sold it in Japan for 0.90. Later, when the Dutch had a monopoly on the trade, it was sold at a significantly higher rate, for example, for 2.3 silver marks in 1692.

¹⁰⁶ Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha. On him see Vol. II, pp. 173-176.

¹⁰⁷ Melchior Gonçalves had been sent by Xavier to Bassein in 1548 (Vol. III, p. 558).

¹⁰⁸ Lancilotto.

from the house. Let me also know if preachers of our Society have come from Portugal, and how many, and their talents; and if preachers have come, take care of the city of Cochim and Dfo, since they are in such great need. All this that I am writing to you is to be shared with Micer Paulo, and they will go with his approval and command.

Two Japanese *bonjos* are going to you, who were in the universities of Miaco and Bandu; treat them with much love, since the Japanese expect this. Be a very great friend of the Lord Bishop and of the vicar general,¹⁰⁹ being very obedient to them, since they are our superiors, and through goodness and with humility you will obtain everything from them. Use very special care on the coming here of the priests. I shall try to write to you next year from Miaco. May our Lord grant you as great a spiritual good and glory in the other world as I desire for myself.

From Cangoxima the fifth of November of 1549.

The letter was dictated thus far. Xavier added what follows in his own hand. It contained the last warning for the priest about whom he was much concerned:

For the love of Our Lord I ask you to secure for yourself the great love of all the Brothers of the Society, both of those who are in the house and of those who are outside of it through your letters.

Teach also the prayers in some church. I would be glad if this were in the Sé, preaching on Sundays and feast days after the noon meal to the slaves and Christians the articles of faith in a language which they will understand, as I did when I was there, and this, so that you may give an example to the others.

I earnestly ask you to write to me in detail about what you experience within yourself, since you know how much this will please me and free me of a great concern in which I live. Among many other things, I would be glad to know that all the Brothers of the Society have a great love for you, both those who are in the house and those outside of it, for I shall not be satisfied with knowing that you love them, but only with knowing that you are loved by them.

Francisco.

¹⁰⁹ At the end of 1548 Dr. Ambrosio Ribeiro, a layman, succeeded Pedro Fernandes in the office of vicar general (MX II 209). After the death of Bishop Albuquerque on February 28, 1553, he administered the diocese until the arrival of the new vicar general, Dr. Sebastião Pinheiro, in the fall of 1554. When this latter died soon after his arrival, Ribeiro again administered the diocese and conducted the hearings in the process for Xavier's canonization in Goa in 1556-1557 (DI III 14* 408; Baião, *Inquisição de Goa* I 27; MX II 173-175 218 223 266-267). In 1557 the new vicar general, Antonio Rangel de Castelo Branco, came from Portugal and took over the office (DI III 765 768).

CHAPTER III

APOSTOLATE IN KAGOSHIMA AND ICHIKU (NOVEMBER, 1549—1550)

1. THE JAPANESE CATECHISM (WINTER, 1549—1550)¹

Three days after the departure of the junk, the Inari temple began the celebration of its annual festival in honor of the rice goddess. This lasted for ten days and, with its booths for the annual fair, it attracted numerous visitors from far and near.² The days became shorter. At times an ice-cold wind blew from the north, and frost could already be seen in the mornings.³ Winter came with its first snows, which Xavier had not seen since his departure from Portugal. Though these seldom fell in Kagoshima,⁴ it nevertheless gradually became bitterly cold. Xavier and his companions used the winter days for the instruction of the Christians, for the study of their language, and especially for the composition of a catechism.

In January, 1548, at the time of his first encounter with Anjirō, Francis had already written that his Japanese friend would better his Portuguese in Goa and be there further instructed in the faith. He, Francis, would then, with his assistance, translate the whole of Christian doctrine into Japanese, an explanation of the articles of the faith, and an extensive account of the coming of Christ, since Anjirō was able to write Japanese very well.⁵ Francis had similarly written from Kagoshima on November 5, 1549, that during the coming winter he wished to compose an extensive explanation of the articles of the faith in Japanese and have it printed.⁶

¹ The sources for Xavier's Japanese catechism are: (1) Xavier's letters (EX I 392; II 211 259-261); (2) the letters of his confreres (for which one has to go back to the originals or to contemporary copies which we indicate in Q; their frequently abbreviated printings are given in Streit IV): Pedro de Alcáçova, Goa at the end of 1554 (Q 6045; *Cartas* 1598, 23-28); Duarte da Silva to his confreres, Bungo, September 10, 1555 (Q 6082; *Cartas* 1598, 42-47); B. Gago to his confreres, Hirado, September 23, 1555 (Q 6089—the additions, p. 512, should be cancelled; *Cartas* 1598, 38v-41v); the same to Ignatius September 23, 1555 (Q 6090; *Diversi Avisi* 1559, 260v-263v); also Valignano's history of 1583 (164-165); Frois in 1586 (*Geschichte* 6 10-11); *Rodrigues Tçuzu in 1634 (Madrid 30-32v; Ajuda 207v-210v). Cros gives French translations, but frequently unreliable, in *Vie* II of Xavier (33-34 72 98), Frois (103-104), and Rodrigues (52-53 74 100-108). We have treated the theme at length in *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem* (Tōkyō, 1928).

² Katsume 249; Aoyama 34-35.

³ Rein 497 506 526-529. The average temperature for twenty-eight years in Nagasaki was 12.6 degrees centigrade for November, 7.8 for December, 5.7 for January, 6 for February, 9.3 for March (Rennosuke Fujisawa, *Der Kleine Toussaint-Langenscheidt; Japanisch* [Berlin-Schönenberg] 428).

⁴ "A winter without snow is rare in Kagoshima," Rein still wrote in 1878 (505). When Almeida arrived in this city in January, 1562, more snow fell there than he had ever seen in Japan, and a path had to be shoveled through the snow so that people could pass (*Cartas* 1598, 106).

⁵ EX I 392.

⁶ *Ibid.* II 211.

The catechism, which was divided into two parts, became a fairly comprehensive book.⁷ The first part discussed the period from the creation of the world to the coming of Christ; the second, from the life of Christ to the Last Judgment.⁸ Since the Japanese had no knowledge of a creation of the world, its creation, the fall of the angels and the punishment of Lucifer, the creation of man and his condition before the Fall were treated at length. The catechism itself was divided into six ages,⁹ the first five of which were concerned with the Old Testament.

⁷ Xavier calls it a book (*livro*) (EX II 259), as do Alcáçova (*Cartas* 1598, 26), Silva (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 43r 44r 46r), Gago (*ibid.* 61v), Frois 10-11, Valignano 164-165, *Rodrigues Tçuzu 30 32v. Frois also calls it a discourse (*pratica* 6), an exercise book (*cartapacio* 10); Rodrigues Tçuzu, a treatise (31). That the manuscript was bulky is stated by Xavier himself: “una declaración algún tanto copiosa” (EX II 211). Xavier had Brother Fernández read a large part of the work, from the creation of the world to the sin of the Sodomites, for an hour to the prince of Yamaguchi (EX II 261; Frois 10). Fernández also read from it, alternating with the Japanese boy Melchior, who knew the Latin script, the whole of Christmas Eve till the Mass at midnight in 1552, and then, at the third Mass of Christmas, from the part of it on the life of Christ (*Cartas* 1598, 26-27). In 1554 Silva, alternating with Melchior, read from it from the first hour of night till the midnight Mass, and then again at the last Mass (ARSI: *Jap Sin.* 4, 44r).

⁸ Gago therefore distinguishes two “books” in it: one on the life of Christ, the other on the beginning of all things (*ibid.* 61v).

⁹ Silva writes that on Christmas Eve, 1554, he and Melchior read from “the book of the six ages, from Adam to the end of the world,” till midnight. He then gives a detailed account of its contents (*ibid.* 44; *Cartas* 1598, 43v). Adolfo Etchegaray has sought to show in “Saint François Xavier a-t-il utilisé au Japon le ‘De catechizandis rudibus’ de Saint Augustin?” NZM 23 [1967] 161-167, that Xavier was either directly or indirectly influenced by this work of St. Augustine, which also speaks of six ages. That the “livro das seis idades” in Silva’s letter has reference to Xavier’s catechism is indicated by the letters of Alcáçova, Silva, and Gago; and *Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote the following: “With the help of Paul of the Holy Faith as interpreter, he translated his catechism (*doutrina*) into the language of Japan where he treats at length the creation of the world and the immortality of souls, the necessity of the incarnation of the Divine Word as a remedy for sins, the life, sufferings, and death, the resurrection and glorious ascension of Christ our Lord. This treatise of the blessed Father Francis was the first Japanese catechism and was used until the voyage of Father Master Melchior Nunes [Barreto, in 1556], who composed another, more comprehensive catechism in Japan by enlarging that of the blessed priest, and which was called the *Ni jū go cagiō* because of its twenty-five chapters or sermons. [According to Frois 59, Gago composed it in Hirado; but Gago gives Nunes Barreto as its author, and its translator as Brother Lourenço (*Cartas* 1598, 65; cf. Torres, *ibid.* 69v).] And this latter was used until Father Francisco Cabral went to Japan in 1570. Since we already had at the time Japanese brothers and people of the land who were conversant with its sects, he [Cabral] composed a lengthy catechism on the mysteries of the faith with a refutation of the pagan sects; and this is the one which down to our times has been generally used” (the Madrid ms., f. 31, has *caguī* by mistake, which is correctly given by the Ajuda ms., f. 208v, as *cagiō*). In 1551 Torres had already written sermons on the mysteries of the life of Christ, which Fernández had translated for him into Japanese (EX II 275-276). In 1555 Silva stated in Yamaguchi that the convert Paul (not to be confused with Anjirō) was copying everything which had been written in Japanese and making some corrections in the originals (*Cartas* 1598, 43), that in Bungo a third Paul was helping with the translations, and a converted Zen bonze had written a book which was an abstract of many sermons. Since the bonzes who had been defeated in the disputations maintained that their religion and that of the priests was practically the same, Gago wrote a work for the prince of the land and his governor to show the differences between them (*ibid.* 44v-45). Gago noted that the Japanese Paul in Yamaguchi corrected the language of the books so that the people could understand what Fernández wrote (*ibid.* 39). Gago himself informs us: “The manner of preaching during these past times consisted in reading a life of Christ written in Japanese, but now sermons are already given on the Gospel of the Sunday and feast day” (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 61v). This is also confirmed by Alcáçova, who states that at the third Mass on Christmas, 1552, the Christians heard a sermon which was read from a

The explanation of the articles of the faith which Xavier had composed on Ternate had been a kind of rhymed catechism which was intended to be learned by heart and to be taught by being sung. The Japanese catechism was, on the other hand, written in prose, and it gave an extensive account of the history of the Old Testament after the Fall.¹⁰

The beginning of the book showed how God created heaven and earth.¹¹ In the description of the fall of the angels, it was noted how Lucifer was cast into hell for his pride, and how all who are proud and turn away from God will be similarly damned to the everlasting pains of hell.¹² In the account of the creation of Adam and Eve, their blessed state before their sin and their subsequent fall from grace were described. This was followed by an account of the Flood and of Noe, the building of the Tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the beginnings of idolatry. In the description of the destruction of Sodom, reference was also made to the ugliness of sodomy.¹³ The preaching of Jonas in Niniveh, the history of Joseph, the son of Jacob, the captivity of the sons of Israel in Egypt, their liberation by Moses, the giving of the Commandments on Mount Sinai, and the entrance of the Jews into the Promised Land were then described. These were followed by accounts of the fall and penance of King David, of the prophet Eliseus, of Judith and Holophernes, of the statue of Nabuchodonosor, and, at the end, of the prophet Daniel.¹⁴ Then came the sixth period of time. It began with an account of the Incarnation and was followed by an extensive description of the life and sufferings of the Redeemer, His resurrection and ascension, and His return at the time of the Last Judgment.¹⁵ At the end of the work there was a further description of the reward of the good in the everlasting bliss of heaven and the punishment of the wicked in the eternal torments of hell.¹⁶

When Xavier had completed the writing of his text, it had to be translated,

book on the creation of the world and the life of Christ (*Cartas* 1598, 26). Silva gives a similar account: "In Yamaguchi there was always a Mass and a sermon read from a book which had been written in Japanese" (*ibid.* 43).

¹⁰ Haas must be corrected from this. He refers to the same material contained in Xavier's Molucca catechism, and he continues: "The assumption that the proselytizing catechism used by Xavier in Japan was essentially nothing but a translation of the still extant abstract which had been composed for use on the Spice Islands, can hardly be wrong. If we are right in assuming that the two catechisms are identical, we may later, in our judgment on the missionary preaching of Xavier [in Japan], rely especially on the contents of this catechetical letter for the residents of the Moluccas" (I 93-94; cf. *ibid.* 235-236, his answer to the foolish assertions of Venn).

¹¹ "On the creation of the world, explaining to them with all brevity, what they needs must know, that there is a Creator of all things, about whom they had no knowledge whatever" (EX II 259). "During which he was more expansive on the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul" (Rodrigues Tçuzu 31).

¹² Frois 11 (according to the data of Juan Fernández).

¹³ At the first audience in Yamaguchi Fernández read this far in the space of over an hour from the book (Frois 10; *Rodrigues Tçuzu 45-v).

¹⁴ From the first hour of night on Christmas Eve, 1554, Silva alternated with Melchior in reading the history of the Old Testament from the creation of the world, and he added: "At the end the history of Daniel, and we read all this history until midnight. The Christians were greatly consoled and greatly strengthened in their belief in the things of God. And when we stopped reading, the priest [Torres] offered the [Midnight] Mass. Later, after the Mass of the day, I read the beginning of the sixth age, that is, the coming of our Lord into this world" (*Cartas* 1598, 43v). The reading of the first part of the book, from the creation of the world to the end of the history of Daniel, thus lasted some five hours.

¹⁵ EX II 259; Frois 6; Silva.

¹⁶ *Rodrigues Tçuzu 45.

with Paul's help, into Japanese. The task involved a great amount of toil.¹⁷ The main difficulty was to find Japanese words for Christian concepts. More than fifty terms came into question. Even the word for God caused problems. Anjirō had once been a follower of the Buddhist Shingon sect, but he knew nothing about the profound speculations of the bonzes. In India he had declared that the Japanese worshiped only one God, a personal God who rewarded the good and punished the evil, the Creator of all things, to whom even Shaka had ordered worship, and who was consequently also preached by the bonzes. The name of this god was Dainichi but, represented with three heads, he was at times also called Cogi. Dainichi and Cogi however were one, as God and the Trinity are in the Christian faith.¹⁸ *Dainichi* was therefore used as the name for God,¹⁹ and since the bonzes called the basic principal of all things *Hotoke*, this term was also used for God.²⁰

According to Anjirō the bonzes in Kagoshima preached that there was a paradise (*jōdo*) where the souls (*tamashii*) of the good went after death, and a hell (*jigoku*), where the souls of the wicked went after their death in order to be punished by everlasting fire.²¹ There were angels (*tennin*) in paradise who meditated upon the divine majesty. These angels protected men and were spirits and creatures made out of another material than the elements. In the translation, the angels were consequently called *tennin*,²² souls *tamashii*,²³ heaven *jōdo*, and hell *jigoku*.²⁴ The word cross was rendered as *jūmoji*.²⁵

This Japanese translation of the catechism, written in Latin characters, comprised the manual of the Christian faith which Xavier and his companions read to their visitors who wished to become Christians in order to show them how they should worship God and Christ in order to save their souls.²⁶ Xavier also went twice a day with this book to the Fukushō-ji monastery.²⁷ There he sat down on the top step of the stone stairs in front of the first outer temple gate on the far side of the dragon-gate-bridge that passed over the lotus pool. There he lifted his eyes to heaven, made the sign of the cross, and then in a loud voice would slowly read from his book so that the people in the forecourt would see and listen to him.²⁸

¹⁷ "Con muito trabalho" (EX II 259).

¹⁸ See Vol. III, p. 484.

¹⁹ Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 24 31 73.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 20.

²¹ See above, p. 69, and Vol. III, p. 483.

²² Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 75.

²³ *Ibid.* 59 69-72.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 73-75.

²⁵ Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 61.

²⁶ EX II 259.

²⁷ *Rodrigues Tçuzu 32v.

²⁸ In 1615 D. Nuno de Soutomayor, *fidalgo* of the royal house and over seventy, declared in the first Lisbon process for Xavier's canonization that he had sailed [in 1611] as an ambassador of the city of Macao to Japan, and that in the harbor of Satsuma, where the prince of that land resided [Kagoshima], the natives of that city showed him during the course of his four- or five-day stay a stone on which a Father Francis in earlier times, when the Portuguese sailed to Japan, had preached; and that the stone had remained on the same place and was held by them in veneration (GS IV 424). *Rodrigues Tçuzu gives us more direct information on this. As his source he names the oral data of the Japanese Jesuit priest Luis Niabara, whom he knew for thirty years, both before and after his entrance into the Society. He was also acquainted with his brief, manuscript history of the Japanese mission from its beginning, written in Japanese, but which is today lost (30v 32v-34v 40v). Niabara, born in Nagasaki in 1566 of Christian

The translation of the book was imperfect. Anjirō had not received a higher education; and, despite all his good will, the work was so defective that it badly represented the thoughts of the priest, and its style offended the educated. In addition to this, there was the poor pronunciation and unusual gestures of the foreign preacher and the new, curious, and unintelligible doctrine which he presented. Some of his hearers ridiculed him, others laughed, others said that he was crazy, others that he was telling old wives' tales.²⁹ Still others were of the opinion that he should not be heard: he was a magician and the devils spoke through him. Others replied to this by telling his adversaries that they should keep silent. Even if he were a magician, they wished to hear him; and if he said something that was reasonable, they would accept it, even though it came from the devil; but if he said nothing reasonable, they would abandon him.³⁰ Francis did not let himself be deterred by his scoffers and calmly continued with his reading. Many had compassion upon him, and many were impressed by his patience, seriousness, and holy life,³¹ since he had come from so great a distance to announce his law to them.³² Still others declared that what the stranger read was the truth and that the teachings of their sects were false. If these did not become Christians, it was through fear of the lord of the land, and not because they failed to recognize the truth.³³

2. ICHIKU (1549—1550)¹

People also came from outside the city to listen to the preaching of the foreigners from Tenjiku, the homeland of Shaka, and to ask them about their

parents (*ibid.* 34; ARSI: *JapSin.* 25, 92), entered the order in 1585 (*JapSin.* 25, 15v), was ordained to the priesthood in his native city (*JapSin.* 14, 81), and every year from 1605 on visited from the college of Arima the Satsuma Christians, where he collected numerous remembrances of Xavier (*Rodrigues Tçuzu 34-v). He died in 1619 while sailing back from exile to Japan from Macao (according to the chronicle of Gabriel de Mattos in *JapSin.* 25, 56v). *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes: "There [in Kagoshima] is an elaborate bonze monastery with the name of Fukushō-ji, of the sect of Zen-shū. Before it there is a large court with a gate to the enclosure with stairs by means of which one mounts to the temple. The blessed priest went there and sat down on the top step" (31v). These first stairs to the former temple area are all that remain, apart from the cemetery, of the former monastery.

²⁹ Valignano 164-165; *Rodrigues Tçuzu, who gives a rhetorical elaboration on what happened (31v-32).

³⁰ On December 6, 1555, Quadros wrote from Goa that some wicked individuals had said this as soon as Xavier came to Japan (DI III 342-343).

³¹ Valignano 164-165.

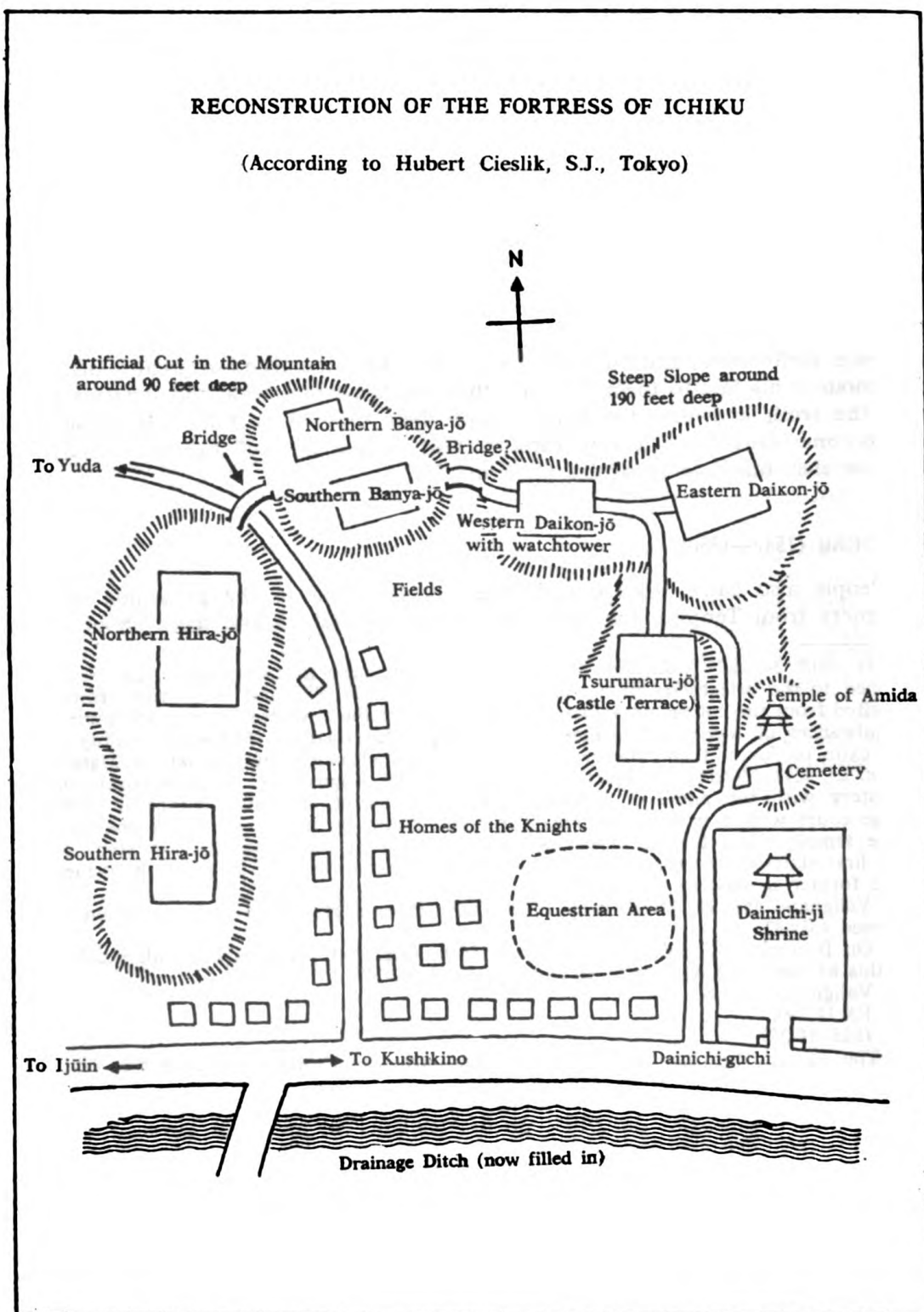
³² EX II 190.

³³ *Ibid.* II 259.

¹ The sources for Xavier's visits to Ichiku are: (1) Frois, *Geschichte* 5-6; (2) The letter of Brother Luis de Almeida from Yokoseura to his confreres in India and Europe of October 25, 1562 (Q 6156). The full text of this letter is found in a contemporary copy in *JapSin.* 4, 267-278v (ff. 271-274 discuss Ichiku). An important passage, that on Xavier's Dainichi sermon, which it was feared might cause offense, was bracketed and revised along with some other words. Objections to these had been raised in the Italian translation which was made of the letter shortly after it was received in Rome (*ibid.* 279-288v), and they were omitted in its various printings (Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 26-29). The text thus changed was published in *Cartas* 1598, 103-112, and partially in Frois, *Geschichte* 119-121 124-126, who followed the *Cartas*. Individual details are contained also in the accounts of later visits: Miguel Vaz in 1577 (*JapSin.* 8, 122), Almeida in 1587 (cited by Frois in *JapSin.* 45, 8v), Luis Niabara in 1605 (in the annual letter of Rodrigues Giram of 1606: *JapSin.* 55, 218), and in 1607 (in the annual letter of Rodrigues Giram of 1608: *JapSin.* 55, 401).—Almeida visited the Satsuma Christians two or three times, first

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FORTRESS OF ICHIKU

(According to Hubert Cieslik, S.J., Tokyo)



new teaching. Among these was the administrator of the lord of the castle of Ichiku, a frontier fortress in the northwest of the province of Satsuma, six leagues

as a brother and later as a priest, as Frois wrote after his death in 1584 (*JapSin.* 45, 60v). At the time of his first visit to Satsuma, in 1561-1562, he went three times to Ichiku. He went from Bungo by land to the west coast of the province of Higo and then by boat, by way of Akune on the northern boundary of the province of Satsuma, to a harbor thirteen leagues from there (Kushikino), and then two leagues overland to the fortress of Ichiku in order to visit the wife and children of the lord of the castle, who had been baptized by Xavier, and to greet the lord himself in the name of Father Torres, as he wrote. He added that the mistress of the castle and her children and the Christian servants had immediately surrounded him and asked him many questions about Father Master Francis and the progress of the mission (*JapSin.* 4, 271).—The account in Frois and Almeida is diametrically opposed to that of *Rodrigues Tçuzu (39-42v): On the journey from Kagoshima to Miyako in 1550, Xavier went with his companions for six leagues overland to Ichiku and, driven by the Holy Spirit, made a detour with guides in order to see this marvelous fortification. The captain had heard of Xavier and had always wished to see him. When he heard that the priest was in the neighborhood, he asked him to come to him to speak with him about some things. Xavier came, read to him from his catechetical book, and began to explain some of the mysteries of the faith. The lord of the castle and some of his *samurai* then posed various questions to him. Pleased with his answers, they asked him to read the whole of his catechism to them. Xavier therefore remained for twelve days. All wished to become Christians. The captain, Niuro no Bugendono, also recognized the truth, but he did not dare accept baptism: his liege lord, the duke of Satsuma had strictly forbidden Christianity in his lands. He nevertheless let the priest baptize his wife, a daughter, and his four-year-old son, who was also his heir. More than fifteen individuals from his family and from among the soldiers were baptized, including Miguel, his administrator. Among the things which Xavier left in Ichiku when he departed was a copy of his Japanese book on the life and sufferings of Christ; and he told his new converts to have something read from it on all Sundays and feast days. He and his companions then set out on their way for Sendai, and in the harbor of Kyōdomari they boarded a ship for Hirado (39-40). Among his sources, Rodrigues names Lucena and Tursellinus in addition to the lost, brief church history of Luis Niabara.—In the second edition of his life of Xavier, of 1596, Tursellinus, who had received new material for it from Portugal, wrote that Luis Frois reported that as soon as he reached Japan he had come by chance upon a fortress in a corner of this island, and that he had there met three of its inhabitants who asked him about Francis Xavier. Surprised by their unexpected queries, he had learned from them that Xavier had once stopped there, and that, when he departed, he had given them the life of Christ and a compendium of Church history written in Japanese along with other things; and he had told them that they should read something from these on feast days to the assembled Christians. They were so well instructed that Frois declared that he had had nothing further to add (6, 10). In 1600 Lucena wrote in a similar fashion that when Xavier traveled from Kagoshima to Hirado, he went by land and visited, "not out of curiosity, but through the ordinance of God," the fortress of Ichiku. He remained there for some days and all the soldiers and residents of the fortress came to hear him read from his catechism. They asked him questions and ultimately for baptism. The captain of the fortress was also convinced, but he did not dare receive baptism through fear of his liege lord, whose opposition to the Christian faith was known to him. Fifteen persons, including his wife and his four-year-old son and heir, were baptized; and Xavier left behind a copy of his book on the life of Christ, which had been composed in Japan, so that it could be read on Sundays and feast days (7, 10). The source for Lucena, and indirectly also for Tursellinus, was a manuscript, now lost, of the ex-Jesuit Miguel de Lacerda, which he had composed before his dismissal in India in 1569. Father Amador Rebello, S.J., who had obtained the manuscript from its author, gave a summary of it in 1615 at the first Lisbon process of canonization (GS IV 423). According to this, Lacerda stated that he had received a letter from Frois in Japan in which the latter wrote that when he [Frois is here confused with Almeida] traveled for the first time from Bungo to Meaco [Xavier, who went to Miyako, and Almeida, who went to Satsuma, are here thrown together], he came to an extremely strong fortress on the frontier of a kingdom [Satsuma]. He did not know that some Christians were living there. Two or three men came to him and asked about Father Master Francis. Astonished, he learned from them that the priest had founded a church

from Kagoshima. Through him Xavier found an entrance into the house of his lord.²

The way to Ichiku led past Ijūin, where Francis and Paul of the Holy Faith had visited the lord of the land, Shimazu Takahisa. From there it passed on through a green, hilly country, whose slopes were overgrown with tall camphor trees, Japanese cedars,³ and bamboos, between which were fields of rice and isolated farmhouses with roofs of straw. Near a village some three hours beyond Ijūin, the heights of Ichiku came into view on the right, on the far side of the Eguchi Brook.⁴

Ichiku was one of the strongest fortresses in the land of the Shimazu, and it was located on several hills.⁵ The main entrance was on the south and was

in the fortress twenty years before. He remained there for some days and converted the administrator and other men and women, around twenty in all. Among the things which he left behind with them were a book of the life and sufferings of Christ and a survey of Church history with the request that passages should be read from these on Sundays. The people were so well instructed that Frois stated in his letter that he had nothing to add, and that the Christians had even informed him about everything he would have to do in Meaco (*RProcess, Lisbon, I 607v).

² Frois 5-6.

³ Sugi.

⁴ On the occasion of the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Xavier's landing in Kagoshima, at the suggestion of the mayor Kiyoshi Katsume, who erected a memorial to Xavier in the city, a group of local historians investigated the historical sites in the province connected with Christianity. They also identified the site of the fortress of Ichiku (cf. Shigeno 91-102; in his later work *Satsuma Kirishitan Shiryō-shūsei* [Kagoshima, 1966] 34-37). In 1957 we visited Ichiku from Kagoshima with Father Cieslik. The Japanese map of the district of Kagoshima 1:200,000 indicates here the village of Nagasato, and to the right of it Higashi Ichiki, which has now been raised to the status of a town through the unification of the villages in that area. At the exit of the fortress, near the school, is a plaque with the history of Ichiku upon it.

⁵ The first description of the fortress was given by Almeida in 1562: "Chegando à fortaleza que foi huma das fortes cousas do mundo por ser huma serra dividida em obra de dez baluartes, cada hum devidido do outro com grande distancia e tudo feito ao piquão com tam altas cavas, que eu tive para mim ser impossivel poder ser feito aquilo por mãos de homens; e todos se corrião huns com outros com pontes levadices, que passando por ellas e olhando pera baixo parecia olhar o homem pera o inferno pola grande altura que tem. E entre estes no meo a fortaleza principal, onde está hum senhor que he segeito ao Rey de Gamgaxuma" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271). A second description is to be found in *Sankoku meissho zue*, published in Kagoshima in 1843 (reprint, 1966, I 168-169). During the time of the Tokugawa, especially after the revolt of Shimabara (1637-1638), when the rebels fortified themselves in an old castle, only one fortress was allowed in each province; all the rest, even those which were abandoned or half abandoned, had to be leveled to the ground. In Satsuma, in addition to this, the fortresses were to a large extent natural strong points. The main castle with the residence of the lord was generally on a small hill lying in front of the mountain, which served as a fortress and had at best only bulwarks and watchtowers. The description of 1843 reads as follows: "On this mountain all the bulwarks are distinguished by their own names. Between the different bulwarks are the remains of trenches. To the west of Tsurumaru-jō is Hira-jō. In Hira-jō there are in turn two parts: the Kita Hira-jō and the Minami Hira-jō. To the northwest of Tsurumaru-jō lies Banya-jō. In Banya-jō there are also two bulwarks: Banya Kita-jō [and Banya Minami-jō]. Then to the north of Tsurumaru-jō is Dekkan-jō. Among all the bulwarks, the tallest is Tsurumaru-jō, followed by Banya-jō. Among the buildings of the castle, the highest are thirty *ken* [a *ken* is around 5.9 feet], the lowest fifteen to sixteen *ken*. At the foot of the mountain are rice fields or deep ravines. The four sides fall off sharply, so that the whole forms a natural fortress. On the mountain there is now a dense bamboo overgrowth.... The castle has two entrances, that of Dainichi-guchi from Dainichiji and that of Yuda-guchi from the village of Yuda." Father Cieslik, to whom we are, after Almeida, indebted for everything that we know about the description of the fortress of Ichiku, went there again in 1959 and examined the whole fortification with Mr. Shigeno, the historian of Kagoshima, and five or six teachers

protected by a moat.⁶ Left of the road, in a small side valley at the foot of the wooded hill, were the residences of the knights. These were arranged in a long row on raised ground fortified by a low stone wall. They were all built in the same style—square wooden houses with a high straw roof, next to which were wooden gateways leading to small gardens enclosed by bamboo hedges or low tea plants with camellia bushes⁷ and small palms.⁸

On the left, immediately beyond this little valley with its brook and courtly homes, was the main entrance of the fortress. Here, to the left of the road, was a Buddhist temple called Dainichi-ji⁹ with the usual two stone temple guardians at the outer gate, and next to them, on the left, began the path to the fortress, which also had two stone statues, one on each side of it.¹⁰ The path itself led steeply up to the foot of the perpendicular mass of pale yellow limestone on which the residence of the lord of the palace was situated.

From here a footpath led to the right, steep up the rocky wall, through a forest of camphor trees, dwarf oaks, bamboos, and ferns to a small cemetery¹¹ at the foot of a hill, on the peak of which was a small temple of Amida.¹² Here, near the cemetery, the path turned sharply to the left and continued up along the rocky wall, now on the right, which was partly supported by great blocks of ashlar masonry. It then passed a precipice, at times on stone steps, in zigzags through a grove of bamboos to the castle terrace,¹³ which was partially overgrown with pines, where the residence of the lord of the castle was located. To the left and front, the terrace fell off perpendicularly. On the right it was bounded by a steep mountain slope covered with shade trees. The site itself afforded a splendid panorama. Lower down could be seen, between the pines, the green rice fields and the grey houses of the town and, beyond these, the hills in the south, with their forests and terraced fields, and still farther south the lofty mountains rising up behind them.

From the palace terrace a path led steeply up through dense bamboo thickets to a small mountain ridge. On its highest point were the two bulwarks of the Daikon-jō, the one on the west being equipped with a watchtower.¹⁴ From it there

and local historians with the help of the two named descriptions and sent us a detailed report on it with the text and the illustration of *Sankoku meisho zue*, a number of photographs, a sketched map and a map 1:20,000 of the area.

⁶ The ditch in front of the southern entrance, still indicated on the illustration in *Sankoku meisho zue*, has been filled up.

⁷ *Tsubaki*.

⁸ We give a description of the houses of the knights, which can be still seen today and are clearly distinguished from the others.

⁹ As the temple in the drawing of *Sankoku meisho zue* is called (in the new impression, 1966, I 164). At the time of our visit in 1957, our guide called it *Ryū-un-ji* (Dragon-Cloud Temple). It was destroyed during the Meiji restoration. There is now a school on its former site, and the statues of the two temple guardians stand against the wall of the schoolyard.

¹⁰ On the sketch of *Sankoku meisho zue*, no longer extant.

¹¹ In 1957 our guide told us that the eighteen graves in the Buddhist cemetery were the graves of the bonzes of the *Ryū-un-ji* temple and that the tombstones were of the seventeenth century.

¹² The Amida temple is sketched on the picture of *Sankoku meisho zue*.

¹³ The terrace was originally larger, but pieces gradually fell from it into the depression, as we were told. Traces of numerous landslides are still found. In 1957 the pines on the terrace belonged to the Shintō temple, which, from a lack of funds, sold one after the other.

¹⁴ In 1959 Father Cieslik found among the bushes on the plateau on the left, which has an area of only ten square meters, the four foundation stones of the old watchtower, which was six steps in length and breadth.

was a view of the entire surrounding area as far as the twin peaks of Sakurajima, and especially, in the southeast, upon the important military road which led from the neighboring harbor in the west to Ijūin and Kagoshima. On the north the mountain range here fell straight down for a distance of from 170 to 200 feet. All the different bulwarks of the fortified complex could be seen from the watch-tower. The neighboring hill¹⁵ to the west of the Daikon-jō could be reached by a drawbridge, and from this hill one could pass by means of a second drawbridge over a ravine, cut into the rock to a depth of nearly a hundred feet, to the heights on the west,¹⁶ where the two bulwarks of Hira-jō were posted on two plateaus. When the second bridge was drawn, this series of hills became completely isolated from the rest of the fortifications. On the northwest there was an exit from these heights which led down to the village of Yuda and which was, as a consequence, known as the Yuda-guchi,¹⁷ to distinguish it from the Dainichi-guchi, the main entrance.

The castle had had a troubled history.¹⁸ In 1527 the rebellious Shimazu Sanehisa, whose ancestral home of Izumi lay beyond the Sendai River, which formed the northwestern boundary of Satsuma, had pressed towards the south with his allies and had gained control of one province after another, including Ichiku, its harbor of Kushikino, and Ijūin. But Tadayoshi and his son Takahisa had counterattacked in 1536 and had, in this same year, recaptured Ijūin and, three years later, in 1539, the southern provinces of Kaseda and Kawanabe. Tadayoshi had then marched with auxiliary troops of the Iriki and Kabayama against Ichiku, which was in the hands of the forces of Shimazu Sanehisa. Takahisa's father-in-law, the old Iriki-in Shigetoshi, had here visited his son-in-law and had left behind with him his son Shigetomo and numerous warriors. The first attack was made from the village of Yuda upon the western hill of Hira-jō, whose two bulwarks were under the command of Shimazu Tadafusa and Niirō Tadayoshi. When the two leaders gave up the battle and fled over the drawbridges to the main fortress, the bulwarks on Hira-jō had fallen into the hands of the besiegers. The first assault upon the main fortress of Tsurumaru-jō from Dainichi-ji had failed; but, despite a brave defense, it was captured in a new attack after a sixty-day siege.

¹⁵ Father Cieslik suspects that there was a bridge there.

¹⁶ That there was a moveable bridge there is still indicated by the traditions of the site. When Almeida speaks of a moveable bridge over an infernally deep draw, he means this one. The ravine was narrower in former times. The cut was in recent times widened for a highway.

¹⁷ We thus have seven bulwarks. In 1959 Cieslik learned in Ichiku that east of Mount Tsurumaru-jō there was a still higher hill, of 535 feet, on which, between the brush, fruit trees were still to be found, an indication that here also there was once a house or bulwark; and that in the valley between the two heights are the remains of an old castle by the name of Nabe-ga-jō. The southern entrance was probably also further fortified by a ditch. There was also a castle at Kushikino, the harbor, two leagues away. Almeida's observation, that the fortress of Ichiku consisted of some ten bulwarks, is thus not exaggerated, even though not all of them were connected by movable bridges.

¹⁸ Cieslik put together for us the history of Shimazu and of the last battles for Ichiku from the principle data in Japanese histories; see also Asakawa 301 and 391. But the two series of data are contradictory. According to Asakawa, Takahisa marched on Ichiku on the seventeenth day of the sixth intercalary month of the eighth year of Tembun, which, as he rightly notes, corresponds to August 1, 1539. The attack on the main fortress was on the twenty-seventh day (391). According to the same author Shigetomo captured Momo-tsugi on October 9, 1539, after he had received two months earlier the order from Takahisa to occupy the region of Sendai (301). According to Cieslik, on the other hand, the main fortress of Ichiku was captured after a sixty-day siege on the twenty-ninth day of the sixth intercalary month, which corresponds to August 13, 1539.

The commander of the fortress, Shimazu Tadatatsu, a younger son of Sanehisa, had in the course of this fallen in battle. Takahisa, the conqueror, had in recognition of the bravery of the defenders, granted them a free departure; and they had sailed from the neighboring harbor to their overlord in Izumi. In the final storming of the fort, Iriki-in Shigetomo's troops, and two of his warriors in particular, had distinguished themselves;¹⁹ and their leader had received from Takahisa the commission of recapturing all the territory south of the Sendai River, a task which he was able to complete before the end of the year.

Sanehisa had given up the fight after the fall of Ichiku, and negotiations for peace were conducted towards the end of the year. Through these it was determined that the daughter of Takahisa would be given as a bride to the young son of Sanehisa. Niirō Ise-no-kami Yasuhisa, who had been named governor of Ichiku and Kushikino, was invested with Ichiku.

The new lord of the castle, Niirō Ise-no-kami Yasuhisa,²⁰ traced his ancestry back to Shimazu Tokohisa, the fourth son of Shimazu Tadamune, who had ruled in Satsuma in the thirteenth century and had given the lordship of Niirō-in, in the province of Hyūga,²¹ to Tokohisa. Yasuhisa thus pertained to one of the seven main families of the Shimazu,²² who were in possession of many important and influential offices in the land. He was also a member Tadayoshi's council, the father of the ruling prince Takahisa.²³ As a relative of the prince, he had therefore received in 1539 the important post of governor of the two fortresses which defended the approach to the royal road to Ijūin and Kagoshima.

At the castle of Ichiku, where Xavier went, probably accompanied by Anjirō as his interpreter, he was most cordially received.²⁴ Very great interest was aroused by the contents of his book—its teaching about Dainichi, the Creator of all things,²⁵ about the immortality of the soul, and about the mysteries of the

¹⁹ Hagi Uneme and Midzuika Jurō (Asakawa 391).

²⁰ Frois gives his name as *Niirō Ise-no-kamidono* (5), Almeida *Ixandono* (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 272v and 283v), which becomes *Hexandono* in print (Maffei, *Cartas* 1575 and 1598, Eglauer), *Ekandono* in Crasset and *Ikakuradono* in the Japanese translation of his work, and in the Japanese translation of Xavier's letters of 1891 *Iga-no-kami*. From the false readings *Eka* and *Iga*, Ijichi suspects that *Ika* was the *inkyō* name of the lord of the castle (104). Aoyama writes that *Ikkan* was his literary name (77); but nothing is known of a literary name of the lord of the castle. *Rodrigues Tçuzu calls the lord of the castle *Niyyro no Bugendono* (*Neyro no Bugendono* in the Ajuda text). But no other source gives him the title of *Bugendono*. *Rodrigues Tçuzu is very careless in his chapter on Ichiku and relies upon the similarly very careless and uncritical manuscript history of Luis Niabara.

²¹ From Japanese works (Shigeno 92-102 and Murano, "Ichiku. Sabieru to Niirō shi" *Kagoshima Kyōiku* II, n. 5, 30-32), Cieslik has provided us with the genealogy of the Niirō family. Niirō Noriyoshi has given a second genealogy in *Niirō Ryoan Den* (Biography of the Niirō Ryoan), p. 33, a popular work which appeared in Kagoshima in 1929.

²² The *Shimazu shichi-tō* (Papinot 571). The Niirō are mentioned several times in the sources as vassals of the Shimazu (cf. Asakawa 284 317 324 342).

²³ A daughter of Niirō Korehisa married Isaku Yoshihisa. Her son Tadayoshi was the father of Shimazu Takahisa (Niirō Noriyoshi 33). When Hideyoshi subjected Satsuma in 1587, the then more than seventy-year-old lord of the castle, Niirō Ise-no-kami Yasuhisa, handed over his fortress of Ichiku only after his liege lord Shimazu Yoshihisa had ordered him to do so, as Hideyoshi openly declared. The victor acknowledged his bravery and gave him his cloak and fan, two gifts which his successors keep faithfully till today (Steichen 148).

²⁴ Cf. the reception they afforded to Almeida in 1562; "As soon as we arrived, we were received by all with great love" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271).

²⁵ Almeida writes that with the Christian objects which Xavier left with them, the residents of the castle had preserved their faith during the thirteen years that had passed when no one preached to them the law of God (*a ley de Deus*). He then continued:

Old Testament and of the life of Christ; and, thanks to the zeal of the excellent administrator of the castle, who received the name of Miguel in baptism,²⁶ Xavier, during his stay in Ichiku,²⁷ was able to baptize the wife²⁸ and children²⁹ of the lord of the castle, the wife³⁰ and nine-year-old daughter³¹ of Miguel, and a number of servants—around fifteen individuals in all.³² The lord of the castle did not

“Comesandolhes a pregar das cousas de Deus diante do mesmo marido [the lord of the castle], que todos estavamos asentados ao derredor de hum grande brazeiro por causa de grande frio por ser em entrada de Janeiro, me perguntarão, se Daniche era Deus. O qual Daniche he hum seu pagode. Eu lhe dee muitas rezões que ho não era, de que se satisfizerão. He isto me perguntarão porque o Padre Mestre Francisco lhes avia pregado, que Daniche [crossed off in the copy, and written in its place in a Spanish hand in the margin: *el criador de todas las cosas*] era Deus e que o adorassem. E foi por estar mal enformado das [crossed off and written over it in the same hand: *por*] leis de Japão pelos quais [crossed off] tem os Japões que a Daniche he o criador e primeiro principio das cousas. Mas os seus letrados emtendem Daniche ser primeiro principio e criador de tudo, muito d’outra maneira do que nos emtendemos Deus ser criador. Porque tem, Daniche he a materia prima que em todas as cousas que se vem está e sem ella não podem ser as cousas que se semtem e vivem pera sempre; e não se pode ver com os olhos corporais, mas emtendese com o emtendimento. He impacivel porque nem o fogo o pode queimar, nem espada cortar. Sem ella nenhuma cousa pode ter ser e por ella todas as cousas são. De maneira que por estas e outras imformações, que darião ao Padre, lhes mandou que adorassem a Dainiche, paresendolhe que este nome era de Deus, que he o criador verdadeiro, não cuidando que por elle emtendião a materia prima [bracketed]” (*JapSin.* 4, 271v; cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 28-29).

²⁶ Frois 5.

²⁷ In 1605 Miguel, the son of the administrator Miguel baptized by Xavier, told the Japanese Father Luis Niabara that Xavier had stayed for “some days” in his father’s house (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 218v). *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes that Xavier remained for twelve days in the castle. He confuses Xavier with Almeida, who wrote that on his first short visit to Ichiku he had promised the Christians that he would return and would then remain ten to twelve days with them (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271v). Xavier probably visited more than once the small Christian community in Ichiku.

²⁸ The mistress of the house was from the Ogawa family, whose head was the liege lord of the island group of Koshikijima west of Kyōdomari (Niirō Noriyoshi writes *Okado*, according to Cieslik probably printing mistake for *Ogawa*). According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, she received the name of Magdalena in baptism. She was the mother of the second and third, and probably also of the first son of the lord of the castle. Frois writes that this latter had two wives (5). In all the other sources there is mention of only one wife. He perhaps married a second after the death of his first.

²⁹ According to Frois, Miguel’s zeal converted the lord’s whole family, and only he remained a pagan (5). In 1562 Almeida wrote that he had gone to Ichiku to visit the wife and the children (*filhos*) of the lord of the castle whom Xavier had baptized. After he had greeted the lord, his wife and children (*filhos*) and his servants who were Christians had come and encircled him (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271). *Filhos* can mean “sons and daughters” and Frois writes where he cites Almeida’s letter *filhos e filhas* instead of *filhos* (120). According to *Rodrigues Tçuzu Xavier baptized the daughter of the lord of the castle Maria (39v).—Yasuhisa, the lord of the castle had two sons in 1550: Matahachirō and Hisayoshi, of whom the first was at the time about five, the second about four years old. At the time of Brother Almeida’s visit in 1562 he was seventeen years old (*JapSin.* 4, 273).

³⁰ That Xavier also baptized Miguel’s wife we conclude from the fact that he baptized his daughter, and that after Xavier’s departure Miguel had a son, probably from the same wife.

³¹ In 1605 Luis Niabara met the son of the administrator Miguel, whom his father had baptized after Xavier’s departure. Niabara estimated his age at around sixty. If he had been born in 1550 at the time of Xavier’s visit, he would have been baptized by the latter himself. Niabara learned from this second Miguel that his elder sister had been baptized by Xavier and was now living at the age of sixty-six or sixty-seven in Hyūga (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 218v). She was thus around ten in 1550 at the time of her baptism.

³² In 1562 Almeida met “some fifteen” Christians in Ichiku who had been baptized

himself receive baptism, though he was convinced of the truth of the Christian teachings, through concern for his liege lord, without whose permission he did not dare take such a step, since he would otherwise have run the risk of losing his position.³³

3. THE FIRST TRIP TO HIRADO (JULY, 1550)¹

In the meantime, after the Christmas season, there had come the Japanese New Year's festival, which in 1550 fell on January 18, according to the Christian calendar, and was celebrated for seven days. The houses had been cleaned for the feast and equipped with new mats, the rice had been ground, and the usual rice cakes had been baked; the homes had been decorated, and a young pine tree had been placed on each side of the doors of the homes as a symbol of a long life; and over it had been hung the obligatory straw rope to ward off the evil spirits; and a watch had been held on the eve of the feast until around midnight, when the bells of the city's temples began to ring in the New Year. The people had put on new clothes, had visited each other, and had expressed their mutual wishes for a happy New Year. They had exchanged New Year's gifts and had begun the holidays with dinners and drinking parties. Certain taboos were also observed at this time. Care was taken, for example, to avoid pronouncing the word *shi*, since it could mean, among other things, death, which no one wanted to recall during these days, when good wishes for a thousand and ten thousand blessed years were expressed. For the same reason, no New Year's visits were made as a rule to the bonzes, since they were accustomed to recall the transitory character of all things.²

December, January, and February were the coldest months of the year, but in February the plum trees with their fragrant white and red blossoms had

by Xavier (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271). According to Frois' letter to Lacerda, Xavier baptized around twenty persons in Ichiku (*RProzess, Lisbon, I 107). Some had probably already died by 1562.

³³ See his answer to Almeida's question at the time of his third visit to Ichiku in 1562. At his insistence he replied that if he had not recognized that the law of God was the true one, he would not have allowed his children and those of his house to become Christians. God knew his heart and that he prayed to nothing else as God and that he took refuge in Him alone in his needs. But he did not dare to openly reveal his convictions by his acceptance of Christianity, since he feared that he would lose his position if the king learned that he had accepted another religion without his permission. But God would bring about the fulfillment of his desire when he could do so with the approval of his king (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 273v).

¹ The only source for Xavier's first trip to Hirado is Frois, *Geschichte* 7-8. For Xavier's stay in Kagoshima he had the oral data and written indications of Brother Fernández (6 and 14). By these indications is probably meant the *Itinerario* which the brother wrote in Takushima near Hirado in 1563, where Frois stayed with him during this and the following year (*ibid.* 200-206 212-214 222; Teixeira 878). The sources for the reconstruction of the route are: (1) the sailing manual of a Portuguese pilot for the voyage from Lampacau near Macao to Hirado, written before 1571, since there is no reference in it as yet to the harbor of Nagasaki (Linschoten V 215-222); (2) the *Japan Pilot* (London, 1914); (3) *Admiralty Charts*, nn. 358 (western coasts of Kyūshū), 836 (Amakusa Islands and Yatsushiro Sea), 3692 (Shimabara-Kaiwan), 359 (Nagasaki to Karatsu), 139 (Ikitsuki-jima to Taka-shima), and 1527 (southern approaches to Hirado-kaikyō). Boxer also gives a Japanese map of 1672 with the Hirado—Kabashima route (*True Description* CCXXIV) and a view of the harbor of Hirado of 1621 (*ibid.* XVI).

² On the Japanese New Year's feast, see Rodrigues Tçuzu I 283-295 (English extract in Cooper 355-357) and Sataro Hirose, "Das japanische Neujahrsfest," MDGNVO 3 (1882) 257-275.

already bloomed and heralded the approach of spring. These were followed in the middle of March by the silvery charm of flowering cherry trees, and by the middle of April spring had already come. The camphor trees in the mountain forest behind the monastery of Fukushō-ji were at this time marvelous to behold. The elaborate colors of a Japanese fall were mingled with those of a waxing spring under the radiance of a warming sun and cloudless sky,³ and the song of nightingales could be heard amidst the fresh green of the forest.⁴

The birth of Shaka was celebrated in the Buddhist temples on April 24.⁵ The chill north wind, which had ceased to blow, was now replaced by a warm south wind. With May summer had come, the time when ships again sailed north to the capital of Miyako. The prince nevertheless continued to detain the priests with the pretext that the voyage there was impossible: the routes were blocked because of the war. They should wait until it was over.⁶ June came with its alternations of sun and rain. There was then the harvest of wheat and barley, and after this was the time for the planting of rice.

While the priests were waiting for an opportunity to sail to Miyako, Xavier received, at the beginning of July,⁷ the news that a Portuguese ship coming from China had landed at Hirado on the northwest of the island of Kyūshū. Though he was ill at the time⁸ with a steady fever and loss of appetite, and the hottest period of the year had begun, he immediately set off, since he had to obtain the letters from his confreres in India and Europe, which the Portuguese, in keeping with his instructions to Pérez, would certainly have brought with them.⁹ He took with him only one Japanese servant as his companion and interpreter.¹⁰

³ E. Grasmann, "Der Kampfbaum," *ibid.* 6 (1895) 288.

⁴ Rein 506-507 517 528-529; Makino-Oka, *Floral Calendar of Japan* 23-40.

⁵ *Annual Events in Japan* 41.

⁶ Frois 7; Torres 44 54 92.

⁷ According to Frois the news came ten months after Xavier's arrival in Kagoshima and at the beginning of the greatest heat. This brings us to the second half of June or the beginning of July, for June, July, and August are the hottest months in Japan. Portuguese vessels were accustomed to sail from Macao to Hirado in June and July (Linschoten V 228 237; Schütte, *Valignano* I. 1, 127). On December 25, 1575, Valignano wrote that at the end of May, 1574, or the beginning of June, the Portuguese vessels sailed from China to Japan (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 305v).—For the "passados des mezes" of Frois, Cross has: "deux mois s'étaient passés" (*Vie* II 55); he thus read *dous* instead of *des*. He and Brou, who follows him (II 161-162), thus have Xavier on hearing the news immediately write his letter dated November 5, 1549, and travel with Domingos Dias to Hirado, where the Portuguese solemnly received him with their flagged ship, salvos of cannons, and music. The saint easily won the favor of the prince and people and, thanks to the influence and generosity of the Portuguese, could negotiate for the purchase of a residence and chapel. On the basis of his erroneous translation, Cross has Frois, his source, become involved in a contradiction, and he assumes that two different Portuguese ships came to Hirado, one in November, 1549, and the other in August, 1550 (*Vie* II 55-56 89-91).

⁸ Aoyama poses the question as to how Xavier could have obtained this news. He comes to the conclusion that the only possible way was by the "corsairs" (Sino-Japanese: *wakō*; Japanese: *kaizoku*), that is, the Japanese seafarers who, partly as merchants, partly as pirates, and often in alliance with Chinese, visited and plundered the Chinese coasts, and who also had bases in Satsuma and Hirado. If the Portuguese had informed Xavier through one of their own people, they would certainly have sent him the mail if they had received any for him (83-85). But the news could also have come through some private merchant or traveler.

⁹ Frois 7-8. That Xavier immediately set out despite his sickness is probably to be explained by the fact that he found at once a favorable opportunity for sailing and did not know how long the Portuguese would remain in Hirado.

¹⁰ The Japanese servant whom Xavier took with him probably was, according to

Hirado was a hundred Japanese leagues (about sixty-five Portuguese) from Kagoshima by sea, the only route to be considered.¹¹ Japanese ships sailed only during the day; at night they anchored off the land.¹² Because of this, and also for the sake of security, they usually sailed near the coast.

The route from Kagoshima went south through the bay, passing Yanagawa and the 3,280-foot high volcano of Kaimondake.¹³ It then continued westwards to Bō-no-misaki,¹⁴ the southwest cape of Kyūshū, and then towards the northwest, passing the bays of Bōnotsu and Tomari,¹⁵ around the steep promontory of Noma-no-hana¹⁶ to the harbor of Kataura.¹⁷ From there it passed on towards the north for five leagues along a flat, monotonous, sandy coast that belonged to the lords of Isaku and Ichiku and the latter's harbor of Kushikino.¹⁸ It then continued past the two tall capes of Hashima-saki and Yoshiku-misaki¹⁹ to the Sendai River, which formed the boundary of Shimazu Takahisa's territory,²⁰ to Akune.²¹ This

Frois, Joane, who later sailed back with him to India. He had come to Malacca and India with Anjirō as his servant.

¹¹ According to Torres (92) and Frois (7), Hirado was a hundred leagues from Kagoshima. They are speaking of Japanese leagues (*ri*), one of which is nearly 2.50 miles. The length of the sea route, which is the only one that comes into question because of Xavier's illness, was 242 miles: 31 miles from Kagoshima to Kaimondake, 37 from there to Cape Noma-no-hana, 56 from there to Akune, 40 from there to Shiki, 78 from Shiki to Hirado. Haas, who knew of only one trip of Xavier to Hirado, gives as a probable route: overland from Kagoshima to Ichiku and then along the coast on foot to Akune and Kuro-no-seto, from there a crossing to Ushibuka and then by ship to Hirado or straight overland through Amakusa to Hondo and Oni-ike, then by ship to Kuchinotsu and on foot again to Hirado by way of the modern Nagasaki; or from Akune on foot by way of Kumamoto to Hirado (I 164). The map in the Japanese edition of Xavier's letters by Arrupe-Inoue (1949) also has Xavier go by land to Ichiku and then without the indication of towns on foot to Hirado. Brodrick also has him, despite his sickness, make his first trip to Hirado on foot (408). The map in Yadōmaru Hiroshide, *Hirado shiwa* (Tokyo, 1954) 44 gives an overland route for Xavier with some names: Kagoshima, Isaku, then by ship to Arima and on foot by way of Ōmura and Sasebo to Hirado. The map in Arrupe, *Sei Furanshisuko Sabieru* (Tokyo, 1949) and the additional map in Yoshida Kogorō, *Zavieru* (Tokyo, 1959) has Xavier go by land to Akune and then by ship through the two Amakusa Islands to Hirado.

¹² Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 238-239. Aoyama does not advert to this fact when he reckons the duration of the voyage from Yamagawa to Hirado (85). His reasoning is as follows: According to Xavier ships sailed from China to Japan, 497 to 559 miles in ten or twelve days, thus at an average of some 44 miles a day. The distance from Yamagawa to Hirado was around 174 miles. The voyage thus lasted only four or five days. But the distance is to be reckoned from Kagoshima and amounts to 242 miles. The Portuguese ships were large and sailed day and night; the Japanese ship on which Xavier sailed was small and sailed only during the day. In 1552 Alcáçova sailed in a Japanese bark from Kagoshima to Funai: 236 miles in seventeen days (from August 22 to September 7) in bad weather, at some 14 miles per day. If Xavier's ship sailed 16 miles a day, it took him fifteen days to get there and the same number to return. From Bungo to Hirado, some 125 miles, Alcáçova went on foot by land in eighteen days, thus at an average of 6.8 miles per day (*Cartas* 1598, 23-24).

¹³ *Japan Pilot* 419.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 420.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 421.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 422.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 425.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 426; cf. the historical map of Satsuma for 1550 in *Sappan Enkaku Chizu*, n. 4.

¹⁹ *Japan Pilot* 426-427.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 427; cf. the map in n. 18.

²¹ *Ibid.* 432, but where only the two small islands of Ōshima and Kawa-shima lying before Akune are named. Ships always followed the coast from Satsuma this far. The Portuguese *roteiro* in Linschoten describes the route which the Portuguese and Chinese ships were accustomed to take from China to Hirado. According to this ships sailed

harbor was in Izumi, which belonged to Takahisa's rival, Shimazu Sanehisa;²² and it was not far from Kuro-no-seto, the narrow strait that opened up into the broad bay of Yatsushiro.

From Akune there were two possible routes. One of these, the longer, passed for six leagues through this bay towards the north, between the large islands of Nagashima and Amakusa and the mainland, to Yatsushiro in the province of Higo, and from there left, through the narrow strait of Misumi-no-seto, westwards into the large bay of Shimabara to Kuchinotsu.²³ The other passed first westwards from Akune along the southern coast, which was free of shallows, and then along the west coast of Amakusa²⁴ to the harbor of Shiki near the northwestern cape of this island.²⁵ Here the two routes again joined each other, since the two harbors of Shiki and Kuchinotsu were only separated by the strait of Arima.²⁶

From Shiki the course went straight west for five leagues through the open sea to the island of Kabashima,²⁷ which lay close to the southwestern cape of a long, mountainous peninsula. Whereas Amakusa still belonged to the province of Higo, Kabashima with its good harbor was already in that of Hizen, which embraced the whole of northwestern Kyūshū.

From Kabashima it was still some twenty-one leagues to Hirado. The ship sailed ever northwest along the coast of Hizen but beyond the numerous small islands that lay before it. The next goal was the island of Matsushima with its terraced fields and pines which gave it its name.²⁸

North of Matsushima was the most dangerous portion of the course, where steep reefs rose suddenly from the deep sea and the sounding line was of little use.²⁹ The broad channel between Kyūshū and the Gotō Islands here became

from the northern point of Lequeo pequeno (Formosa) to the northeast until the island of Koshiki was sighted "west of Akune." Ships then followed the western coast of this island (and if the coast of Kyūshū was sighted instead of this, it was followed) northwards to Amakusa and then along the west coast of Amakusa to the harbor of Shiki (V 215-217). The other *roteiros* in Linschoten also give the route along the western coast of Amakusa (V 236 249).

²² In 1539, on orders from Shimazu Takahisa, Iriki-in Shigetomo took the territory south of the Sendai River from Shimazu Sanehisa. But for twenty more years Sanehisa fought the Tōgō over the territory between the north bank of the river and Akune (Asakawa 301-302).

²³ In his description of Japan Couto, from data provided by Jesuits, gives a list of eighty geographical names, among which he includes by exception that of a strait Sotonofama (5, 8, 12, p. 269-270). Meant is Cape Seto-no-hana on the north side of the northwestern entrance into the channel of Misumi-no-seto, which led from the bay of Shimabara to the sea of Yatsushiro (*Japan Pilot* 450), and which was already sailed during the Middle Ages (C. Nishioka 144). The voyage through the Yatsushiro Sea to Kuchinotsu meant, however, a detour of twenty-five miles and would only come into question if the ship on which he sailed had to stop there.

²⁴ Ships thus sailed north of Akune towards the northwest on the channel past Kuro-no-seto without landing there, along the southwest coast of the large island of Nagashima to the horseshoe-shaped neighboring island of Gesu-shima and then along the almost completely safe western coast of Amakusa Shimo-shima for twenty-five miles to Shiki (*Japan Pilot* 433 435 443-445).

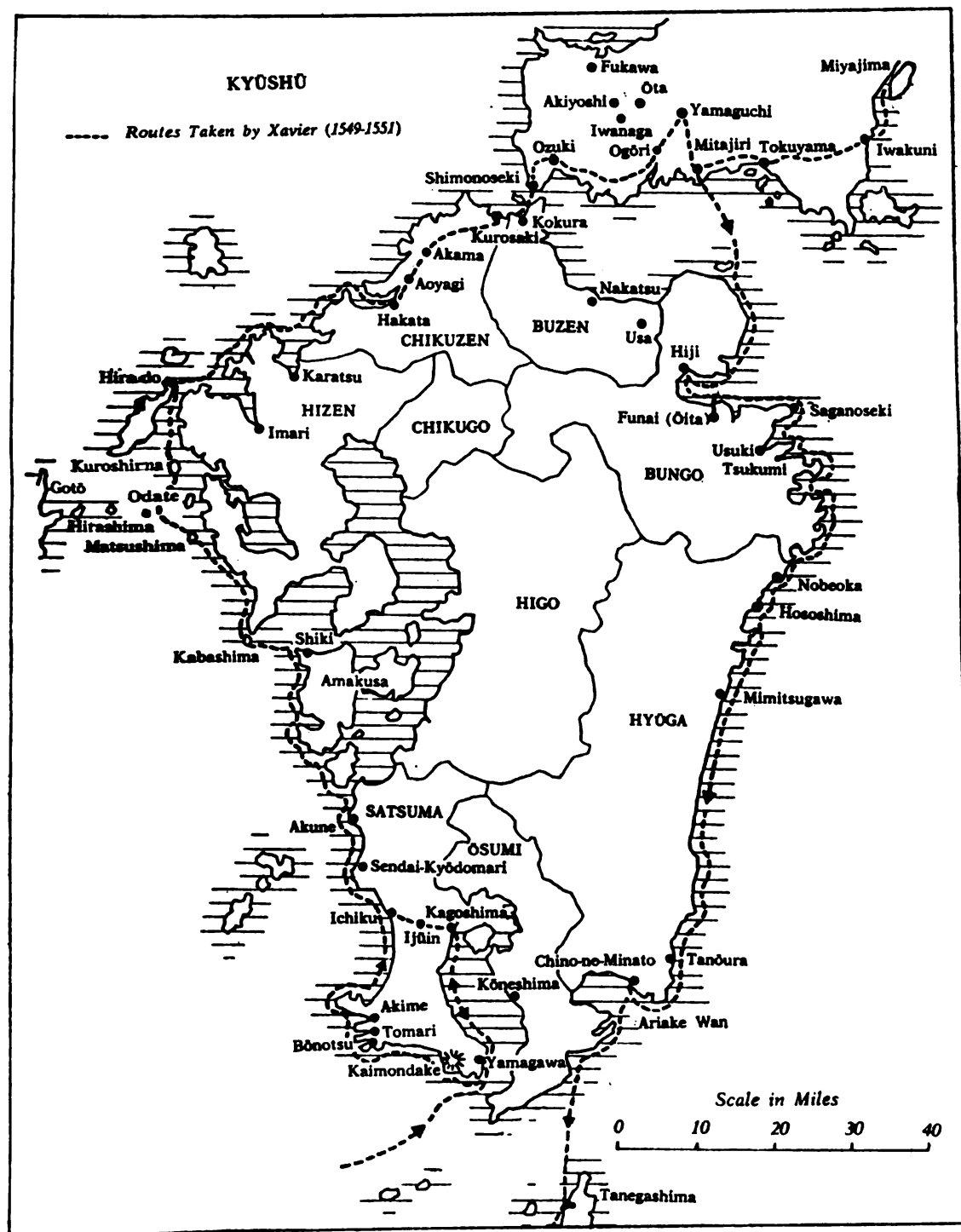
²⁵ Shiki was considered to be one of the best harbors of Japan, protected from all the winds like Kuchinotsu (Linschoten V 216-217; cf. *Japan Pilot* 445-446).

²⁶ In Linschoten *Estrecho de Arima* (V 216), today called Hayasaki Strait (*Japan Pilot* 446).

²⁷ Linschoten V 218 232-233 236 247 249; *Japan Pilot* 459-462.

²⁸ Linschoten gives the distance: five or six Portuguese leagues (V 471); cf. *Japan Pilot* 471; Murray 417. The Japanese map of 1672 in Boxer (see note 1, above) also gives the route by way of Matsu-shima. Ships sailed along the coast from Kaba-shima about a league from it (Linschoten V 233 250).

²⁹ *Japan Pilot* 417.



narrower. Groups of islands and reefs blocked the passage on the right and left,³⁰ and in between them was a small, three-hundred-foot-high island by the name of Odate,³¹ north of which were two sandstone columns known as Iro Se,³² the largest of which was fifty feet high. The ship was steered to the right of these towards the northeast through the again open sea³³ to the island of Kuroshima,³⁴ and then between it and the mainland east of two groups of small twin islands³⁵ towards the north, where the mountains of the long, narrow island of Hirado could be seen, and then along its coast.

The coasts on both sides drew ever closer together. On the left of where they seemed to run up against each other, there opened up a deep bay.³⁶ In its center, rising out of the green waters, was a small, rocky island, whose heights were completely covered with pines. The bright red *torii* of a small Shinto temple on the beach stood out in sharp contrast against the dark green of the forest.³⁷ Wooded hills could also be seen surrounding the bay, and in the distance the grey houses of a city. Behind the hills were taller, blue mountains; and on the extreme right, as one sailed along the coast, the pointed peak of Ko-Fuji could be seen, and beneath it, on the strand, a larger building, the palace of the prince.³⁸ Hirado, the capital of the same-named island, had been reached.

³⁰ On the right Sakito-shima, Kakiura-shima, Ōshima, and Tera-shima; on the left Eno-shima with its extensive reefs in the north and south, and Hira-shima (*ibid.* 475-476).

³¹ On Odate see *Japan Pilot* 474. The *roteiro* in Linschoten mentions the many islands and reefs which lie before the west coast between Kaba-shima and Matsu-shima and then describes the two farthest small islands (Odate and Eno-shima) near Matsu-shima, and it adds that reefs lay to the northwest and east of the one farthest out (Eno-shima), and that the one on the east (Odate) afforded protection against a south wind (V 218).

³² Linschoten: "Opposite the land in front of these two islands are two small islands or stone reefs in the form of columns" (V 218-219). Meant are the *Iro-se* northwest of Odate, two sandstone blocks, the higher reaching to forty-nine feet (*Japan Pilot* 475).

³³ Linschoten continues: "Between these stone reefs [*Iro-se*] and through other canals which the islands at times begin to open up, sail many junks or Chinese ships with merchandise to Fyrandō and the harbor of Umbra [Ōmura]" (V 219). The *Japan Pilot* gives instructions for sailing: "Sail between Sakito-shima and Odate-shima, then east of Fuku-se and west of Kuro-shima" (513).

³⁴ Linschoten's *roteiro* advises sailing further west to the island of Saquijn, which has the appearance of three islands, three or four Portuguese leagues from the island (the west coast of Kyūshū), from where one could see in clear weather the island of Gotō [Nakadōri] and that of Hirado at a distance of five leagues. Saquijn had a good harbor protected from all the monsoon winds, and barks and *fustas* were always found there to bring one to Hirado (V 219-220-222). Meant is Hira-shima with Cape Kurosaki and Tutsunosaki and the reef of Saki-se (*Japan Pilot* 476). The text in Linschoten then becomes vague and confused. It finally has one sail to the northeast to the island of Kuro-shima before the entrance into Ōmura Bay, and then between it and the mainland towards the north to the harbor of Hirado (V 220-222; cf. *Japan Pilot* 509). The Japanese map of 1672 also leave Kuro-shima on the left.

³⁵ By this is probably meant Ishima as well as Shimo Kareki-shima and Kami Kareki-shima (*Japan Pilot* 511).

³⁶ See the description of the entrance in Linschoten (V 221-222; in English in Boxer, *Christian Century* 129); picture in Boxer, *True Description*, p. XVI.

³⁷ Kuroko-shima (cf. Linschoten V 222).

³⁸ Three palaces must be distinguished: (1) the old residence (*Furu-tachi*) on the right at the entrance to the bay above the landing place of the Dutch on the hill of Tōmigake, which at the time of Xavier's arrival was the residence of Matsūra Takanobu; (2) *Ō-tachi* (the Large Residence), today the local museum, which dominates the whole aspect of the city and was built by Matsūra Takanobu who died in 1637; (3) the *Kameoka-jō* on the Kameoka mountain left of the entrance, begun in 1600 by Matsūra Shigenobu but not completed until 1703 (from oral information given by the historian of the city Matsumoto Kyūzaburō on the basis of the "annals of the Matsūra family; cf. Cieslik in NZM 15 [1959] 82).

At the end of the bay, the landing place, the Portuguese ship lay at anchor.³⁹ Its captain was Francisco Pereira de Miranda,⁴⁰ an old acquaintance of Xavier who had fought under Martim Affonso de Sousa in Malabar and at Vêdālai, and who had sailed back to India with the priest in 1541 with the right to a captaincy of Chaul.⁴¹ Gohō Ōchoku, a Chinese merchant familiar with Japan, had acted as his pilot and had shown him the entrance into the harbor; and a fourth of his crew were Chinese.⁴² Pereira gave Xavier a hearty welcome, but the mail which the latter had hoped to receive from India and Europe had not come. His friend had received nothing in the line of letters from Malacca.⁴³ Xavier therefore, after

³⁹ Where today are the Dutch bridge and the memorial to the English factory, as Matsumoto Kyūzaburō informed us, noting also that the sea had earlier gone farther inland. The harbor had room for five to six large ships (*Begin ende Vortgang XVII* 130); cf. the description of it in Almeida's letter of October 20, 1562 (*Cartas* 1598, 111-v).

⁴⁰ EX II 515.

⁴¹ Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" (GS II 131-132), and Vol. II, pp. 72-74. Brou, following Cros, has the captain prepare a brilliant reception for Xavier (II 162). But Xavier, it seems, came completely unexpected and departed immediately after finishing what he had to do on the ship, as Frois indicates. By this he probably means that he left after speaking with the captain and giving the Portuguese on his ship the opportunity to receive the sacraments.

⁴² According to the trading record of Suganuma Teifu, contained in the *Gaikōshikō* (GS II 545). This Gohō Ōchoku is probably the same who brought the first Portuguese to Tanegashima in 1543 (*ibid.* 536). His Chinese name was Wang Chih. He had his origins in Anhwei and was the chief of the Chinese corsairs. Since around 1542 he had had his headquarters in Hirado, from where, with his Chinese and Japanese assistants, he engaged in trade and piracy along the Chinese coast (Aoyama 84). The *Daikyoku-ki* states: "A Chinese by the name of Gohō came to Hirado and built a Chinese house in the town of Inzanji-Yashiki and there took up his residence. After this many Chinese came to land here. The ships of the southern barbarians then also came and brought things from Europe, which at the time were marvels for that land. The merchants of Miyako and Sakai went there to engage in trade. Hirado was at that time called the Miyako of the West. This lasted for around twenty years" (GS II 546). Local historians give details. In 1550 Gohō Ōchoku brought the first Portuguese to Hirado. One fourth on the ship were Chinese. Ōchoku built a house on the hill over the landing place of the Chinese and Portuguese. A church was built there in 1564, but the prince Takanobu soon repressed it, and in 1588 built on its site his *inkyō* (retirement) residence, which received the name of *Inzanji-Yashiki*. Shigenobu, one of his successors, changed the house into a temple in honor of Takanobu, which was destroyed in the Meiji period. A private individual, Shimojima, then lived here. He sold a part of his land to the Shintō sect of Konkōkyō, founded in 1859, which built a temple here around 1956 after the Second World War (cf. Itahashi Tsutomu, *Sei Savieru to Hirado Kirishitan* [Sasebo, 1949] 118-120; Shijiki Sōshirō, *Hirado no densetsu to itsuwa* [Hirado, 1954] 22-23; Yadōmaru Hiroshide, *Hirado Shiwa* [Tokyo, 1954] 87-89.—Gohō Ōchoku (Wang Chih) had obtained great wealth through his trade with Japan, Siam, and the Portuguese and had settled on the Chusan archipelago near the coast of China, where he ruled as an independent lord. He was enticed with the promise of pardon and a high office to the mainland, where he was immediately imprisoned and beheaded in 1557 in Hangchow as a traitor. On him, see Boxer, *Christian Century* 253-254 and 483; Y. Takekoshi, *The Story of the Wakos I* (Tokyo, 1940) 24-29; Tschepe 262-273 286-293.

⁴³ It is certain that Xavier did not receive any mail from Europe, India, or Malacca during his whole stay in Japan (1549-1551) despite the opposite claims of Valignano 188-189, Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, c. 208, Rodrigues Tçuzu 57, and Xavier's biographers. Xavier had ordered Pérez to send copies of all letters with ships sailing for China and Japan (EX II 66 106 114 125-126). Pérez, the superior of the Jesuits in Malacca, assures us that no Portuguese ships sailed from Malacca to India or Japan in 1550 and 1551. In 1550 six or seven ships wished to sail but did not succeed in doing so. The siege of Malacca from June 5 to September 16, 1551, made any voyages impossible (DI II 205). Frois further wrote on December 15, 1555, from Malacca: "Fez aguora cimquo anos que de nenhuma calidade os nosos Padres, que estão em Japão sabem novas da India nem da Companhia" (*ibid.* III 361). Gago wrote from Hirado in September, 1555, that Japan

a brief stay, started back for Kagoshima, where he arrived at the beginning of August, a month after his departure.⁴

4. THE DEPARTURE FROM KAGOSHIMA (END OF AUGUST, 1550)

The status of the mission had worsened in Kagoshima. As Xavier had already anticipated in November, 1549, the bonzes had perceived the incompatibility of the new teaching with that of their own and the danger which it posed for them.¹

In the capital of Satsuma the bonzes were numerous and powerful, and they had family connections with the highest circles in the city.² It was due to their influence that the number of converts, which in the first months of Xavier's stay in Kagoshima amounted to around a hundred, had not attained that of one hundred and fifty by the time of his departure for Hirado.³ Xavier was of the opinion that, if it had not been for them, most of the people in the city would have readily enough become Christians. They were intelligent and clearly understood the truth of Christianity and the errors of their own sects. But fear of the prince also detained them from taking such a step.⁴ The bonzes insisted with the duke that if he permitted his vassals to accept the new religion, he would lose his lands, which had been captured after so many toilsome wars. Their temples would be destroyed and abandoned by the people, since the new law was opposed to theirs; and those who accepted it lost their reverence for the saints who had founded their law.⁵

Takahisa had resisted their complaints for a long time, since he had hoped that the presence of the foreign priests would attract to his harbor Portuguese ships, which brought so many precious wares and things which he needed in his wars with his enemies.⁶ But he now saw himself deceived in this regard. The

lay at the end of the world, and that three or four years could pass without the arrival of any mail, "porque do 1549 pera ca não ouve mais recado da India que quando nos [1553] vyemos" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 62). He repeats the same in his letter to King John III (*Cartas* 1598, cf. GS III 595).

⁴ Aoyama has Xavier remain about a month in Hirado (85), a consequence of his false reckoning of the duration of the voyage.

¹ EX II 203-206; see above, p. 92.

² Many bonzes in Kagoshima pertained to the nobility, as Frois wrote on January 2, 1548 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 62); and in his history he notes at the time of Almeida's visit in 1583 that in no city of Japan were the bonzes so numerous and powerful as in Kagoshima (II 297).

³ EX II 258-259. Almeida also gives the same number in his letter of October 20, 1568 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 6, 253v). "From some documents of Brother João Fernandes which we later found in Hirado, and in which he had indicated some of the important points on his arrival in Japan, was the fact that around 150 persons were baptized during the ten months which they remained there in Satsuma" (6). Among these he thus also includes the baptisms in Ichiku. Alcáçova, who reached Kagoshima on August 14, 1552, and remained there for eight days, estimated that the number of Christians in the city exceeded 500 (Q 6045, according to the copy of the *Codex Ulyssiponensis*, a number which the *Diversi Avisi* of 1565 also have, which the *Cartas* 1598 change to *bom numero*). The "perto de cem" in Xavier's letter becomes in Teixeira's revision in the Spanish translation of the *Codex Villarejensis* "cerca de 600" (MX I 659). Mendes Pinto gives the fabulous number of 900 Christians in *Peregrinação*, c. 208. Torres simply states in general that Anjirō had converted some (*algunos*) (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 92).

⁴ EX II 259.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ On this see Frois 18 121 127; Valignano 167-168; *Rodrigues Tçuzu 36v (Ajuda 214); Schurhammer, "Kagoshima" (GS IV 302). When the Dominicans came to Japan in 1602,

Portuguese merchantman had not come to him as it had in the past, but had instead sailed to the harbor of his rival in Hirado. As a consequence, he finally yielded to the demands of the bonzes and forbade under the penalty of death any further conversions to the new religion.⁷

the prince of Satsuma, Shimazu Yoshihisa, the son of Takahisa, allowed them to build churches on the Koshiki Islands, and in 1606 in Kyōdomari, but he banished them in 1609 on the grounds that they made many Christians, the cult of the gods was falling off, and they brought no advantages. During their stay no ship had ever come to his kingdom from their land (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 33 [1963] 9). The Dominicans had promised Shimazu that a Spanish ship would come to his harbor from the Philippines, but it never did (ARSI: *JapSin.* 21, 194).

⁷ EX II 259. Xavier only speaks in general about the opposition of the bonzes. Torres (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 44 54) and Frois are silent about it. Valignano merely makes the brief observation that the bonzes had persuaded the prince to forbid conversions, and that the missionaries had been persecuted to such an extent that they could produce little fruit and were forced to leave the land (168). In his first edition Tursellinus is also brief, but he already invents a provocative speech of the bonzes before the prince (3, 4). In his second edition, for which he received new material from Portugal, he has the way led by a chapter on the miracles which Xavier allegedly worked in Kagoshima (4, 3 and 5). Lucena does the same (7, 13-14 and 20). He anticipates his fantastic and verbose account of the persecution in 1549 and elaborates it with borrowings from the persecution in Bungo in 1553. He has the priests and their house stoned by the bonzes (cf. the account of Alcáçova in *Cartas* 1598, 25, and in Frois 32-33). *Rodrigues Tçuzu further elaborates Lucena's account (36v-37v; Ajuda 213v-214v) with borrowings from the persecutions in Bungo in 1557 and in Yamaguchi in 1552, having the bonzes throw cloths drenched with blood on the house of the priests, and having them say that the priests ate human flesh (cf. EX II 270; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 84; Frois 26 34-37). Bartoli has a similar account (*Asia* 3, 11-12). He gives a new miracle before the persecution, a miraculous catch of fish, and also the baptism of a prominent woman, the mother of the girl raised from the dead in Kagoshima, as the basis for the persecution, as does Brou II 167-169.—On Takahisa's prohibition of baptisms, see also Tanaka Tomoe, "Shimazu Takahisa no Kirishitan-kinsei ni tsuite (On Shimazu Takahisa's Prohibition of Christianity)" in *Kirishitan-Bunka-Kenkyūkai Kaihō* 10 (September, 1967) 1-22, where the authoress comes to the conclusion that the reason for the prohibition of Christianity was the same as that for the prohibition of the Ikkō sect in 1562 by the same prince. According to Aoyama the chief opponents of the Christians were probably the Shingon, and perhaps also the Jishū, bonzes (85-89). Xavier and his confreres were always on friendly terms with the Zen bonzes. In his visits to Kagoshima in 1562, 1578, and especially 1583, Almeida learned of the great hatred which the other bonzes in Kagoshima had for Christianity. In the last year a prominent nobleman, a counselor of the prince who had been educated with him from his youth, was murdered at the instigation of the bonzes because he had interceded with the duke for the priest (Frois 122, II 299-300, and ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 62-62v).—In the second edition of his life of Xavier, of 1596, Tursellinus mentions for the first time the miracles allegedly wrought by Xavier in Kagoshima: the raising of a girl from the dead, the healing of a leper (4, 3), and, without giving the place, that of a sick boy (6, 3). He received this new material from Portugal, probably from Lucena, who includes the last two cures in the life of the saint which he published in 1600; and he inserts a third between them: the punishment of a blasphemer (7, 13). All four are given by *Rodrigues Tçuzu in 1634 (33-34v; Ajuda 210v-212), and again by Sousa in 1710 in his *Oriente Conquistado* (1, 4, 1, 25-26). The most famous of these miracles is the raising of a girl from the dead. In reality it refers to the cure of an eighteen-year-old girl "already almost dead" in Kagoshima in 1583 by Luis de Almeida; who had been ordained to the priesthood in 1580, at the time of his last visit to the capital of Satsuma. The cure, which is dramatically enhanced and falsely attributed to Xavier, is described at length by Frois in his letter of January 2, 1584, "from oral data supplied by Almeida" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 61-v, and *Historia* II 298). His letter appears in *Cartas de Japão* of 1598 (II 92v-93, erroneously printed for 82v-83; Brou II 176-177). Lucena wisely omitted the miracle in 1600. *Rodrigues Tçuzu, less critical, cites as his source for it the now lost history, written in Japanese but dependent upon Tursellinus, of his confrere Luis Niabara, who died in 1619 (33v-34; Ajuda 211-212). For the cure of the leper and of the boy, Tursellinus names as his authority Captain

Since no further development of the mission was possible at this time, Xavier decided not to wait any longer but, instead, to carry out his earlier plan of sailing to Miyako from Hirado⁸ in order to obtain permission to preach the Gospel from the king of Japan, and also to secure, if possible, an entrance from him into the famous university of Hieizan. He therefore asked Takahisa for permission to sail with his companions to Hirado, from where the ship of his friend was to return to India. He also asked the prince to give him a ship for this. The latter was pleased to fulfill the request,⁹ since it freed him from the difficult position

Vicente Pereira, who had been a close friend of Xavier and had reported both miracles to the Jesuits in India. As his authority for these two miracles and another, Lucena cites "a Portuguese who reported them to us several times and is worthy of credence, since he was present at them in Kagoshima and reported them to us in his old age." By this the same Pereira is obviously meant. The text of *Rodrigues Tçuzu is preserved in only two copies. The original probably gave the same authority for the three miracles which he borrowed from Lucena. The older Madrid copy states after the description of the raising from the dead: "Outros milagres refere hum portuguez em hum livro q̃ [did the original have: *que se?*] imprimio, que naquelle tempo diz acharse em Japão naquellas partes onde estava o B. P. Francisco." A. Fernândes writing from Amboina on February 27, 1554, mentions Vicente Pereira when he states that the mission superior of the Moluccas, Father Beira, had sent him a candidate for the order, a certain Vicente Pereira, as a helper. The latter had sailed to China to look for Xavier there (Sá II 141, who also gives two letters of Pereira of this time 136-138 143-145). He did not enter the Society and disappears after this from our sources. Mendes Pinto cannot be meant by Rodrigues Tçuzu, as Brou imagined (II 168). There is no mention of the three miracles in his *Peregrinação*. They seem to go back to an authority who had a weakness for the number three: At the healing of the leper, Xavier has the sick man promise three times that he will be baptized. At the healing of the boy, Xavier repeats "God bless you!" three times. The history of the blasphemer recalls that of Vilhena, who, according to the mestizo Domingos Caldeira during the process of canonization at Cochín in 1616, was allegedly warned three times by Xavier. Caldeira was over ninety-eight years old when he testified to this miracle, and he did so as an eyewitness, since, as he declared, he had served the priest for three years in Malacca, China, and Japan; but he confused Xavier with a Jesuit of 1573 (MX II 449-451; cf. GS III 254-257). This confusion obliges us to place the other miracles which he attributed to Xavier to a time after Xavier's death, namely, the cure of the blind merchant in Japan and the fresh-water miracle in the sea between China and Japan.—Four testimonies from "hearsay" in the Cochín process of 1616 with respect to the miracle of the fish are probably to be attributed to Caldeira as well. One of the witnesses, Thomas Andreas, over sixty-three at the time, testified that he had heard from a young man who had served Xavier and was an eyewitness that the priest had cured a blind merchant in Japan and had obtained a rich catch of fish through his prayers (MX II 565-566; cf. 464 500-501 568-569). Andreas testified with respect to the miracle of the fish that he had also heard about it from many other people who came from Japan. This may have been an answer to a prayer made after Xavier's death, as may also be the case with respect to the miracle of the fish reported from Amakusa in 1626 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 61, 28v). None of the witnesses claimed that the fish miracle attributed to Xavier had been wrought in Kagoshima.—In the Goa process of 1615, the ex-Jesuit Pedro Homem spoke of a miraculous gift of tongues, about which he had heard from four priests of the Society who had been Xavier's companions in India, and who said that Xavier, "ingrediens Iaponiam ignorans linguam, vel parum aut nihil illius, cum concionaretur sine interprete, quia nullam bene callebat, et partim Hispanice, partim Latine et partim Lusitane, et aliquibus verbis Iaponensibus, ab omnibus intellegebatur, ac si proprio uniuscuiusque sermone loqueretur, quid idem et accidit in Mauricio et Piscaria" (*Relatio Francisci Sacraei* [1619], f. 50). There is no mention of such a miracle in Kagoshima in any of the contemporary sources.

⁸ Frois 8 and Torres (44 54).

⁹ Frois 8. Takahisa perhaps believed that the priests wished to return to India with the Portuguese ship. When Alcáçova came to Kagoshima in 1552 with Gago, Duarte da Silva, and Antonio, Anjirō's companion, and the ambassador of the king of Bungo, they were well received by Takahisa (*Cartas* 1598, 23).

in which he had been placed by the presence of the foreign preachers and the insistence of the bonzes and their influential friends.

Before sailing, Xavier wished to visit once again his small community in Ichiku.¹⁰ He and his companions¹¹ were most kindly received in the solitary castle.¹² He gave his recent converts his last instructions and left with them a copy of his book¹³ and of the most important prayers, the Litany of the Saints, the Seven Penitential Psalms, a calendar with the feasts of the saints, a norm for determining the movable feasts, the baptismal formula and an instruction for baptism—all translated into Japanese with Paul's help and written in the Japanese script.¹⁴ He further left with them a porcelain vase with holy water and some articles of devotion such as rosaries, medals, Agnus Dei, and a small relic of the Cross, and also a silk canopy and a silk antependium.¹⁵ The mistress of the

¹⁰ We believe that Xavier visited the Christian community in Ichiku several times, and that he made his last visit before his sailing from Kagoshima. He could also, on his second trip to Hirado, have visited Ichiku from the harbor of Kushikino, which was only some two leagues away from it, but this is less likely.

¹¹ Probably with Anjirō as an interpreter, and perhaps also with Torres, who had the mistress of the castle greeted in his name by Almeida in 1562 (Frois 120), and with Brother Fernández.

¹² Cf. Almeida's reception in 1562 (*ibid.*).

¹³ Anjirō, who as Xavier had already stated at the beginning of 1548, was able to write the Japanese script very well (EX I 392), had probably written a copy of the book in *hiragana*, the Japanese syllabic script. In 1555 Gago sent a sample of Chinese characters and also of the *hiragana* symbols to Europe with the observation: "We write the books in this second script" (*Cartas* 1598, 41-v; Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 62-64).

¹⁴ In his testimony at the first Lisbon process for canonization in 1615, Amador Rebello cited a manuscript of Dr. Miguel de Lacerda and a letter in it which Frois had sent the author on Almeida's visit to Ichiku in 1562 and what he had learned about Xavier's visit in 1550. According to this, Xavier had left there: "scriptam Domini nostri Jesu Christi vitam et passionem ad longum, unam letaniam, quoddam Calindarium, et natalias Sanctorum, quandam artem et regulam ad cognoscendas festivitates mutabiles, epithome totius historiae ecclesiasticae, formam Sacramenti Baptismi, notitiam aliorum sacramentorum, septem Psalmos in lingua Japponica et obligationem omnibus Dominicis eundi domum alicuius ex illis ad legendam Vitam et Passionem D. N. Jesu Christi, et hoc spectaret munus ad prudentiorem, nec non dicendi letanias, et in sextis feriis recitandi psalmos Penitentiales" (107-v).—It may seem strange that Almeida, in his letter of 1562, and Frois in his history, in which he gives this letter with few changes, do not make the least mention of this book which Xavier left in Ichiku. Almeida simply writes that he remained the second time at the castle for ten days and delivered two sermons each day to the people living there and gave lessons in Christian doctrine. All showed that they had a good understanding of it, especially four or five of the most prominent individuals. One of these had written a book from what he had heard on the creation of the world to the coming of Christ and the mysteries of His passion, through which he provided much light for the other Christians. Almeida took this book with him in order to show it to the Christians in Bungo and in other regions, and he lent the author a book on the mysteries of the faith which had been composed in Japan and contained much useful material. Although this comprised fifty-five leaves of good script, the man copied it in a day and a half. Almeida told him that he should assemble the Christians every Sunday, that he or the seventeen-year-old son of the lord of the castle should read to them a chapter from it, and that they should then speak about it for an hour (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 273; Frois 125). Almeida is perhaps silent about Xavier's book since it had been replaced on the Japanese mission by the *Nijū kwagyō* [Niju-kajō] of Melchior Nunes Barreto because of its many Buddhist terms (cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 55-66).

¹⁵ For the history of these Xavier relics, a brief survey of the eventual fate of the Ichiku Christians is necessary. In 1562, twelve years after Xavier's departure, Almeida visited Ichiku for the first time. Brother Miguel Vaz went there in 1577 (his letter of October 22, 1577, is in ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 122; *Cartas* 1598, 399v). Almeida visited it again in 1578 (letter of Frois of September 30, 1578, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 8v). In 1583, after

castle received in her turn from him a small silk purse to wear as a reliquary about her neck. For lack of other relics, this contained along with other prayers the Litany of the Saints, the Creed, and the names of Jesus and Mary, all written by Xavier's own hand.¹⁶

Francis entrusted the small community to Miguel, the faithful and zealous administrator; and he told him that he should baptize children after their birth.¹⁷ He should also continue with his instructions; on Sundays and feast days he should assemble the Christians in one of their homes and read to them a passage from his book on the life and sufferings of Christ; and he should recite with them the prayers and litanies. On Fridays they should scourge themselves and recite the Seven Penitential Psalms.¹⁸

Miguel asked the priest to leave him a remembrance that would also serve as a remedy for physical ills, since there were no physicians or medicines in their town. Xavier gave him a small altarpiece with the picture of the Blessed Virgin,¹⁹ and he added that this was the remedy for their souls. They should

his ordination to the priesthood, Almeida went a third time to Kagoshima. Because of a conspiracy of the bonzes, he had to leave Satsuma prematurely; and it seems that he was unable to go to Ichiku (Frois, *Historia* II 297-300). After the victory of Ieyasu near Sekigahara in 1600, the territory of Kyūshū was newly divided. The governor of Yatsushiro, Konishi Chūjirō Diogo Mimasakadono, lost his position and passed with more than fifteen hundred of his men into the service of Shimazu Yoshihisa, who gave him the fief of Eguchi, which lay next to Ichiku on the south. He and, after his death, his son Jacobo held this until 1609, when the latter was banished for his Christian faith and went to Nagasaki (ARSI: *JapSin.* 54, 110 223; 55, 75-78; 56, 193; Steichen 327). The fief of Ichiku also passed into other hands. When Luis Niabara went to Satsuma in 1605, he found Hisayoshi, the second son of the lord of Ichiku, with his Christians in Kawanabe, thirteen leagues southwest of Kagoshima, which he had received as a fief (Rodrigues Giram on March 10, 1606, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 218v-219v; Guerreiro II 241-243). Miguel, the son of the administrator baptized by Xavier, showed him the objects which the saint had given his father: a *lignum crucis*, two rosaries, a porcelain vase with holy water, which had on the outer side of its base a lacquer seal in the form of a cross. The lord of the place had taken from him a picture of our Lady and an antependium and canopy which had also been gifts of Xavier. An elder sister of this second Miguel, who had been baptized by Xavier and was sixty-six or sixty-seven, lived in Hyūga. She also had many relics which Xavier had given her, among which was a *lignum crucis*. When Niabara returned in 1607, he found in the territory of Konishi Jacobo two old men, the most prominent of the town, with their wives and an old woman, all five of whom he baptized, the old woman with the name of Maria. They had belonged to a foreign sect called Tenjikushū, and the old woman still had relics which she had received from her ancestor who had been baptized by Xavier. She had been accustomed to place these upon those who were ill with a prayer that God might heal them: two rosaries of black wood, a little cotton bag in which there was a particle of the cross wrapped in paper with the inscription *Lignum Crucis*, a piece of black wax from an *Agnus Dei*, and a tin medal with the picture of Our Lady of the Conception on one side and a cross surrounded by rays on the other (Rodrigues Giram on February 25, 1608, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 401-402; Guerreiro III 169-171). In 1618 another priest visited the Satsuma Christians again. Among these were two who had been baptized by Xavier, and who preserved a picture, a discipline, and a vessel of holy water which they had received from him, with which they cured many who were ill (Rodrigues Giram on December 20, 1618 in ARSI: *JapSin.* 59, 29).

¹⁶ Almeida in 1562 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271-v); Frois 120; *Rodrigues Tçuzu 40 (Ajuda 216-v).

¹⁷ ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271; Frois 120.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* and Lacerda (107-v).

¹⁹ Frois 5-6. In 1562 Almeida mentions an altarpiece "da Visitação" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 273; Frois 125), Luis Niabara in 1605 of one "da Anunciação" (*Rodrigues Tçuzu in the Madrid copy 39v), "da Assumpção" (the same in the Ajuda copy 216). When Niabara visited the son of Miguel in Kawanabe in 1605, the latter told him that the lord of the

reverence the Mother of God and ask her to obtain pardon for their sins from her son Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of the world. He further gave him a discipline²⁰ with the words: "My son Miguel, this is the medicine for the body. Whenever a Christian or pagan becomes sick with a fever, you should take five mild blows with this scourge as you invoke the most holy names of Jesus and Mary over the sick persons, and they will regain their health."²¹

Xavier also took leave of his friends in the monastery of Fukushō-ji in Kagoshima. He handed over the care of the Christian community to Anjirō, his loyal companion and interpreter,²² with whom he left a copy of his book.²³ The

town had borrowed the picture from him and, instead of returning it, had sold it to the Philippines (Guerreiro II 242).

²⁰ The discipline is already mentioned by Almeida in 1562. It was placed on the sick, and prayers were said over them; and many had regained their health. It was later used also for healing the ill and is last mentioned in 1618.

²¹ Frois 5-6. At the weekly discipline Miguel would only let each one take three light blows so that it would not be too quickly worn out (*ibid.* 120). Xavier was not to see Ichiku again. In 1562 its people learned from Almeida that the saint had died ten years earlier (*ibid.*). — The firstborn, Niirō Matahachirō, whom Xavier had baptized, had died in the seventh month of the year Eiroku (August/September, 1561) in the campaign against the fortress of Meguri, near Fukuyama in the province of Ōsumi, before becoming head of the family. He is thus not even mentioned by many authors. His brother Niirō Emon-no-suke Hisayoshi, always called "hereditary son" (*filho morgado*) by Almeida, who had also been baptized by Xavier, was about seventeen in 1562 and a zealous Christian (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 273; Frois 125, where we erroneously call him "first-born"). When Vaz came to Ichiku in 1577, he visited him at night and told him that he was happy that the time had come when he could openly declare himself to be a Christian (*Cartas* 1598, 399v). In the period of Tenshō (1573-1591) he was the lord (*jitō*) of the regions of Kimotsuke and Kushikino; and, after the Korean campaign (1598), of Kawanabe, Ei, and Kushikino. He had his fief near Kawanabe in Shindenmura, where he built a family temple in 1619 (he thus seems to have apostatized during the persecution), and died on the seventeenth day of the eighth month in the year Kanei 1 (October 29, 1624). The family tombs of the Kawanabe branch of the Niirō family founded by him are still to be seen there. A third son, born in 1553 after Xavier's departure, Niirō Nagazumi, was baptized by Almeida in 1562 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271v). He first became a bonze with the name of Ryoan, then, as a counselor of Shimazu Yoshihisa, an able diplomat. He died in Ōsaka in 1602 (*letter of Father Cieslik of April 20, 1957, from the researches of Murano 30-32 and Shigeno 91-102; a popular biography appeared in Kagoshima in 1929: Niirō Noriyoshi, *Niirō Ryoan Den*). — The administrator of the castle, the old Miguel, had died six or seven years earlier when Niabara visited his son in 1605 (Guerreiro II 242; Frois, who wrote in his history that he lived fifteen or sixteen years after Xavier's departure, is to be corrected from this [6]).

²² "Ficou com estes cristãos Paulo, natural da terra, muito bom cristão, pera os doutrinar e imsynar," Xavier wrote after his return to India in 1552 (EX II 260). But when Alcáçova came to Kagoshima in 1552, the Christians of the city were a flock without a shepherd. He consequently had to write to his confreres in Portugal in 1554 that the Christians of that city had no one to instruct them (*Codex Ulyssiponensis* I 201; *Cartas* 1598, 27v). What had happened? His contemporary Mendes Pinto wrote in his *Peregrinação*, printed posthumously in 1614, that five months after Xavier's departure from Kagoshima, Paul of the Holy Faith, persecuted and expelled by the bonzes, had sailed to China and had been slain by robbers who raided the kingdom of Liampo (Ningpo) (c. 208). He is followed in this by Tursellinus in the second edition of his life of Xavier in 1596 (4, 5), by Lucena in 1600 (7, 20), and, especially, by *Rodrigues Tçuzu in 1634, who has him die as a martyr on his way to China (37v-38; Ajuda 214v). — Two other witnesses, Teixeira and Frois, who knew Anjirō personally, have a different account of him. In his censure on Ribadeneyra, Teixeira declared in 1584 that Paul of the Holy Faith had returned with Xavier to Japan and then "tornou ao seu e, vindo huma vez á China fazer presas e saltos, como acostumão os jappões, e ahí o matarão os chins, segundo na China e dos de Jappão se sabe" (FN IV 968). In 1612 Couros wrote in a similar vein, namely, that Paul of the Holy Faith, so loved by Xavier, had later become a corsair and had died a miserable death while making a raid on China, as he had been

prince had lent a small ship to the priest and his companions for their voyage to Hirado.²⁴ It was just large enough for the travelers—Master Francis, Father Torres, Brother Fernández, the Indian servant Amador, and his Japanese interpreters, Joane, Antonio, and Bernardo, the last of whom did not wish to be separated from his beloved master.²⁵ On board the ship were also placed their traveling bags and the gifts for the king of Japan, which had till then been kept in a fireproof adjunct to their house.²⁶ The Christians accompanied them to the landing place at the mouth of the Inari River. Their departure was keenly felt. Many tears were shed since they all had a great love for the priests and their companions; they thanked them over and over for the great efforts they had

told by Father Luis Frois (ARSI: *JapSin.* 2, 167). Frois expresses himself with greater care in his history: "He came back from India much changed and well instructed in the things of faith, and in all that time he gave a good example in keeping with his maturity and wisdom. And yet some later said of him that he was like the star which led the Magi from the East, but which, in spite of this, did not approach the crib of Bethlehem with them. For, after he had advised his wife, his children, relatives, and friends to become Christians, which they did, he chose another way a few years later (although it is not known that he ever gave up the faith or ceased to be a Christian). The kingdom of Satsuma is very mountainous and thus of its nature poor and in need of imported food. To alleviate this want, men have for many years engaged in an activity called *bafan*, that is, they go on expeditions of theft and plunder to the coastal towns and regions of China; and each one equips a ship for himself for this according to his means, even if it is not large. It now seems that Paulo, driven by poverty or prompted by the profit and gains which his countrymen were accustomed to obtain there, sailed in a ship of these pirates to China and was there, as it is said, slain. He perhaps had sorrow for his sins and died well. But we are not certain of this, and we do not know anything else about his end" (18).—*Bahan* is the Chinese reading for the two ideograms of Hachiman, the war-god, which they bore on their standards. It was the Chinese designation for the Japanese *wakōs*, a semi-official marine organization, for example, of the Shimazu, Ōtomo, and Matsūra, a kind of merchant and military band to which the lord of the land could call his subjects in time of war. But since the Japanese were at a constant state of war with China, the *wakōs* made attacks upon the Chinese coast on the pretext of compelling the Chinese to engage with them in free trade (Tschepe 264-269). We suspect that Anjirō, who had perhaps served in the military marine, had been forced through the persecution of the bonzes to join one of these fleets. The high period of the war was between 1551 and 1556, and in December, 1555, Frois wrote from Malacca that a powerful fleet had sailed from Kagoshima to China and there destroyed many of the coastal towns (DI III 319 361).—On the *Wakō*, see Boxer, *Christian Century* 255 and 483, where the European and Japanese bibliographies are given, to which some titles could be added, such as the Japanese work of Y. Takekoshi, *Wakō-ki*, 1939 (English translation by H. Watanabe, *The Story of the Wako*, 1940); Shirō Murata, *Bahan-sen-shi* (History of the Bahan ships), 1943, and Kenkai Naganuma, *Nihon no kaizoku* (The Corsairs of Japan) in the *Nihon Rekishi Shinsho* series (New Researches on the History of Japan), which appeared in Tokyo from 1956 to 1963; see also the index to Aoyama: *Korsaren*.—On the tombstone of a Japanese Nasu Yajirō, which was discovered in 1948 in a museum belonging to the converted Confucian temple in Ningpo and erroneously taken to be the tombstone of our Anjirō, see Shigeno 105-109; Aoyama 91, and Marcelino Ayerbe, O.F.M., in *España Misionera* 9 (1952) 354-356.

²³ Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, c. 208. Even without his testimony this seems certain to us.

²⁴ Polanco, probably from the oral information of the Japanese Bernardo, whom he came to know in Rome in 1555: "Ad alium igitur locum in navicula perexigua navigarunt" (*Chronicon* II 140).

²⁵ The Chinese Manuel, who had been seriously injured on the voyage to Japan, is no longer mentioned. Did he die in Kagoshima, or did he return with the junk to China or Malacca?

²⁶ Kura.

made to teach them the way of salvation;²⁷ and they gave them an abundance of gifts for their support during the voyage.²⁸

²⁷ EX II 254-260.

²⁸ At the time of his departure from the Christians of Kagoshima in 1562, Almeida wrote: "If I were to describe to you the gifts which the Christians sent with me for my journey in *caixas*, which is the money of the country, and in rice and wine, and game of venison from stags and wild boars, and paper, it seems to me that, even if I had been their own son, they could not have done more for me, although their number was small, for since from the time that I left Bungo, not more than two hundred were converted to Christianity.... When I left Kagoshima the Christians did not cease accompanying me until they saw me go on board ship" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 274; *Cartas* 1598, 107v-108). Cros erroneously has Almeida say that the Christians of Kagoshima had accompanied him till he boarded ship in the harbor near Ichiku (*Vie* II 86).—On the later fate of the Christians of Kagoshima, Mendes Pinto wrote in 1583 in his *Peregrinaçam*: "The eight hundred Christians who were there, even if they were without a priest or brother [after Paul's departure] to instruct them, were for seven years without being visited, but they all remained fast in their faith and none of them apostatized" (c. 208). But the number of Christians was only about one hundred, and the first visit was twelve years later, as we are assured by Almeida [if we prescind from Alcáçova's passing through there in 1552]. In 1583 the visitor Valignano wrote: "For the consolation of the Christians in Satsuma, Paul of the Holy Faith remained with them. Some of these died; others apostatized because of the persecution, since they had no priests to help them; and others are still alive and preserve a remembrance very fresh and alert of the great virtue and holiness of the said priest [Xavier]" (168). In 1552 Alcáçova and his companions remained for eight days in Kagoshima, where they were warmly received by the lord of the land and constantly favored by him during these days. Alcáçova estimated the number of Christians as being around five hundred, which is excessively high (*Codex Ulyssiponensis* I 201 and 205v). *Cartas* 1598 have *delles* instead of *delle* and *bom numero* instead of *500* (23 and 27v). In 1562 Almeida wrote that he had at the beginning of the year gone to Kagoshima, where Xavier had remained with Torres and Fernández for a year and had converted around seventy Christians (*Cartas* 1598 has *muitos* instead of *seventy* [105v]). He further notes that during his second visit in this same year some (*alguns*) in the city became Christians. They immediately visited him and always came to hear about the things of God during the four months which he remained that time with them (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 271v-274). On December 1, 1579, Francisco Carrion wrote that during the previous year (1578) a priest and brother (Baltasar Lopes and Brother Almeida, cf. ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 122) had gone to Satsuma, since the king had given them to understand that he would be glad if the mission were taken up again. After they had been there for some days, they had seen that the time for this had not yet come. They had met an old woman (*Maria*) there who had been baptized since the time of Father Master Francis and was accustomed to pray and recommend herself to God, and also some other Christians who had persevered in the faith (ARSI: *JapSin.* 46, 38v). But in December, 1578, the great, decisive battle at the Mimitsugawa River took place. During the course of it the army of the Christian king of Bungo was annihilated by the troops of Satsuma. It was only in 1583 that Almeida could again visit Kagoshima. Of the Christians from Xavier's time, the only one who had survived was the old Maria, whom the saint had himself baptized; and she was the principal reason why the vice-provincial had sent Almeida there. But the latter, even though he had cured the daughter of an influential man who was near death and had converted her family and some others, had to leave the country again because of a conspiracy of the bonzes (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 60v-62v). Almeida died this same year. In 1584 the vice-provincial sent in his place the Japanese brother Damião. The old Maria wept for joy and during Damião's short stay she always gave him, as often as he visited here, despite her great poverty, a piece of fruit or some small gift as a token of her gratitude. She had four or five pagan brothers and sisters, and when she became ill they came to her and sought to persuade her to pray to Amida and the *kamis* and *hotokes*. She had however only one wish, that of dying as a Christian, as she told the brother in moving terms, and it was fulfilled. In 1634 *Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote that "in consideration of her virtue and her constancy in all kinds of persecutions, and to reward the good reception which she and hers had given to Xavier and his companions, Coelho, the vice-provincial [1581-1590], had her come to Nagasaki, where she died a holy death in 1583 [scribal error for 1585? The Ajuda text has 15...] and the vice-provincial had her given a solemn

It was at the end of August, 1550,²⁹ when the vessel glided slowly down the river and then disappeared from the sight of the Christians who had remained behind. It was about the time of the Bon festival, the Buddhist All Souls' Day, which began this year on August 27, when the people in Japan let toy boats with burning lanterns and gifts for their deceased glide down the river at night into the sea.³⁰

Ninshitsu, the superior of the monastery of Fukushō-ji, also remained sadly behind. He had not as yet reached a conclusion with respect to the crucial question about the immortality of the soul.³¹

burial and her body was accompanied by the brothers of the Misericordia and the rest of the people of Nagasaki" (38v; Ajuda 215-v). Cf. Schurhammer, "Kagoshima" GS IV 302-305.

²⁹ According to Xavier (EX II 259) and Torres (92), the missionaries remained over a year in Kagoshima, which gives the end of August as the terminus for their departure. Approximately the same date follows from the accounts in Frois on Xavier's two trips to Hirado (7-8). Torres' original letter to his confreres in Valencia, in which the sentences are not separated by punctuation marks or the use of capital letters, states of Hirado: "Fuimos alli muy bien rrecebidos porque estava entonces en aquel lugar un navio de portugueses h[az]iendo hazienda dos meses despues determinó el padre mestre francisco yr... partieron del lugar donde yo estaua al fin del mes de octubre" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 22v-23). Polanco understands the "two months" as going with what follows, since it is more in keeping with the usage of the language, and he was a Spaniard (*Chronicon* II 140). *Cartas* 1598 have in Torres' second letter to the confreres in Goa, which is a kind of Portuguese abstract of the first letter: "porque estaua então ahy hum nauio de Portugueses auia dous meses, fazendo carga. Depois determinou" (16v). Frois follows this latter text (8). Both texts, however, indicate Xavier's departure from Kagoshima as being at the end of August.

³⁰ Cf. Weipert, *Das Bon-Fest* 151.

³¹ Ninshitsu died on December 29, 1556 (see above, p. 73). Frois writes of him: "This old man lived on [after Xavier's departure] for some years; but, so as not to lose the position which he had and the credit and reputation which he had with the people and the revenues which he possessed, he haplessly and wretchedly preferred to land in hell" (7). When the Japanese priest Luis Niabara came to Kagoshima in 1605, he was better informed. *Rodrigues Tcuzu wrote of what he had learned as follows: "In his report [his short history of the entrance of the Gospel into Japan written in Japanese], the Japanese priest Luis speaks of this bonze Ninjit, about whom we shall speak in the following section. He learned in Satsuma, where he went, that he [Ninjit] understood the things of the Christians and longed to become a Christian. But since he would have been forced to give up his position as a *tōdō* which he had and which was very great and the monastery and revenues which he had by doing so, he did not become a Christian. But he afterwards died with great sorrow for this, and this was the tradition there among the Christians" (32v; Ajuda 210v). — When Almeida came to Kagoshima in 1562, Ninshitsu was no longer alive, but he was received with the greatest kindness by his two confreres, Unshū and Shunka. Unshū had succeeded Ninshitsu in his office of a *tōdō* and as superior of the Fukushō-ji monastery, and he was already much advanced in age. Shunka, who was sixty-six, was also a *tōdō* and the superior of the newly founded monastery of Nanrin-ji. Neither of them had forgotten Master Francis, and during Almeida's four-month stay they stormed him with questions. In the end they told him that they were completely satisfied with his answers and were Christians at heart, and they asked him with raised hands for baptism. Since the brother had to depart the following day, he lacked the time to prepare them for it; and he told them that they should make their own preparations. Father Torres would send them a priest to baptize them. But before the priest could come, Unshū, the superior of the Fukushō-ji monastery, had died in November, 1562 (see above, pp. 75-76). In 1571 his patron Takahisa also died. His successor, Yoshihisa, through letters and gifts, and finally through two bonzes whom he sent for this purpose, earnestly asked the Jesuit superior from 1573 on that the Christian mission should again be taken up in his land, since the king of Bungo, his neighbor in the north was becoming powerful, and he, the prince of Satsuma, needed the powder and ships of the Portuguese (Cabral on September 9, 1576, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 81). In 1577 the superior finally sent Brother Miguel Vaz to Kagoshima to

examine the site for an eventual foundation. He visited the old Shunka, since the latter had been a great friend of Father Master Francis. The old superior of the Nanrinji monastery received the brother with great kindness. He told him that he knew all the teachings of Japan. In none of these did he find salvation, and he would gladly learn the truth about paradise. He listened to the brother's preaching for some days and at the end asked for baptism. But, since time was lacking for preparing him for it, the brother gave him a Christian name, a cross, and the copy of a prayer which he should learn; and he gave him the hope that his wish would be fulfilled when he returned (Vaz on October 22, 1577, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 121v-122). But the brother did not return. In his place, Cabral, the mission superior sent in the following year Father B. Lopes with Brother Almeida and a Japanese preacher to open up the house in Kagoshima (Cabral on September 1, 1577, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 131v). But the other bonzes were the fiercest foes of the Christian faith, as Almeida had to learn (cf. the passage from his letter in Frois' annual letter of September 30, 1578, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 8-v). The missionaries could remain for only a few days in Kagoshima, but during this time they realized that the foundation of a mission there was not as yet possible (Carrion on December 1, 1579, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 46, 38-v). Dark and ominous clouds were gathering in southern Japan. The Shimazu were preparing for the decisive struggle between Satsuma and Bungo, between Hachiman, the war god of Japan, and Christ. In December the great battle would be engaged. In the dreadful encounter at the Mimitsugawa River, the army of the Christian king of Bungo was annihilated. Satsuma was again closed to the missionaries. When Almeida visited Kagoshima again in 1583 as a priest, Shunka was no longer alive. He had died on February 21, 1582 (see above, p. 75, and Schurhammer, "Kagoshima," GS IV 504, where our data on him are to be corrected according to this).

CHAPTER IV

TO THE ROYAL COURT IN MIYAKO (AUGUST, 1550—JANUARY, 1551)

1. AGAIN IN HIRADO (SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1550)

Despite all the dangers from the stormy, pirate-infested sea,¹ Xavier and his companions made a successful voyage in the small ship that Shimazu Takahisa had put at their disposal. In Hirado they were greeted by Pereira de Miranda with the booming of the cannons of his festively flagged ship.² The Portuguese wished to show the natives how highly they regarded their priests. Matsūra Takanobu,³ the young prince,⁴ was also delighted when Xavier and his companions visited him in his palace.⁵ He lived at the entrance to the harbor in a simple

¹ "Ad alium igitur locum, centum leucas inde distantem cum portu, ad quem Lusitani venire soliti erant, in navicula perexigua navigarunt, nec sine gravibus periculis, tum maris ventis agitati, tum latronum, eo pervenerunt" (Polanco, *Chronicon* II 140). That Xavier boarded ship in Kagoshima and not in Kyōdomari, as Rodrigues Tçuzu and other authors intend, seems to be certain from the fact that the latter harbor was not as yet in the possession of Shimazu Takahisa (cf. Aoyama 92-93).

² EX II 515. This greeting was a general custom in Japan at the time of the arrival of missionaries, as is stated by *Rodrigues Tçuzu (60) and indicated by the old mission reports (cf. Frois 190 193 213 408; *Cartas* 1598, 42 59v). There are two lists of Portuguese ships which sailed to Japan in the copies of the Ajuda library in Lisbon: The first (list A) goes from 1549 to 1597 and has the title: *Do tempo determinado em que vierão os Padres da Índia para Japão, e Irmãos, e pello conseguinte os Capitães todos desta viagem* (494-56, 34; other copies in Evora 116-2-11, n. 44 pp. 1-4, and Madrid, Academia de la Historia: *Jesuítas* leg. 21, paqu. 1, ff. 4-6); the second (list B) goes from 1549 to 1639 and bears the title: *Lista dos annos, viagens, e Capitães mores do trato de Jappão* (494-66, 41v-42), edited and used by Boxer in *As Viagens de Japão e os seus Capitães-mores* (1550-1640) (Macau, 1941). Both lists give D. Fernando de Menezes as captain for 1550 instead of Pereira, and list A adds that he sailed to the harbor of Shimabara, which seems improbable to us; and that in the same year Duarte da Gama had sailed to Hirado with Gago and Duarte da Silva, which is certainly false, since they both first came to Japan in 1552.

³ Matsūra Takanobu, also called Dōka and Hishu, died in 1599. He was the father of Shigenobu (Hōin), born in 1549 and died in 1614, grandfather of Hisanobu, born in 1571, died in 1602, great-grandfather of Takanobu II, born in 1599, died in 1637. On him see Frois, *Geschichte*, index; *Dai Nihon jimmiei jisho* (Biographical Lexicon of Japan) (Tokyo, 1937) IV, p. 2513; Anesaki, *Concordance* 135-136; Papinot 365; Alvarez-Taladriz 94-95.

⁴ According to the *Dai Nihon jimmiei jisho*, Takanobu was born in the second year of Kyōroku, that is, 1529, and died when he was seventy-one in the fourth year of Keichō (1599). According to Alvarez-Taladriz he was at the time of the death of Matsūra Okinobu in 1541 a boy of thirteen. But on October 1, 1592, Frois wrote that Takanobu was seventy (ARSI: *JapSin.* 51, 326). In his *Geschichte* he distinguishes two persons living in 1558: the ruling Hishu, who at the time of his father's death [1541] was still a child, and Dōka, the old Hishu (62-63). Brou has Takanobu born in 1524 (II 162), Aoyama in 1527 (93).

⁵ "Ho senhor dela [terra] nos recebeo com muyto prazer," Xavier wrote (EX II 260). Alcáçova, who visited Takanobu several times in 1553, writes that he was a great friend of the Portuguese, and he had told him that he was a Christian at heart (*Cartas* 1598, 27v). In 1556 Gago was of the opinion that he was near to becoming a Christian (*ibid.*

structure covered with shingles on the Tōmigake, a hill that stretched out into the sea.⁶

His territory was small. It comprised the mountainous island of Hirado, which was only twenty miles long and five in breadth,⁷ and the two small neighboring islands of Ikitsuki in the west and Takushima in the north. These were inhabited by farmers and fishers, many of whom sailed as far as Korea in their search for whales.⁸ His capital was about twice the size of the Portuguese city in Malacca—two streets that stretched along the beach with houses made of camphor wood.⁹ The city had only a few monasteries, but these were rich, especially the large Zen monastery of Yasumadake. This had been erected four hundred years before of fragrant, rot-resistant wood, and its buildings were surrounded with fresh greenery. Four villages were subject to it, and there were around a hundred bonzes in the community. These did not preach but taught instead their meditations to the people and led an ostensibly luxurious life.¹⁰

39). In 1555 the prince himself wrote to Father Melchior Nunes Barreto that Father Master Francis had come to his town and had made some Christians, for which he was very happy and content. He favored them much and did not permit anyone to injure them. Twice after this [1553 and 1555], the priest of Bungo had gone to him and had converted some of his relatives and many other prominent individuals. He had sometimes heard his Christian teachings and words and they had seemed good to him and he had kept them in his heart and he was himself very close to becoming a Christian. He would be very happy if His Reverences came to his land. Though he had once lied, he would do so no more, and His Reverence would receive all possible honor and hospitality from him and would thus do God a great service (*ibid.* 37). By his relatives were especially meant Koteda Sayemon Yasumasa and his brother, who were baptized in 1553 under the name of Dom Antonio and Dom João. Their acceptance of Christianity seems to have caused little excitement. But in 1558, when Vilela persuaded D. Antonio to have around fifteen hundred of his vassals on the islands of Ikitsuki and Takushima and in a number of towns in eastern Hirado become Christians, and the temples were changed into churches and the idols burned, the two superiors of the main monasteries in Hirado compelled the prince to banish the priest, to close the churches in the capital, and to forbid the preaching of the new faith (*ibid.* 67-69v; Eglauer, *Japan* I 149-151; Frois 59-63). From then on, Takanobu and his son and successor, Shigenobu, were the principal enemies of the Christians in Hirado. At times openly and at times covertly, Takanobu attempted to make the Christians apostatize. The judgments of the missionaries are completely negative in his regard (cf. Frois 308 485; Steichen 4 23). A seated, wooden statue in the temple of Yūkō-ji in Hirado represents Matsūra Takanobu. A picture of this is given by F. X. da Silva e Souza in his *Souvenir Book Relating to the Past and Present Associations between Japan and Portugal* (Kobe, 1940).

⁶ The second palace, that of Takanobu II, was further inland; and it is already indicated on the panorama of 1621 as such. The first, old palace is sketched by Arnold above the Dutch factory and is connected with it by the still extant "Dutch stairs." It is described, "following Montanus" [*Denckwürdige Gesandtschaften* 23], as follows: "The lord of the place lives in a miserable building covered with thin wooden slats, one above the other (like our shingles)" (87). The Dutch were in Hirado from 1609 to 1640.

⁷ One hundred and five miles in circumference (Ramming 217).

⁸ Montanus 436.

⁹ Arnold 294: "according to Andersen Orient. Reis, II, c. 18" (Jürgen Andersen, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen* (Schleswig, 1669)1. In 1584 the Spaniard Pablo Rodríguez, who had visited Hirado, wrote that the city had around 2,000 "vecinos, gente blanca y de tan buena disposición como la española" (Alvarez-Taladriz 93). In Xavier's time the city was surely smaller. The Portuguese ships which came to Hirado in 1550, 1553, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1564, and 1584 had attracted many merchants and had brought the city to flower.

¹⁰ Vilela described the cloister on October 6, 1571, and added: "Não pregão estes Bonzos, somente com pontos, que aos plebeios fazem meditar e cuidar, lhes estão ensinando o modo de sua seita, que elles chamão salvação, e eu chamolhe perdição, a que os ensinão estes Bonzos; viuem pomposamente ricos, e grangeão a vida como seu desejo lhes pede" (*Cartas* 1598, 328); cf. Frois 59 203-204. Meant is the Shingon monastery of

Another important monastery was that of Shijiki-zan with its temple of Emmanji, In addition to the Shingon-shū, the Jōdo sect was particularly favored by the ruling family.¹¹

The land was poor. The common people lived from the revenues of their fishing and on dried turnip leaves, lettuce, and gourds. There was only a little wheat, since in a severe winter the harvest was often completely lost. There was more rice, but the poorer classes could only afford this luxury on feast days.¹²

The Matsūra, who had been living on the island since the twelfth century,¹³ traced their ancestry to Minamoto Hisashi, who had settled in the area of Matsūra lying opposite Hirado, from which he took his name. His great-grandfather, Minamoto Tōru, had been the son of the emperor Saga who lived in the ninth century.¹⁴ Members of the family had earlier been leaders of the Wakōs, half merchants and half corsairs, who had had an important base in Hirado since the fourteenth century and from the fifteenth had also been engaged in trade with China. Only at the beginning of the sixteenth century had the family secured its rule over the island.¹⁵ When the prince Matsūra Okinobu died in 1541, his son Takanobu was only thirteen. A close relative of his, Koteda Sayemon Yasumasa, had favored him over other candidates and had reared him until he could take over the rule.¹⁶ Like his predecessors, Takanobu favored the Wakōs, the followers of the Chinese Wang Chih, who was known in Japan as Gohō Ōchoku. The latter had been engaged since 1530 in smuggling and trading in China, Japan,

Seizenji on Mount Yasumadake. Both temples were destroyed at the beginning of the Meiji period.

¹¹ Frois speaks of the superiors of these two monasteries as the main foes of the Christians (59 203-204), and also of a bonze of the Jōdo sect (62). That the Matsūra were the patrons of the Zen and Jōdo sect is stated by L. de Milloué, "Coffre à Trésor attribué au Shōgoun Iyē-Yoshi 1838/53" (*Annales du Musée Guimet* 3 [Paris, 1896], p. XXIV).

¹² Vilela in October 28, 1557 (*Cartas* 1598, 60-61). According to Caron, the prince of Hirado in 1630 had an annual income of 60,000 *kokus* of rice, and he had to provide 1,200 infantrymen and 120 knights for the service of the emperor, which did not include servants, slaves, and other assistants (15 75-77; cf. Boxer, *True Description* 16 28 118). At Xavier's time the prince was still poorer. In 1565 Frois wrote of Takanobu: "The *hisho* of Hirado (who is not a king, not even in his dreams, but a small *tono*, which could be at best the equivalent of an average count among us)" (261). When the same priest was on the island of Takushima in 1563 and a fire had destroyed the church, residence, and some neighboring houses, the man who gave him shelter could offer him and Fernández nothing more to eat than "raw mussel shells filled with froth, garlic, and a little cooked barley," though he was one of the wealthier residents on the island (*Cartas* 1598, 201). But when the priests in 1559 found themselves in need on the neighboring Hakata because of the war, the Christians of Hirado sent them boats three or four times with rice, flour, bacon, fish, salt, small tables, wooden bowls, Chinese porcelains, flasks, knives, excellent clothes, cloth for making the same, and also wood and silver, though they were themselves being persecuted in Hirado by the pagans (Frois 68-69; *Cartas* 1598, 66v).

¹³ Ramming 217. Instead of Matsu-ura, read *Matsūra* (Anesaki, *Concordance* 136).

¹⁴ Papinot 315 and the "annals of the Matsūra family (mss. Villion). Takanobu's letter to Melchior Nunes Barreto of October 16, 1555, written in Portuguese, obviously at the bidding of Takanobu by a Portuguese, bears the Japanese signature of the prince (Q 6091). The addressee sent a copy of the letter to Europe with a poor imitation of the signature (*Cartas* 1598, 37). The signature, a photo of which is given in Q pl. 30, 3, reads "Minamoto," as the well-known historian Yoshitomo Okamoto determined on the basis of two original letters of Takanobu, one being addressed to the superior of the Yasumadake monastery ("Relações entre Portugueses e Japoneses," *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa* 1 [Toquio, 1929] 178-184 with photographs).

¹⁵ Aoyama 83-84.

¹⁶ Frois 62-63; Alvarez-Taladriz 95.

and Siam. He had also had dealings with the Portuguese and had by these means obtained great wealth. Not content with this, he had taken up piracy and had begun to attack the northern coast of China. He had slain a rival in 1547 and had asked the Chinese government as a reward for this for permission to engage in trade with foreigners. When this was refused him, he had begun to capture islands along the coast and to erect fortresses upon them and to build large ships, for which he enlisted, along with Chinese, Malays, Koreans, Annamites, and especially Japanese, who comprised a third of his manpower, since they were noted for their bravery. His pirates were consequently called "Japanese," especially since they all dressed as Japanese in order to inflict greater terror upon the Chinese. His military banners and the weapons of his men were also Japanese. Their leaders wore red clothes and gilded iron helmets. For battle they often also donned armor. Common pirates on the other hand wore a yellow turban.¹⁷

The revenues that were obtained from imposts on the Wakōs were now unexpectedly increased by the arrival of the Portuguese ship of Pereira de Miranda with its most welcome wares. Ōchoku had shown him the way to Hirado, and the ship's arrival had attracted wealthy merchants from Hakata, Miyako, Sakai, and other parts of Japan.¹⁸ Because of the advent of the Portuguese, Takanobu readily gave the priests the permission they asked to preach their new doctrine in his land; and through the public reading of the book which had been composed in Kagoshima and preaching (Fernández could already speak Japanese) around a hundred persons became Christians within a short time.¹⁹ The first to be baptized by Xavier was his host, Kimura, who was then followed by his family in the new faith.²⁰ Xavier and his companions were readily helped by Pereira de Miranda and his countrymen;²¹ but after they had made their con-

¹⁷ Tschepe 262-267.

¹⁸ See above, p. 134. In the harbor of Hirado in 1565 there were eight to ten large ships of merchants from Sakai, who had come to purchase silk from the China ship of the Portuguese (Frois 262).

¹⁹ EX II 260; Valignano 168; Frois 8; Torres 44-45 54 92.

²⁰ João Rodrigues Giram wrote from Macao in 1620 about the martyrs of 1619: "O primeiro dos onze servos de Deos que degolarão se chamaua Antonio Quimura, parente do nosso santo Irmão Leonardo Quimura, natural de Firando, cujos Auós forão os primeiros que agasalharão naquella terra o Nosso B. Pe. Mestre Francisco, e por elle forão bautizados" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 59, 180v). In 1623 he wrote about the martyr Sebastião Kimura: "O Pe. Sebastião Qimura Japão era natural da cidade de Firando, neto do primeiro Christão, que nella bautizou o Sto. P. Francisco Xauier e seu caseiro" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 60, 26-v). On the Tōmigake below the former old palace are still shown some remains of a wall where, according to a vague and uncertain tradition, stood the house of Kimura, which the prince gave to Xavier as a dwelling. — On March 3, 1624, the entire family of the dyer Gabriel Ichinose Shinshirō, who had been beheaded in 1622, was executed in Kochi-domari, the place of execution. There were nine persons in all, including the grandmother Maria, over ninety years old. She had been born in Hirado and was already grown when she was baptized, and was "dos primeiros christãos que se bautizarão en Japam, quaes foram os de Firando," as João Rodrigues Giram wrote on March 28, 1625 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 60, 360-v; on Gabriel, see *ibid.* 69 and 357v). — On October 8, 1561, Juan Fernández wrote from Bungo that on the feast of the Assumption a boy there, Agostinho, had received his first Communion. He was around thirteen years old, "porque quando nosso padre Mestre Francisco chegou a Firando, então naceo, e o bautizou o Padre Cosme de Torres" (*Cartas* 1598, 78).

²¹ On November 12, 1552, Xavier wrote to Diogo Pereira that among the Portuguese imprisoned in China, for whose sake he wished to go there, was "meu especial amigo Francisco Pereira de Miranda com outros portuguezes, por hum grande dezastrre; devo-lhe muito polas amizades e caridades que uzou commigo em Japão o tempo que estive em Firando em sua companhia" (EX II 515).

fessions to him and received the sacraments,²² it was time for their ship to sail back to China.²³

Xavier was also being urged on. Shimazu Takahisa had advised him against sailing to Miyako because of the continuous wars that were raging there, but the whole plan for the mission depended upon conditions in the capital. He thus had to obtain a first-hand experience of conditions there. He had to see Sakai and Miyako and its king and university. The period of severe cold had begun; the warm south wind had been replaced by an icy wind from the north. Since he could not find a ship to take him directly Sakai, the harbor of Miyako, as he wished, he decided to go on foot to Yamaguchi, where a powerful prince was living. There he would seek means to continue his pilgrimage to the capital of Japan in order to obtain the king's permission there to preach the Gospel.²⁴ This would also give him an opportunity to become acquainted with the land and to learn where there was greater promise for the spread of Christianity, and which towns were the most suitable for sowing the seed of the word of God. His ardent love for Christ could not be quenched by the cold and snow or by fear of unknown men²⁵ in a foreign land, nor could he be deterred from undertaking his distant, dangerous, and difficult journey through fear of the pirates on the Japanese seas.²⁶

Almost two months had passed since his arrival in Hirado when, at the end of October,²⁷ Master Francis took leave of his friend Pereira de Miranda and his men.²⁸ Fernández and the faithful Bernardo would accompany him on his wanderings,²⁹ whereas Torres with the two Japanese, Joane and Antonio, and the Malabar servant, Amador, would remain behind with the newly converted Christians.³⁰ Also left behind were the materials for Mass,³¹ the gifts,³² and all

²² The Portuguese ship in Hirado in 1561 had ninety Portuguese (*Cartas* 1598, 87), that in Fukuda in 1565 around eighty (Frois 262).

²³ The Portuguese ships remained as a rule for three months in Hirado (*Cartas* 1598, 59).

²⁴ We assume that the north wind, already prevailing in October, was the principal reason why Xavier found no ship to take him directly from Hirado to Sakai. Aoyama is of another opinion. The reason he gives is that he had to reckon with his pepper. According to him, Xavier could not sell the thirty *bahārs* which he had brought from Malacca either in Kagoshima or in Hirado, where he took it with him. We have already shown above, p. 103, that this assumption is without foundation, since in both Portuguese and Dutch times pepper could always (as Xavier wrote, who was well informed by Portuguese merchants about the pepper trade) be sold in Japan at three times the cost of its purchase. Xavier thus did not take with him in the "navicula perexigua" thirty *bahārs* of pepper, and he did not suddenly find himself in so great a financial need in Hirado that he could not rent a small ship for Sakai, as Aoyama intends (80 93-94). And even if he had been without funds, he would have obtained help for this from his friend Pereira de Miranda.

²⁵ Frois here follows Torres, who writes of *jente no conocida*; but the copy in which Frois is preserved omits the *no* (8).

²⁶ Torres (45 54-55 92-93); Valignano 168.

²⁷ Frois and Torres (*l.c.*); on the length of the stay, see above, p. 132. Mendes Pinto (c. 208) gives Xavier only a little more than twenty days; he is followed by *Rodrigues Tçuzu (43, Ajuda 219).

²⁸ Torres 54.

²⁹ Teixeira, from Xavier's own words (877-878).

³⁰ EX II 260; Torres 45 54 93. According to Frois, Xavier left Torres behind "with the two servants whom they had brought with them from India" (8). Xavier states that on his first trip to Hirado he took with him a servant as an interpreter. This could have only been the Japanese Joane or Antonio, whom he had brought with him from India. Similarly, he must now mean by these two servants the same individuals, and not Amador and Manuel, about the latter of whom no further mention is made.

unnecessary burdens. Bernardo carried a sack of roasted rice as provision for the journey;³³ Fernández a double knapsack, like those of mendicant brothers, with a surplice, three or four shirts, and an old woolen blanket;³⁴ and Francis his breviary,³⁵ his spiritual reading,³⁶ and his Japanese book.³⁷ Nothing more was needed for their voyage of discovery.

2. FROM HIRADO TO YAMAGUCHI (END OF OCTOBER—BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER, 1550)¹

From Hirado to Yamaguchi was a distance of forty-one leagues (155 miles).² For the first part of the journey, the twenty leagues to Hakata, Xavier and his

³¹ On such exploratory expeditions, Xavier and the later missionaries did not take Mass equipment with them. Before his attempt to enter China, Xavier sent his chalice back to Malacca (EX II 514). He wrote that the priests who would go to the universities of Bandu and Miyako would not be able to take with them any Mass equipment because of the many robbers (*ibid.* 289 299 348-349 373). Frois writes of Vilela's journey to Miyako in 1559: "They did not take Mass equipment with them since they were only going to explore the land" (73). *Rodrigues Tçuzu, who was probably inspired by Mendes Pinto's account of Xavier's trip to Bungo (*Peregrinação*, c. 209), is thus to be corrected (46v, Ajuda 223; Cros, *Vie* II 211).

³² He obtained them in Hirado on his return from Miyako (Torres 46 56 93).

³³ Teixeira, from Xavier's own words (878). According to Valignano they carried the rice in their sleeves (*en las mangas* 174-175); according to *Rodrigues Tçuzu, Bernardo had hung it in a small sack at his belt (46v, Ajuda 223; Cros, *Vie* II 111). In his **Libro primero del principio*, composed in 1601, Valignano states that Xavier wrote [where?] that he had taken with him cakes (*bolos*) of roasted rice on this journey. In India grains of rice roasted over a fire are called *avela* [cf. Dalgado I 69], in Japan *yaquigome* [*yakigome*], that is, roasted rice. But cakes are not made in this way in Japan. These are made of rice flour and wheat (265v).

³⁴ Frois: "Levava ás costas hum alforje de dous sacos, como o em que pedem os Frades de São Francisco sua esmola, em que levava huma sobrepeliz, e tres ou quatro camisas, e huma manta velha, com que de noite se cobrião ambos" (8). On January 10, 1558, Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote after his own voyage to Japan from Cochín about Xavier's trip to Miyako, that he had gone "com grande frio trazendo sempre hum cobertor de papa [a shaggy woolen blanket] as costas" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105). *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes of Xavier's trip from Yamaguchi to Miyako: "Levava sobrevestida huma só loba singela e velha, sem ter modo pera poder resistir a aspereza do frio que o penetrava... e o B. P. Francisco revezando-se com o yrmão Joam Fernandez levava as costas huma trouza [a bundle] com os ornamentos da missa, e hum cubertor pera dormir" (47, Ajuda 223; Cros, *Vie* II 111-112), but he has Xavier throw a *roupão velho* (an old dressing gown) over his old *loba* (cassock) at the time of his first audience in Yamaguchi (45, Ajuda 221; Cros, *Vie* II 107).

³⁵ Xavier had to take his breviary with him since he was obliged as a priest to recite the Office. It was a traveler's breviary, a small book 10 × 7.2 cm. in size, which had been printed in Paris (cf. Vol. II, p. 594). Auger, a contemporary of Xavier, has Bernardo say in Rome that the priest on his journey to Miyako wore only a garment of black material and a small cap on his head like the Siamese, and that he carried "son petit paquet de sa bible, de son bréviaire, d'un surplis sur le dos" (FN III 278-279).

³⁶ Instead of the bible mentioned by Auger, Xavier probably took with him, as he was accustomed to do, his spiritual reading, the book of Marcus Marulus (cf. Vol. II, p. 225). It measured 15 × 10.5 cm. and had 680 pages.

³⁷ Fernández had to read from it at the first audience in Yamaguchi (Frois 10).

¹ Our chief source for Xavier's trip from Hirado to Yamaguchi is Frois' *Historia de Japam*, which depends upon the oral and written data furnished by Brother Fernández (8-9 11 13-14). Xavier described the difficulties of the road to Miyako indirectly when he wrote of the difficulties which the priests would encounter when they went to the universities of Japan (EX II 298 300 348-349 373). The brief data in Teixeira (877-878) go back to Xavier's oral statements in Goa and the now lost *Breve Itinerario* (*Teixeira It. I. 2, c. 18), which Fernández sent to Macao in 1563; those in Melchior Nunes Barreto (*Cartas* 1598, 50-51) to oral information provided by Fernández; those in Auger (FN III

two companions were able to go by boat.³ An ordinary vessel could make the trip in one or two days.⁴ The much traveled, irregular coast with its deeply cut bays and numerous islands was notorious because of the many pirates⁵ who, especially in the narrow straits, waited for passing ships in order to rob the people

378-379) and in Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 4, 7); and, in part, in Quadros (DI III 332-334) to the oral reports of Bernardo. In his two letters from Yamaguchi of September 29, 1551, Torres briefly describes the hardships of the journey from the oral reports of the three who made it (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 45-46 55-56 92-93). Valignano also mentions them briefly (168-169 172), and the here less reliable *Rodrigues Tçuzu also speaks of them (43v 46v-47v; Ajuda 219 222v-223v; Cros, *Vie* II 105 111-112).

² According to Maffei the distance from Hirado to Yamaguchi amounted to "leucas fere centum" (I 368), on which Valignano observed in his **Libro primero* in 1601 that in 1590 Ignacio Moreira had determined that three Japanese leagues (*ri*) were the equivalent of two Portuguese leagues (*leguas*). Maffei consequently refers to a hundred Japanese leagues, the equivalent of sixty Portuguese (13; Cros, *Vie* II 42), which would be 224 miles. Orlandinus estimated the distance as "300 millia passuum" (l. 10, n. 136), which the "censure to Orlandinus, composed in Japan and sent by the visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues in 1620 from Macao to Rome, reduced to "150 millia passuum," "caminhando pello caminho ordinario, que por graos he menos" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 47, 144v). The "150 millia passuum" (Italian miles) would correspond to fifty leagues, the equivalent of 187 miles. — In 1559 Gago wrote that the distance from Hirado to Hakata by sea was twenty *leguas* (*Cartas* 1598, 65; also Frois 66), the equivalent of seventy-five miles; but if Japanese leagues (*ri*) are meant, fifty miles. By a straight line the distance is only some fifty miles, but ships followed the coast; and those which wished to enter into the deep bays such as Imari and Karatsu had to make long detours. The distance from Hakata to Yamaguchi, counting all the windings of the road, amounted to seventy-eight miles, that from Hirado to Yamaguchi, the sea route included, would be 152 or 127 miles.

³ Nishioka has Xavier travel from Hirado to Hakata on foot, and he gives as the intermediate stations Mikurija, Shisa, and Karatsu (174). We assume that he took the sea route from Hirado to Hakata. Our reasons for this are: (1) On October 29, 1557, Vilela wrote from Hirado that the king of Bungo had written to him that he should withdraw from Hirado to Hakata after October 20. But if a war (between Bungo and Hirado) arose, he (Vilela) did not know if he could still sail to Hakata "porque este caminho não se pode fazer senão por mar, e naquelle tempo [in time of war] não se acha embarcação a peso de dinheiro, quanto mais a que tão pouco tem como nos" (*Cartas* 1598, 60v). — (2) There were always many ships sailing between Hirado and Hakata. When the priests there were in great need after the destruction of Hakata in 1559, the Christians of Hirado, though they were themselves being persecuted by their prince, sent ships three or four times with provisions (*ibid.* 66v); and in 1557 a priest was sent to Hakata so that he might find a house there from which he would be able to visit Hirado as well (*ibid.* 59). — (3) When Almeida had to go from Hirado to Hakata in 1561, he went the first three leagues by land, since a contrary wind had driven his ship back to Hirado. He then went seven leagues in a log canoe to Imari, and then four more leagues on foot, during the course of which he had to wade through mud up to his knees. He thus arrived half-dead in Karatsu, so that he could go by sea from there to Hakata, "porque desta maneira se anda este caminho" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 166v-167v; *Cartas* 1598, 88v-89). — (4) Frois mentions dangers from pirates before Xavier's arrival in Hakata, and he continues after his description of his stay there as follows: "From there they went a journey of five or six days further (on foot)" (8-9).

⁴ On October 28, 1557, Vilela wrote from Hirado that Hakata was a day's journey from Hirado. If Portuguese ships were in Hirado, the priest should move there from Hakata for the three months that they usually remained there. One priest could take care of everything, since the distance was only a day's journey (*Cartas* 1598, 59). According to the Englishman William Adams, it was only a distance of two days in a rowboat from Hakata to Hirado (Paske-Smith, *A Glympse of the "English House" at Hirado 1613-1632* [Kobe, 1927]).

⁵ Xavier speaks of the many robbers on the way to Miyako (EX II 349 373); Frois of the pirates on Xavier's voyage there (8); Almeida, in 1561, of those on the voyage from Hirado to Hakata (*Cartas* 1598, 88v); Melchior de Figueiredo, in 1576, of the many pirates who were always on this stretch (*ibid.* 369); and Frois, in 1586, of the many pirates who were there (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 84v).

on them or to sell them as slaves.⁶ When such sites were navigated, the foreign passengers in their long dress had to hide in the hold beneath the deck in order not to incite the greed of pirates.⁷

Hakata in the province of Chikuzen, the first goal of Xavier and his companions, was the oldest, richest, and most beautiful port in southern Japan.⁸ From time immemorial it had been the center of trade with China and Korea.⁹ It was a large city inhabited by wealthy merchants¹⁰ and had more than ten thousand houses.¹¹

Near the entrance to the bay,¹² one could see on the right the island of Ugushima, and in front of it two smaller islands.¹³ Beyond these was the hill of Aratsu,¹⁴ which dropped steeply into the sea and closed the bay off on the west. In front, and to the left, of it was the long mole of the city, the Nagahama,¹⁵ on both sides of which were entrances into two deep bays.¹⁶ Still farther to the

⁶ Almeida in 1561 (*ibid.* 88v).

⁷ Frois 8.

⁸ In 1547 Jorge Alvares already names Hakata as first among the port cities of Japan (see Vol. III, p. 273). On Hakata see also Torres and Vilela in 1557 (*Cartas* 1598, 57v 59), Gago in 1559 (*ibid.* 65), Almeida in 1563 (*ibid.* 129v), Frois (9), Guerreiro (I 203), *Rodrigues Tçuzu I 131; Alvarez-Taladriz 96; Aoyama 95-97. The city is today united with Fukuoka, which borders it on the west. On the city see the Japanese monograph *Fukuoka*, edited by Ishii Tetsuo (Fukuoka, 1950), and the richly illustrated history of the same named prefecture *Fukuoka-ken no rekishi* (Tokyo, 1956).

⁹ Aoyama 95. Rodrigues Tçuzu speaks of the unsuccessful attempt of the Mongol ruler of China, Kublai Khān, who tried to capture Japan from Hakata in 1274 and 1281 (I 131).

¹⁰ In 1562 Almeida wrote that all the residents of Hakata were merchants (*Cartas* 1598, 108). The height of their trade was in the first half of the sixteenth century (Aoyama 95).

¹¹ There were more than ten thousand homes in the city in 1471 (*ibid.* 121). There were the same number in the city before its destruction in 1559, as Cabral wrote on September 22, 1571 (*Cartas* 1598, 311).

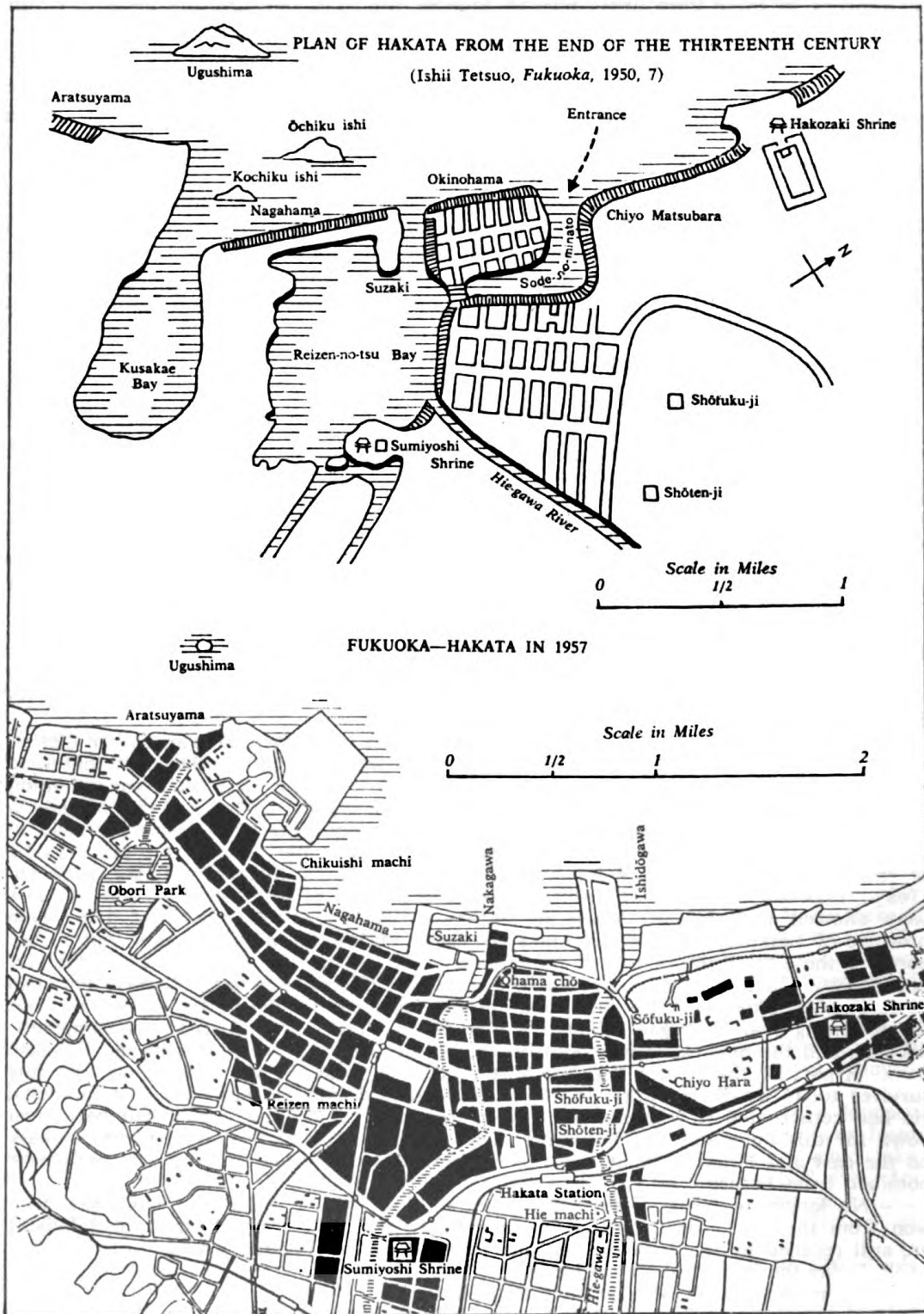
¹² For the appearance of Hakata in 1550 at the time of Xavier's arrival, Father Cieslik, with whom we visited the city in 1957, has put all the material together. At that time we visited together the local historian Mr. Tsukushi Yorisada, who drew our attention to an old map preserved in the Sumiyoshi temple depicting the harbor and city of Hakata about the middle of the sixteenth century. This old plan of Hakata has been reproduced in the monograph *Fukuoka*, p. 7; a simple sketch of it is to be found in the first volume of Professor Yanagiya Takeo's Japanese translation of Frois' history of Japan, *Nihonshi* (Tokyo, 1963) 229. [*History of Hakata*: Hakata was a city of merchants, and no warriors were allowed to enter it. When Kobayakawa Takakage became lord of the whole province of Chikuzen, he did not build his castle of Najima within Hakata, but rather north of the city at the mouth of the Tatar River. Today the site belongs to the city of Fukuoka. In 1600, after the battle of Sekigahara, Kuroda Nagamasa Damião obtained possession of Chikuzen. He first took up his residence in the castle of Najima, but the following year he began to build a new castle. The bay of Reizen was completely filled in, and the new castle was built on the hill between the earlier Reizen and Kusakae bays. A part of the bay of Kusakae was used as a moat for the new castle, and this survives today as Ohori Park. In 1603 Kuroda moved into his new castle of Fukuoka. He had constructed it with materials from the castle of Najima, which had been torn down for this purpose. The Nakagawa River today consequently flows between Hakata on the east and Fukuoka on its west.—Addition and correction to Schurhammer's note obtained from Father Cieslik.]

¹³ No longer to be seen, since this area in front of the Nagahama mole has been won from the sea. The names of the two small islands (Ō-chikuishi and Ko-chikuishi) are still recalled by the name of this quarter of the city, Chikuishi-machi.

¹⁴ Today the West Park (*Nishi-kōen*).

¹⁵ Today the quarter of Nagahama (Long Beach).

¹⁶ Right of the mole and of the castle was the narrow entrance to the large bay of Kusakae. This was later filled in. The earlier bay, reduced in size, is now the large lake in Ohori Park. East of the mole of Nagahama was the entrance to the bay of



left was a second pier covered with houses. This had been the earlier port.¹⁷ Still farther left was a flat sandy coast covered with pines,¹⁸ and at its end could be seen the *torii* of the large and ancient Shintō shrine of Hakozaki.¹⁹ The harbor proper, known as *Sode no minato* (Sleeve Harbor),²⁰ where Chinese junks usually came to anchor,²¹ opened up between the second beach and the pine grove. It was here that Xavier and his companions came to land.

Not far from the place of disembarkment, on the street which led through the pine grove to the temple of Hakozaki, and then farther north, was a very large Zen monastery.²² Xavier and his companions directed their steps towards

Reizen-no-tsu, into which the Nakagawa flowed. On its southern shore was the ancient Sumiyoshi temple. This bay has also been filled in, but it has given its name to the Reizen-machi ward of the city. Small parts of the bay had been extended in former times as moats for the castle.

¹⁷ Okinohama.

¹⁸ Only a few single stands of trees remain of the grove of pines known as Chiyo-Matsubara and once renowned in numerous songs. The modern bus stop of Chiyo-machi, however, still recalls them.

¹⁹ The Hakozaki temple, one of the oldest shrines of Japan, was the only one which Ōtomo Yoshishige did not destroy in his capture of the city, as Mr. Tsukushi, a priest in this temple, informed us. The present structure is from the sixteenth century (*Japan. The Official Guide* [Tokyo, 1955] 822).

²⁰ The Sode-no-minato was also filled in. It has been replaced by the ward of Gofuku-machi. The Hiegawa River, which formerly flowed into Reizen-no-tsu Bay, was diverted and united with the Ishidō River, which flows into the sea between the former Sode-no-minato harbor and the Hakozaki temple. The earlier Hakata railroad station lay on the former floor of the Hiegawa, and the quarter south of it is still called Hie-machi.

²¹ The city map of the thirteenth century notes that Chinese ships usually landed at the Sode-no-minato.

²² Frois, to whom we are indebted for the following data, writes: "When the priest came to the city of Hakata, he went to a very large monastery of bonzes of the sect of Zen-shū" (9). In our publication of his history in 1926, we assumed that by this was meant the Zen monastery of Shōfuku, "whose ruined buildings can still be seen." We took our data for the ruined buildings from Murray's *Handbook of Japan* of 1901 (477), which refers to those of the Sōfuku monastery. We thought that it was identical with the Shōfuku monastery, since Murray speaks only of the Sōfuku monastery, and the map of the thirteenth century only of the Shōfuku. Actually there is a question of two different Zen monasteries, neither of which is far from the old harbor, but today separated by the Ishidō River, the Shōfuku monastery on its left, and the Sōfuku monastery on its right between the river and the Hakozaki shrine, as the map of the city in the *Official Guide*, p. 820, indicates. Both monasteries belong to the Rinzaï-Zen sect. The Shōfuku monastery, founded in 1195 by Myōan Eisai, is the oldest Zen monastery in the city (Haas, *Kontemplationsschulen* 197). We visited it in 1957 and, in keeping with the custom of the monastery, we were graciously received in the guest room and entertained with tea and sweet rice cakes by the bonze on duty. On one of the walls of the room was hanging a beautiful *kakemono* of the goddess of mercy. The monastery is now only a fraction of its former size. It still has the lotus pool (*hasu-ike*), though now smaller, with its arched bridge over it, the main gate and bell tower, the three temples, one after the other, and the monastery with the house chapel and a small garden. The bonze showed us the monastery's old plan (which was restored in 1570, as was noted on it, and which showed the great extent of the former buildings). He also gave us two writings, one by Tsukushi Yorisada, *Shōfuku-Zen-ji* (the Shōfuku Zen Temple) (Fukuoka, 1954), a history of the monastery, and Kobotake Bun-en, *Shōfuku-shinkan* (Exact Description of Shōfuku) (Fukuoka, 1912).—Aoyama says that it is probable that the monastery which Xavier visited was not the Shōfuku monastery, of which different large buildings were burned in a battle in 1533, and which in Xavier's time had in Keitetsu Genso a virtuous superior, and in the bonze Ichige (1447-1507) had begun its successful reform of the Rinzaï sect.—According to Aoyama it is probable that the neighboring Sōfuku monastery is meant in Frois. This was founded in 1241 by the Rinzaï monk Enni Shōichi (Haas, *Kontemplationsschulen* 200). In Xavier's time

it. The bonzes were happy to see and converse with the priest, since he came from Tenjiku, the homeland of Shaka. They brought him to their superior, who was a kind of bishop. This latter welcomed Francis and his companions and served them some fruit. Xavier had learned that the bonzes were educating many boys in their monastery, and that they committed unnatural sins with them. Instead of eating the proffered fruit, he began to lecture the superior and the rest of the bonzes most severely. In a loud voice he reproached them for committing such ugly and shameful sins without remorse, and for letting it be secretly known that there was no future existence in another life, though they openly ordered the people to have feasts celebrated for their dead from their own desire for gain. The bonzes were amazed by this unexpected speech and the force with which the priest, whom they had never seen before, delivered his admonition. Some laughed, others were struck dumb with astonishment. Without further compliments Xavier left them as they were and departed with his companions.²³

From Hakata Francis, Fernández, and Bernardo set out at once on their journey to Yamaguchi on foot. The distance, twenty-one leagues (seventy-eight miles), required some five or six days.²⁴ The military road which they followed led northward through a grove of pines along the sandy coast of the sea to the Shintō shrine of Hakozaki,²⁵ which was dedicated to the war god Hachiman.

it was the largest monastery in Hakata and had from the time of its superior Nampo Jōmin (1235-1308) an academic and progressive character. After the capture of Hakata in 1557, Ōtomo Yoshishige gave it more than 234 hectares of rice fields (Aoyama 99-100). [Contrary to Aoyama: The Sōfuku monastery was in Xavier's time at *Dazaifu*, about ten miles distant from Hakata. The monastery was destroyed during the war in 1586 and not rebuilt during the next thirty years. When Simeon Kuroda Josui, the father of Kuroda Nagamasa, who became lord of the province of Chikuzen, and built the castle of Fukuoka in 1603, died in 1604, his funeral was performed by the missionaries of Hakata. Some time later, however, his son Nagamasa had a Buddhist funeral given to him; and still later, after 1604, he rebuilt the Sōfuku-ji temple near his tomb and made it the family temple of the Kuroda. The tombs of all the ruling members of the family are now in the compound of the temple. Since the temple was not in Hakata at Xavier's time, it is not indicated on the old maps. It therefore cannot be the temple visited by St. Francis Xavier. — Additional note of Father Cieslik.]

²³ Frois 9 (according to the data of Brother Fernández).

²⁴ "From there they went on for five or six more days" (Frois 9). *Rodrigues Tçuzu erroneously assumes that Xavier embarked from Hakata for Yamaguchi (43v; Ajuda 219). Cros gives a free translation of the account in Frois, having Fernández speak in the first person, which would make one believe that Frois was giving a verbatim report of this oral or written account (*Vie* II 99-102). Brou gives a brief extract from Cros, but he has Xavier sail in a junk from Hakata to Yamaguchi, places the pirates in the strait of Shimonoseki, and has the priest land at the harbor of Yesaki after a voyage of five or six days and from there go the three leagues to Yamaguchi on foot, where he arrives fifteen days after his departure from Hirado (II 183). The *Japan Pilot* has no knowledge of a harbor of Yesaki; but east of Mitajiri it gives Cape Misaki and adds: "The shoal tongue is covered by a red sector of light from Hesaki," the northernmost cape of Kyūshū, near Moji (409); and it notes that on the Admiralty Chart 2875, the cape of Misaki is called Yasaki-Misaki. The harbor of Yesaki lies in the province of Iwami on the northern side of the main island of Japan. Even if Xavier had come by ship, which was not the case, there would have been no question of a landing east of Mitajiri. That Xavier's journey from Hirado to Yamaguchi took fifteen days is an erroneous assumption of Brou. The voyage from Hirado to Hakata lasted, as we have seen, one or two days as a rule. The trip from Shimonoseki to Yamaguchi was, according to Frois, more than a day's journey (see note 32), that from Hakata to Kokura was, according to Rodrigues Giram, a little more than a day's travel (letter of February 15, 1607: ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 306v). That it took Xavier five or six days to go from Hakata to Yamaguchi is explained by the snow-covered roads. If the travelers did not waste their time in Hakata, the journey from Hirado to Yamaguchi would have only taken about eight days.

²⁵ On the Hakozaki temple, see Murray 477.

From there, after crossing a broad river, they arrived within an hour at the village of Kashii, where there was another very old Shintō shrine in honor of the empress Jingō Kōgō, who in the dim past, more than a thousand years before, had, according to the legend, set out from here in order to capture Korea.²⁶

Here the road left the coast²⁷ and passed through the mountainous interior by way of Aoyagi²⁸ to Haranomachi, which was only half an hour to the left of the Shintō shrine of Munakata.²⁹ It then passed on to Akama.³⁰ Beyond this town the road turned towards the east to the province of Buzen and brought the travelers to Kurosaki on the bay of Kuki-no-umi at the entrance of the strait

²⁶ On the temple of Kashii, called *Kashii no miya*, see the *Official Guide* 819-820, according to which the empress died in 929. Her Korean expedition was earlier placed in 200, and later in 346 (Papinot 230).

²⁷ We formerly assumed that Xavier's route was probably along the road which goes from Kashii by way of Koga, Fukuma, and Tōgō to Akama, and from there by way of Kurosaki to Kokura and Moji. But when we visited the local historian Tsukushi Yorisada in Hakata in 1957, he told us that Xavier had probably spent his first night in Aoyagi on his way from Hakata to Yamaguchi, and he referred us to a map of the old road in the Japanese history of the prefecture of Fukuoka (*Fukuoka-ken no rekishi* [Tokyo, 1956], map 9), where, parallel to the new road, which we first accepted, the old road east of it and farther inland is indicated. This turns right from Kashii and goes to Akama by way of Aoyagi and Haranomachi.

²⁸ The map mentioned in the previous note gives Aoyagi as the first station after Kashii. Since it is only 9.3 miles from Hakata, it would not have been Xavier's first stopping place.

²⁹ Munakata is near Haranomachi, which is only 1.6 miles from Tōgō. On May 31, 1574, Cabral wrote that on his way from Hakata to Yamaguchi he came near to a town by the name of Manacata on the boundary of the province of Buzen, a half a league away from the highway which he was following. A Christian, João, living in Manacata, but who had been born in Hakata and had earlier been a superior of a monastery, came to see him, and he introduced him to some people whom he had converted to Christianity. From there Cabral went into the kingdom of Buzen and boarded a ship for Shimono-seki (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 209-v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 146-147). By Manacata is meant Munakata; the map mentioned in note 27 gives near Haranomachi the town of Munakata-machi, which gave its name to the entire region, as the Japanese map of Kokura 1:200,000 indicates. Here was also the old Shintō shrine of Munakata-jinja between the villages of Tashima and Ōshima. In 914 it was already in the possession of the Munakatas, who had their origins in the Minamotos. In 1182 the Munakatas built a castle there to protect the sanctuary. In 1551 they fought with Ōuchi Yoshitaka, the prince of Yamaguchi, against the rebellious Sue Harukata (Papinot 411). According to the *Kojiki*, "after the 'Eight Princes' (Hachi-taji) had come into existence, for it is thus that the five male and three female divinities who were created by Amaterasu and her brother are called, Amaterasu undertook their distribution. She assigned the three goddesses of the sea to Susano-o." The *Kojiki* then continues: "Ta-kiri-hime dwells in the Deep Sea Temple of Munakata, Ichiki-shima-hime in the Middle Temple of Munakata, and Tagi-tsu-hime in the Coastal Temple of Munakata. These three divinities are the godheads of the three shrines venerated by the lords of Munakata." The coastal temple is on the island of Ta-shima near Kō-no-minato in northwestern Chikuzen, the middle temple on the island of Ōshima, 7.5 miles north of it; the deep-sea temple is on the island of Oki-tsu-shima, 119 miles north of this (Schurhammer, *Shin-to* 57-58).

³⁰ Here the old highway and the new one west of it come together. From Akama to Kurosaki there were two possible roads. The map mentioned in note 27 gives an old road leading directly north from Tōgō to the seaport of Ashiya, but none from there to Kurosaki. It gives a second one going southeast from Tōgō by way of Akama to Ueki, and from there directly north to Kurosaki. The historical atlas of Nishioka gives only one old road, which goes north along the coast from Hakata, by way of Kashii and Tsuyasaki, to Kanegasaki, and then east to Ashiya, from where it goes south to Ongagawa and then east again, by way of Kurosaki and Kokura, to Moji (82). It went north from Hakozaiki to Ashiya and from there straight east to Kokura without intervening stations (144). It also has, for Xavier's trip, a continuous road along the southern shore of the bay of Kuki-no-umi (Dōkai-wan) (174).

of Shimonoseki, which separated the island of Kyūshū from the main island of Japan and formed the entrance into the Japanese Inner Sea. From here travelers usually passed over to the city of Shimonoseki in order to avoid the violent current near the village of Moji farther north.³¹

From Shimonoseki³² Xavier and his companions traveled northwards to Toyoura, where visitors were shown the tomb of the emperor Chū-ai-Tennō, the husband of the empress Jingō Kōgō, who had died here.³³ The road then led along the seacoast to the northeast past Ozuki and then over the Yoshida River to the southeast, where the pine-covered hill fell sharply into the sea, to Habu.³⁴ Here the road left the sea and brought the travelers through the hilly countryside of the interior, whose heights were covered with pines and also at times with bamboos, eastwards to Asa, lying in an open valley along the river of the same name.³⁵ From there it passed on to Funaki³⁶ and then, by way of Kōtōgawa, to Kagawa on the Ogōri River. It then went up the river valley towards the northeast. Beyond the village of Ogōri³⁷ near Kamigō the hills for a short period came closer together. The valley then opened up and the road went past three villages lying within the midst of rice fields.³⁸ Beyond these the hills came together again and, passing between them, the travelers reached a large city surrounded by lofty, wooded mountains. Yamaguchi, the "the Mouth of the Mountain,"³⁹ the immediate goal of their journey had been reached.

Travel over the rough, snow-covered mountain paths during the winter in Japan was extremely difficult. Brother Fernández, who was very thin and sickly, later gave an account of their trip to Father Frois.⁴⁰

³¹ In 1957 we were told by the Japanese pastor of Shimonoseki that one usually sailed directly from Kurosaki to Shimonoseki. Because of its strong current and steep coast, Moji was not a suitable place for this; and its harbor was not constructed until the Meiji period (1868-1912). In Hakata Mr. Tsukushi also told me that Xavier had probably sailed from Kurosaki to Shimonoseki.

³² In his letter of December 28, 1596, Frois states that Shimonoseki was a large town on the famous strait in Japan where the sea was deep and the current so strong that ships and barks seemed to skim over it. The town was more than a day's journey from Yamaguchi (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 241; Hayus 365-366). The distance from Shimonoseki to Yamaguchi was thirty-seven miles. On February 20, 1588, Frois wrote that King Francis of Bungo, since he foresaw the collapse of his kingdom, had advised the priests to transfer their college and novitiate from Bungo to Yamaguchi. The change of residence for the more than forty Jesuits took place in December, 1586. They were divided into two groups. One of these disembarked in Kudamatsu, the other in Shimonoseki; and from these two sites they reached Yamaguchi on foot (*Cartas* 1598, 194v-195). For Xavier's journey, see the maps in Nishioka, pp. 82 86 144, and 174, where he gives the routes we have suggested. See also the Japanese maps Kokura and Yamaguchi 1:200,000 and Admiralty Chart 2875.

³³ Also called Chōfu; cf. Murray 423.

³⁴ In February, 1957, we traveled from Chōfu to Yamaguchi. The train followed the old highway from Chōfu to Habu. It then made a detour past Asa to Kagawa and then followed the old road from there to Yamaguchi. Habu was a station on the old road to Yamaguchi (Nishioka 82 86).

³⁵ Cf. Nishioka 82 86.

³⁶ On May 31, 1574, Cabral wrote that when he went by land from Hakata by way of Shimonoseki to Yamaguchi, the Christians, who had been abandoned for twenty years because of the persecution, came four leagues on the road to meet him when they heard of his coming (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 210; Eglauer, *Japan* II 148). The place where they met him was probably Funaki, nineteen miles from Yamaguchi.

³⁷ Cf. Nishioka 144 174 (map of Xavier's journey). In 1606 a priest traveled from Yamaguchi by way of Ogōri to Shimonoseki (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 347).

³⁸ The railroad stations of Ōtoshi, Yabara, and Yuda.

³⁹ The two Chinese characters for the city mean "Mountain" and "Opening."

⁴⁰ In the following we give the text in Frois 8-9 and 11, supplementing it in the notes with data from other authors.

The Japanese had no beds, and Fernández and Xavier had to use the single woolen blanket which they had to cover both of them, since all that they found in the inns was a straw mat and wooden pillow. At times, when they came to an inn at night, hungry, soaked, and thoroughly chilled,⁴¹ they were turned away. At other times their feet became swollen because of the great cold and deep snow,⁴² or they fell down, since the roads were very rough and passed over lofty mountain chains, and they were carrying their luggage on their backs.⁴³ In some villages through which they passed, since they were so strange and foreign to the eyes of the Japanese and so poorly clothed, they were greeted with stones and ridicule by boys in the streets and on the squares.

To all this Francis added other voluntary mortifications. As Fernández later declared, he was so humble and mortified even in the smallest matters during this journey that only one who had seen him at that time could appreciate it. He observed this same comportment during his meditations, moving neither his eyes nor other parts of his body from side to side, but walking on with great tranquility over mountains and through valleys covered with snow, where there was little to confuse or distract him. The great modesty and reverence that were manifest in him showed clearly that he ever walked in the presence of God.⁴⁴ When he arrived at an inn, which was more like a barn, even though he was tired from his journey, he ate and acted with the meekness and mildness of a slave in the presence of a great lord, and he deemed himself unworthy of what was given him for his support. Since the bonzes taught that it was a great sin to eat meat or fish, when these were prepared for him in an inn at noon or night, he would declare that men were permitted to eat what God had created for their support. He would then eat a small piece in order to let those who were standing around know that this was not an offense against God. But he usually did not eat meat or fish, and this was without doubt no slight practice of penance. After he had walked the whole day on foot at the time of the greatest cold and snow, they only gave him in the inns a little rice, simply cooked in water, and a little salted, boiled, or roasted fish with a broth of vegetables very badly seasoned and with an even worse smell; and he would not touch the fish but would only eat a little rice with this sauce without anything else.⁴⁵

At night, however, Bernardo, who slept at his side, often heard the priest sigh and say in his sleep: "O good Jesus, my Lord and Creator!" and similar words. When he asked him in the morning the reason for his sighs, Xavier told him that he knew nothing about them.⁴⁶

During the course of their journey from Hirado to Yamaguchi, they made three converts. One was an elderly nobleman; the two others were a man and his wife.⁴⁷ They had preached in all the cities and towns through which they

⁴¹ "Dead from cold and hunger and drenched" (Torres 45 55).

⁴² "Because of the great cold their legs were greatly swollen" (Quadros in DI III 334).

⁴³ "Since they were carrying their luggage on their back and the way was extremely rough, they slipped and fell" (Torres 45 55). "And he went almost the whole way on foot, even though he could have had an animal to ride" (Quadros in DI III 334).

⁴⁴ "He prayed as he traveled in Japan, and he was so absorbed in God that he wandered off the way without noticing it and tore his trousers and injured his feet without observing it" (Quadros in DI III 332; see also *Rodrigues Tçuzu, *Historia*, P. 2, c. 16 ff. 47-v).

⁴⁵ Frois 8-9 and 11.

⁴⁶ Quadros in DI III 332; and Ribadeneyra (*Vida* 4, 7), who was Bernardo's confessor in Rome, wrote: "Bernardo told me of Padre Francisco that he had slept for seven months in the same room with him and that, during his brief and very light sleep, he had

passed, even when it was snowing or raining, and they had frequently been stoned by young fellows in the streets and on the squares.⁴⁶

3. BEGINNINGS IN YAMAGUCHI (BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER—DECEMBER 17, 1550)¹

Yamaguchi, the capital of the powerful duke Ōuchi Yoshitaka, was located three leagues from the sea on the western boundary of the province of Suwō, surrounded by green, wooded mountains and divided by the swift Ichinosakagawa which flowed from north to south. It was one of the largest, fairest, and most important cities of Japan² and had more than ten thousand hearths.³ Besides

frequently heard him groan and sigh and repeat the most holy name of Jesus; and when he asked him several times why he sighed and groaned so much, he had replied that he knew and felt nothing about all this" (FN IV 657).

⁴⁷ Frois 11. We hear no more about these new converts.

⁴⁸ Torres 45 55.

¹ For Xavier's first stay in Yamaguchi, his second stay must also be partially kept in mind. *Main sources*: (1) Xavier's letter of January 29, 1552, from Cochin (EX II 260-261 269-270); (2) Melchior Nunes Barreto's letter from Cochin of January 10, 1558 (Ayes, *Subsidios* 105-106, from oral data furnished by Brother Fernández); (3) Teixeira in 1580 (MX II 877-878; I 658-664). The Portuguese text of Teixeira is lost, the Italian text (*48v-51v) dates the letter from Yamaguchi at the end of 1550. In 1596 Tursellinus follows this in his *Epistolae* 3, 7, and *Vita* 4, 5 and 7, which are the sources for all subsequent biographies. The letter in Teixeira is a reworked and falsely dated abstract of Xavier's letter of January 29, 1552 (cf. EX II 250-253). In the edition of MX I, it has been garbled from the Spanish translation of the *Codex Villarejensis* and dated from Kagoshima by the editors, following Cutillas, as of November 20, 1550. Teixeira met Xavier and Bernardo in Goa in 1552 and heard the former there give an account of his trip to Miyako. In 1563 he obtained from Fernández in Macao the latter's now lost *Itinerario* on this same trip (MX II 877-878). (4) In 1583 A. Valignano followed Teixeira (168-172 175-179), but he is the first to give the report on how Fernández was spit upon while he was preaching, and how this was the occasion for the first baptism in Yamaguchi, but without naming his source and the name of the person baptized, whose conversion he places during Xavier's second visit in Yamaguchi (177-178). (5) Frois gives a detailed account of our theme in his history in 1586 (9-11 14-16 342). He notes that he has taken the chapter on Xavier's journey to Miyako verbatim from some documents which had been found many years later, after the death of Brother Fernández, and that he had told him these same things by word of mouth in Yokoseura and on the islands of Hirado (14; cf. 6 8). In addition to this, Frois personally knew Xavier, Bernardo, and Torres. He gives Xavier's experiences—street preaching, visiting homes, first audience, first baptisms, and second baptisms—in a confused order: first audience, street preaching, visiting homes, second audience, first baptisms; and he changes his text accordingly. (6) In 1634 *Rodrigues Tçuzu, whom Brou follows on the whole, named as a source for Xavier's journey to Miyako Fernández' account, "which we found written, and which we learned from individuals who had conversed with them and were present on numerous occasions" (46v). He had personally known Brother Lourenço, whom Xavier had won over in Yamaguchi (51). He keeps in general Xavier's succession of events but, like Frois, places the first baptism after the second audience, and he elaborates his material (43v-46 49-59; Ajuda 219-222 226v-236; Cros, *Vie* II 105-109 138-143).

² Torres 46, Almeida (*Cartas* 1598, 129v), Vilela (*ibid.* 328), Valignano 169, Frois 9, Rodrigues Tçuzu 43v. According to Haas, the city is said to have extended as far as the modern villages of Mihori, Hikami, and Nagano in Xavier's time (I 171). According to *Villion, the streets went as far as Ogōri and large junks came as far as the Wanishi River before the gate of the city, but which is now sanded up (II 8).

³ Xavier writes: 10,000 *vezinos* (EX II 260; also Torres in *Cartas* 1598, 51v). This is given in the *Italian translation of Teixeira as *fuochi*, and in the Latin text of Tursellinus as *familiae*. The *Intoku-Taiheiki* mentions (according to Haas I 171, exaggeratingly) 20,000 homes; Steichen 50,000 inhabitants (5). Although the city was almost entirely burned down in 1551 and 1556, it was, according to Vilela, largely rebuilt in 1571, but not so elaborately as before (*Cartas* 1598, 328). On October 4, 1586, Frois wrote that the

the ordinary homes, there were many elaborate dwellings of the nobility, all built of pine,⁴ also numerous Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples, and more than a hundred monasteries of bonzes and *bikunis* (Buddhist nuns),⁵ often lying

city still had 10,000 *vezinos*; before its destruction it had been one of the most prominent and most populated cities of Japan (ARSI: *JapSin.* 45, 92).

⁴ EX II 260; Nunes Barreto (Ayres, *Subsidios* 101).

⁵ EX II 267-268. The Abe map is our most important source for the description of Yamaguchi in Xavier's time. In 1552 Ōuchi Yoshinaga gave the Jesuits a piece of ground that had once belonged to the Daidō-ji temple (Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 75-84). A. Villion (a missionary in Yamaguchi from 1889 to 1895, † 1929) and his friend, the renowned historian of the area, Kondō Kiyoshi, had vainly sought for this site for years when Villion, in 1893, learned that a certain Matsumura had found a map of Yamaguchi from the first half of the sixteenth century, belonging to a bonze of the Kōfuku-ji temple, fastened to a sliding paper wall in a country home of the Abe family, one of the oldest vassals of the Ōuchi. Villion gave the discoverer a gift and received in return for it the secret loan of the map for three days. He was delighted to see on it, in the suburb of Kanekōzu, the Daidō-ji temple with its name. His friend Kondō informed him that from the evidence of the writing, style, and contents, the map came from Xavier's time. This discovery was further confirmed by the *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, composed three months after the death of Ōuchi Yoshitaka. According to it, in 1551 the rebel Sue Takafusa pushed through the suburb of Kanekōzu, where he engaged the palace troops in battle on the grounds of the Daidō-ji temple. Since Matsumura was insisting upon a prompt return of the map, Kondō summoned the provincial architect and had him make an exact copy of it for Villion "in three days and nights without sleeping" (map A). In 1960 this copy was found among the effects of Father Dahlman, S.J., in the Catholic University in Tokyo with Villion's inscription upon it. In 1905 J. Cettour, Villion's successor, sent Father Thurston, S.J., in London a photograph of the original copy. This was enlarged for our own research and translated by our confreres F. X. Abe and F. Takemiya. Francis Nagadomi Yoshiji made a copy of Villion's copy of the original, writing the names larger and clearer and adding a few other names which, "according to the tradition of the elders," existed in Xavier's time. He published his drawing in his *Xaverio to Yamaguchi* (Yamaguchi, 1923); and in 1929, through the intermediacy of our confrere F. Lefert, S.J., a missionary in Yamaguchi, we received this (map B) on loan. Along with this map we received through Father Lefert a letter in Japanese from Mr. Nagadomi in which he gave the history of the Abe map and informed us that the original was probably lost. He had sought in vain for it for twenty years among the effects of Matsumura Michiari in Tokyo and among those of his heir Ogasawara in Yamaguchi. The Abe family possessed only a later map without the Daidō-ji temple marked upon it. In 1939 Watanabe Yosuke, the learned editor of the documents of the Mōri family, suggested in a contribution to the first volume of *Tōsai kōshōshi ron* (Transactions on the Relations between East and West) (Tōkyō, pp. 421-472) that the name *Daidō-ji* was added to the map after Villion's time; but his conjecture failed to gain acceptance. In his *Ōuchi Yoshitaka* (Tōkyō, 1959), Professor Fukuo Mōichirō, known for his cultural history of Yamaguchi and other writings, denied a later tampering with the map. But he further declared that an exact examination of the copy that had been made of it indicates that the lost Abe map was perhaps not made until the Tokugawa period (1603-1668). He was of the opinion that a final judgment could not be made until the original was rediscovered. We may, however, give some reasons why we date the Abe map between 1551 and 1557. Map A contains the names of 102 Buddhist temples and 34 Shintō shrines in addition to a lengthy inscription on the 28 Shintō shrines and 70 Buddhist temples of Kyōto which were imitated in Yamaguchi in the fourteenth century (cf. Schurhammer, *Disputationen*). These numbers are in keeping with Xavier's data on a hundred monasteries. Fifty-one of the Buddhist temples are marked on the map as being in ruins, which can indicate a partial destruction of the city. Yamaguchi was first put to flames in 1551, and Torres wrote as an eyewitness that there was no monastery which had not been burned or plundered. His companion Fernández added that many monasteries had been burned (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 64-85). According to the *Intoku Taiheiki* (*Villion I), the Zen monastery of Ryūfuku-ji, which was located upon the palace area, was one of the temples that were burned down; and it is also shown in ruins upon the map. Yamaguchi had hardly been rebuilt when, in April 1556, it was again completely burned down within an hour during a battle between two parties. The only building that was left standing was the Hachiman temple.

about the lower slopes of the mountains in lovely gardens,⁶ where all the Buddhist sects were represented. It was an old city, rich in its historical past,⁷ and almost as large as Lisbon.⁸

The center of the city was in the north between the Ichinosakagawa and the southern foothills of Nana-o-yama with their numerous temples. It was composed of a square with the palace of the duke⁹ surrounded by walls, and further enclosed

Mōri Motonari captured the city at the beginning of 1557, he leveled it to the ground (Torres, as an eyewitness, in *Cartas* 1598, 51v-52v; M. Nunes Barreto, *ibid.* 49-49v; Kondō, *Yamaguchi-meishō-kyūseki-zushi*, according to *Villion I). Vilela left Japan in 1570 and wrote from Goa in 1571 that he had not seen Yamaguchi. Nevertheless he had learned from priests who had lived there that it was a populous city and had around forty monasteries (*Cartas* 1598, 328). The map is not to be dated before 1522 since it actually has on it the Shintō shrine that was built on Mount Kōnomine during this same year. It is probably to be dated before 1557 since it lacks the fortress begun by Ōuchi Yoshinaga in 1557 and completed by Mōri Motonari immediately after the capture of the city in the same year (*Chūgoku-chiran-ki*, according to *Villion I; *Villion II). In 1569 the city was again partially burned during its capture by Ōuchi Teruhiro, the uncle of Yoshitaka. Soon after this it was recaptured by Mōri Motonari, whose family lived there from 1557 to 1604. They then had to transfer their residence, with the consequent slow decline of Yamaguchi (*Kondō, *Yamaguchi-meishō-kyūseki-zushi*, according to *Villion I; *Villion II; Satow 156 158).—In addition to the works already cited, see the history of the Abe map in *Villion II 1904; Villion's letter of May 31, 1913, in KM 42 (1913) 57-59; and Villion, *Cinquante ans d'Apostolat au Japon* (Hongkong, 1923) 335-357 and 400-401.

⁶ Vilela on October 6, 1571: "Yamaguchi averá quarenta mosteiros, alguns de muita renda e de muita gente e muito frescos, assi no sitio em que estão como por dentro em si estarem ornados de muitas cousas pera ver, e alegres de muitos jardins" (*Cartas* 1598, 328).

⁷ *Ibid.* and Almeida November 17, 1563 (*Cartas* 1598, 129v).

⁸ M. Nunes Barreto January 10, 1558 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 101-102).

⁹ The Abe map shows three palaces: (1) In the north at the foot of the mountain of Nana-o-yama the *Ōuchi Goten*. Its square is shut off on the west and south by a wall. Its entrance is in the south. Next to the gate on the right is a tall "five-and-a-half-storey-high" pine, *Tsuki-mi no matsu* (Moon-sight Pine), and opposite in the court of the palace the *Mono-mi no dai* (Viewing Platform). This is the ornate Tsukiyama Palace, square with a length on each side of 472 feet, built north of his residence palace by Ōuchi Moriharu († 1431) for the solemn reception of guests (Aoyama 103). (2) South of it was the *Ōtono Goten* (Palace of the Senior Prince), the Residential Palace, *Ōuchi yakata*, which Ōuchi Hiroyo († 1380) built in the shape of a square measuring 590 feet on each side (*ibid.* 102). (3) South of it was the smaller *Waka Goten* (Palace of the Prince). The Tsukiyama Palace with its lake and its pines was famous, and when guests in the time of the Ōuchi came, they were accustomed to sing there a *haiku* (short poem) in its praise, like that which the famed poet Iida Sōgi, who died in 1502, sang in his poem of the beauty of its garden: *Ike wa umi, Kozue wa natsu no miyama kana* ("Like a sea the pool; the trees like the mountain forest in its summer glory"). When we visited the square, all that was left of the enclosure was a piece of the earthen wall in the northwest and pines near it. A memorial stone erected five years before had on it the short poem of Sōgi. A square area in the ground was a reminder of the former lake. Two Shintō temples stand today next to each other on the northern part of the palace grounds. The one on the left, the *Tsukiyama no jinja*, in which the ancestors of the Ōuchi are revered, was erected there around a hundred years earlier by the prince Mōri. The one on the right, the *Yasaka jinja*, an imitation of the Yasaka shrine in Kyōto, earlier stood in another part of the city and was transferred here by the Mōri. The vestibule was constructed in 1370 by Ōuchi Hiroyo, the main hall behind it is also over five hundred years old. To the right and left of the altar are seated brightly painted guardian statues with their swords upon their knees. Over the entrance is a painting which recalls Ōuchi Yoshitaka, who came here to worship. Left of the entrance is a cross section from the old pine on the Abe map. The *Tsuki-mi no matsu* is painted on it with an inscription which states that lightning destroyed the pine, and that this cross section had been made from its trunk for the picture. Kondō gives a description of the palace in the first book of his *Yamaguchi-meishō-kyūseki-zushi*.—In 1957 we also

by the dwellings of his nobles¹⁰ and public buildings.¹¹ Southeast of these, only a short distance away, were ten warehouses, each of which could hold a thousand *koku* of rice, which was paid in tribute.¹² North of these, on the lowest slopes of Nana-o-yama, was the New Hachiman Shrine dedicated to the god of war.¹³ South of the palace area was the Ōtono ōji, the "Large Street of the Nobles," which ran from west to east straight through the city¹⁴ and past Tenjingawa to the village of Miyano.¹⁵ Farther south, and parallel to it, was the "Large Market Street," mainly inhabited by merchants.¹⁶

Several bridges connected the east and west banks of the Ichinosakagawa, along which homes of the nobility and of ordinary citizens stretched from north to south. Farther west from these was the free-standing hill of Kameyama,¹⁷ on which there were a number of temples; and not far from it was Mount Kōnomine, on which the father of Yoshitaka had erected the shrine of Daijingū in 1522, copying the design of the national shrine of Ise¹⁸ in honor of the sun-goddess Amaterasu.

visited the site where the *Ōtono Goten*, the palace of the prince's father, once stood, separated from Ōuchi Goten only by a street. The Ryūfuku-ji (Temple of the Dragon of Good Luck), which was once the palace temple belonging to the Rinzaï-Zen sect, where Ōuchi Yoshitaka's counselor, the bonze Murasakino Gyokudō, lived in Xavier's time, was burned down in 1551 and repeatedly in later times. It was replaced by another, smaller temple which was transferred here from another part of the city. In the court there were some bamboo bushes and trees and stone statues of Buddha. To the left was the cemetery, and to the right the usual drum tower. Within the temple, on the left, was a small folding altar with the *ihai* (tablet of the ancestors) of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and in front of it four vases, one with a flowering branch, and three with sand for incense sticks. The temple belongs today to the Sōtō Zen sect. There were three *kake-monos* (scroll paintings) hanging before the altar. The one in the center represented Shaka between Monju, the symbol of preternatural wisdom, and Fugen, the patron of ecstatic meditation. The picture hanging on the right represented Jū-roku Rakan, one of the sixteen beloved disciples of Shaka; that on the left Ryōchū, the grandson of Fujiwara Yoshizane, who died in 1333 after becoming a bonze. To the right and left of the main altar were three statues. The one in the middle represented Dōgen, the founder of the Sōtō sect. Before the altar was a small lectern with two *sutras* (Buddhist texts), and before them a pillow. To the right of it was a small drum in the shape of a human skull; on the left was a metal drum. A wooden statue of Buddha was on the altar hidden behind a curtain, and in front of the curtain were two large, golden, lotus stalks with leaves and flowers.

¹⁰ *Kachū*.

¹¹ *Yakusho*.

¹² A *koku* contained something more than forty-three gallons.

¹³ The *Ima Hachiman sha*. This came from the time of the Ōuchi. A high stone stairs led up to it. On the left it was guarded by a stone lion-dog, the "hound of heaven," and the "Korean-dog." Shortly before Xavier's arrival on the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the year Tembun (October 25, 1550), the feast of Hachiman was celebrated. A ceremonial cart called *hajirō* was to accompany Ōuchi Yoshitaka in solemn procession to the temple, but a rumor was heard that Sue Harukata (Takafusa) was planning to attack the procession. The prince therefore relinquished his plan (*Chūgoku-chidan-ki* and *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, according to *Villon I).

¹⁴ *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes *Tonono cōgi*, the main street (50v; Ajuda 227v; Cros, *Vie* II 140; the Abe map has instead of this *Ōtono ōji*. In 1905 Villon wrote *Odonoshōji* (*Villon II), and in 1923 *Tononocōji* (*Cinquante ans* 434). The city maps of 1927 and 1955 both have *Ōtono ōji*, the avenue of the senior prince.

¹⁵ On May 31, 1574, Cabral wrote that one going from Miyano to Daidōji had to cross two rivers (Eglauer, *Japan* II 150). This is still true today; the second is the Furugawa.

¹⁶ *Ōichi-machi*.

¹⁷ The new Catholic church, with its magnificent view upon the city, is located on it today.

¹⁸ The *Daijingū* with the *Naikū*, the inner shrine dedicated to the goddess Amaterasu,

After a long and difficult search,¹⁹ the three poorly clad strangers, Xavier and his two companions, finally found a place to stay in the house of a certain Uchida.²⁰ The news of the arrival of the foreign preachers from Tenjiku, the original home of Shaka, soon spread throughout the city, and many nobles and other individuals were eager to know about the new teaching which they were bringing.²¹ Francis therefore decided to interrupt his journey to Miyako and to proclaim the Gospel in this large city.

For this he went twice each day with Fernández as his interpreter from the house of Uchida to one of the numerous streets or crossings where many people were to be found.²² Here the brother had to read aloud a passage from the book which had been composed by Xavier in Kagoshima and translated into Japanese by Anjirō. After he had finished reading, Brother Fernández would give a commentary on what he had read, translating at times what was said by the priest.²³ Every day they changed their place of preaching. The result was that in this populous city there was no street or crossing where people gathered on which they had not heralded the word of God.²⁴ Francis went particularly often to the large main street of Ōtono ōji, where he sat down on the rim of a well for a reading from his book.²⁵ In 1603 the Christians still showed a spot near a gate, the principal meeting place of the city, where the zealous apostle had been accustomed to spread out a small mat and take his place on it with his companion and preach to them.²⁶ In 1606 a seventy-year-old Christian woman,

and the *Gekū*, the outer shrine formerly dedicated to Kunitokotachi-no-Mikoto, today to the goddess Toyouke-Hime. Ōuchi Yoshinaga built here the Kōnomine fortress.

¹⁹ Rodrigues Tçuzu, who states, contrary to what Xavier expressly says, that no one was converted during this first visit to Yamaguchi (46, Ajuda 222), places the conversion of his host Uchida in Xavier's second visit. He writes of the latter's arrival: "Chegue a esta cidade, onde os nossos peregrinos de Christo não acham quem lhes quisesse dar pousada pellos verem tam pobres e despreziveis; e assi como pobres pedintes se agasalharão por entam como puderam" (43v, Ajuda 219-220, Cros, *Vie* II 106).

²⁰ Valignano (83), Frois (86) and Rodrigues Tçuzu place the conversion of Uchida in Xavier's second visit. The first two say that he had been the first to receive baptism in Yamaguchi, whereas *Rodrigues Tçuzu states that he was not the first, but was among the first of those who became Christians after him (51, Ajuda 228, Cros, *Vie* II 141). Frois is the first to give his name: "a prominent man by the name of Uchidadono" (16). According to Frois he was the first one to take Xavier into his home (16), and he repeats that he was the first Christian to be converted in Yamaguchi, the owner of the first house in which Father Master Francis found lodgings (153). Since Xavier clearly states that during his first visit in Yamaguchi a few became Christians (EX II 261), we must assume that he was Xavier's host during his first visit.

²¹ EX II 260.

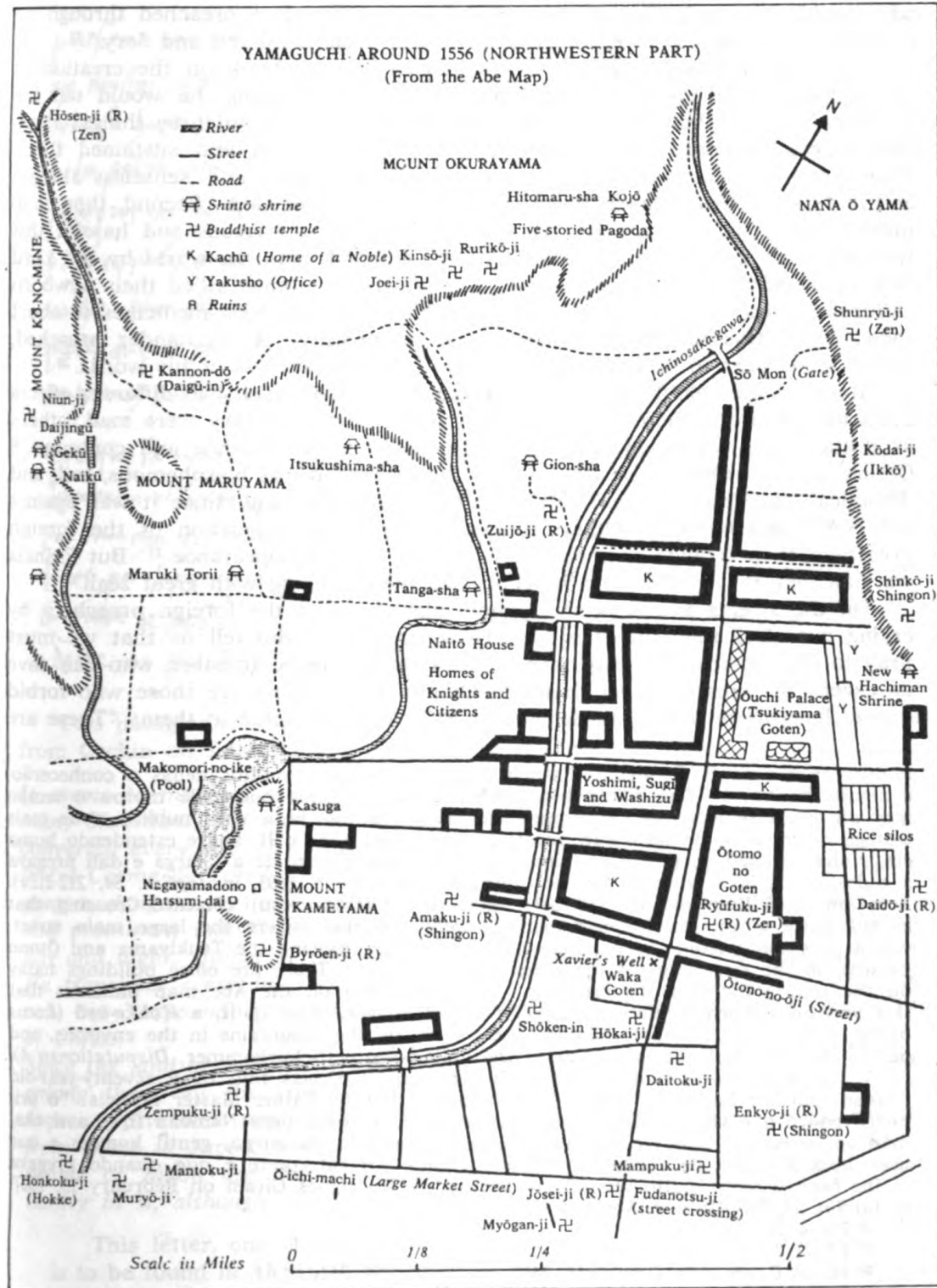
²² *Ibid.* and Frois 10.

²³ J. Rodrigues Giram in February 15, 1607 (*JapSin.* 55, 347v), and M. de Couros of October 6, 1603 (*ibid.* 54, 2212v).

²⁴ Frois 10.

²⁵ *Rodriguez Tçuzu 50v (Ajuda 227v, Cros, *Vie* II 140). In 1957 we visited the place where, according to tradition, the well on which Xavier used to sit was located. We did so in the company of the local historian Itō Masaki, the author of a history of the city, *Yamaguchi-shi-shi* (Yamaguchi, 1956). It was the corner house, number 246, Ōtono-ōji Street, where the carpenter Yoshimura lived. In 1926, when the memorial to Xavier was unveiled on Daidōji Square, he had still seen the well. It had had a round opening only about 2.62 feet in diameter surrounded by a square wall on which one could sit. The well had disappeared by the time of our visit. A cement floor was in its place. We were told that many changes had been made in the house a year before and in the course of them the well had been walled up.

²⁶ A priest visited Yamaguchi in 1603, where the prince of the land had ordered all Christians under the threat of severe penalties to apostatize. He found them, especially the old Christians, ready for any sacrifice for their faith: "Tem toda aquela christandade



whom the saint had baptized, still remembered "the first priest who came to Japan and then returned to Namban, the Southland, a tall man of fine appearance who could not speak the language of Japan and therefore preached through an interpreter, and whose face, when he preached, became all red and fiery."²⁷

As a rule Fernández first read the chapter in the book on the creation of the world and of man. When he had finished his reading, he would tell his listeners in a loud voice how the Japanese sinned seriously in three things: First, they forgot Dainichi, the almighty God who had created and sustained them. They worshiped instead of Him wooden objects, stones, and senseless things; and in these they worshiped the devil, the archenemy of God. Second, they committed the sin against nature. He showed them how grievous and hateful this was and what a great punishment had been inflicted upon the world by the Lord of heaven and of earth because of it. And third, the women killed their newborn children in order not to be obliged to rear them, or they took medicines to abort them, which was the greatest cruelty and inhumanity. As Fernández preached, Xavier stood next to him and prayed silently for the success of his words.²⁸

Many people would assemble for these sermons,²⁹ which had different effects upon their hearers. Some looked upon the speakers as if they were mad, others as if they were possessed; and this gave rise to much ridicule and contempt.³⁰ Others declared that the new law which they preached was blasphemous, evil, and diabolical, and that it would bring confusion into the land, since it was against the *kamis* and *hotokes*. Others mocked the poor pronunciation of the foreign preachers, their strange, poor clothes, and their unusual appearance.³¹ But Francis was not deterred by this, and he continued his preaching with great zeal.³²

On the streets the boys, and others also, insulted the foreign preachers by crying out after them in derision: "These are those who tell us that we must pray to God so that He may save us, and that there is no other who can save us except the creator of all things!" Others said: "These are those who forbid one to have more than a single wife!" Still others shouted at them: "These are

muita devação ao B. P. Mestre Francisco que a fundou, e muitos dellas o conhecerão, e alguns bautizou. Tem muito boa lembrança dos lugares onde elle morou o tempo que alli esteve, e junto de certa porta de huma rua que he a mais publica, e de mais trafego de todas as da povoação, mostra[m] o lugar, onde o B. Padre estendendo huma esteirinha no chão, se punha em cima della com hum interprete a ilharga e dali pregava a todos que hião e vinhão" (M. de Couros on October 6, 1603, in *JapSin.* 54, 212-212v). According to Villion and Mr. Itô, this refers to the Fuda-no-tsuji (Placard Crossing, that is, the place where public proclamations were brought), where the large main street, which goes south from the northern gate of the city, passing the Tsukiyama and Ôtono palaces on the west, crosses the Large Market Street. There are office buildings today on the four corners of the crossing. The inscription on the Abe map indicates that this was an important place in the city. In 1361, according to it, a *Hokke-kyô* (*Lotus Sûtra*), was buried at eight different sites, seven on the mountains in the environs, and one in the city itself, at the center of the Fuda-no-tsuji (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 4).

²⁷ The priest, who visited Yamaguchi again in 1606, was told by a seventy-year-old woman that she had been baptized fifty years earlier by Father Master Francis: "o primeiro padre que viera a Japam, o qual depois se tornara pera Namban (que assi chamão as partes da India) e que era huma homem alto do corpo, gentil homem e que não sabia a lingoa de Japam, mas que pregava por interprete e que quando pregava se lhe fazia o rosto muito vermelho e abrazado" (Rodrigues Giram on February 15, 1607, in *JapSin.* 55, 347-347v); cf. Aoyama 134.

²⁸ Frois 10.

²⁹ EX II 260.

³⁰ M. de Couros, on October 6, 1603, in *JapSin.* 54, 212v.

³¹ Rodrigues Tçuzu 44 (Ajuda 220, Cros, *Vie* II 106).

³² Couros in *JapSin.* 54, 212v.

parefeme que ha de yz en grande cresymiento lo de amangusy por q
ay muchos chrysianos y entre ellos muchos buenas personas y otras q cada
dya se hazen. Vyo en mucha esperanza q dyos nro señor. a de guerdar
a lo padre cosme de torres y johā fernandez que no os maten por q os mayores
peligros ya son passados y tambien por q ay muchos chrysianos y personas
principales entre ellos q tyenē grande cuydado de guerdar los de dya y de
noche johā fernandez es lego y sabe muy byen ablar japo habla todo a
quello que o padre cosme de torres le dize ocupasse agora en dar la voz por
continuas predicaciones todos los misterios de la vida de dhyso.

por que la tyerra de Japon es muy dispuesta pa se perpetuar la chrysian
dad entre ellos todas las trabas que se toma son byen empleados y asy vyo
con mucha esperanza q vna S. Charidad mandara de alla santos p
pas pa Japon por que entre todas las tyerras descubiertas destas partes solo
la grata de japo es pa en ella se perpetuar la chrysianidad byen q este
a deser con grandiffimos trabajos

Two paragraphs from a letter written by Francis Xavier with his own hand from Cochin on January 29, 1552, to Ignatius Loyola in Rome:

It seems to me that there will be a great increase in Yamaguchi, since it has many Christians, and many good persons among them, and others who are being converted every day. I live with much hope that God our Lord will watch over Padre Cosme de Torres and Johān Fernández so that they are not slain, for the greater dangers are now passed, and also because there are many Christians and prominent individuals among them who take great care to protect them by day and night. Johān Fernández is a brother and can speak Japanese very well. He translates everything that he is told by Padre Cosme de Torres. They are now busy expounding through constant preaching all the mysteries of the life of Christ.

Since the land of Japōn is much disposed to perpetuate by itself the Christianity among them, all the labors required for this are well employed, and I consequently live with much hope that Your Holy Charity will send saintly persons from there to Japōn, since among all the lands discovered in these parts, the people of Japōn are the only ones who can by themselves perpetuate Christianity in it, although this can only be done with very great efforts.

This letter, one of the eight autographs of Francis Xavier still extant, is to be found in ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ia*, n. CIC (1552). It has been published with a critical commentary in EX II 279-293. For a paraphrase and partial translation, see below 438-441.

they who forbid sodomy!" since this vice was very common among them. And they quoted the other mandates of the faith in order to shame them.³³

Xavier and his companion were also invited into the homes of many prominent nobles. These could not mingle with the common people, but they were still anxious to learn the nature of the doctrine which was being preached by the recently arrived foreigners. They too told the latter that if their law was better than their own, they would accept it. Many were pleased with what they heard and were kindly disposed towards their visitors. Others, however, who had only invited them in order to satisfy their curiosity or to while away the time, made fun of them. Still others manifested their displeasure and contempt.³⁴ But Master Francis knew how to deal with them.

A prominent nobleman had, it seems, invited the preachers to his home solely for the purpose of passing the time. When Brother Fernández read him the chapter from his book on the creation of the world, and on how Lucifer had been thrust into hell because of his pride, and that those who are proud are handed over in this way to the devils and are cast into that everlasting darkness with its unending pains and torments, the nobleman began to express disdain for what he had heard. Francis then reproached him, telling him that even though he deemed himself to be powerful, God would crush him with infernal torments if he did not grieve for his sins and humble himself. This caused the man to ridicule his guest still more, especially when he heard that one must humble oneself and grieve for one's sins. Drawing closer to the priest, he expressed his contempt for him and his teaching. Inflamed with a holy zeal and red in the face, Francis then told him: "And even if you do not want it, if you do not humble yourself, you will be overcome with torments!" He and Fernández then took their leave of him. As they were departing from the house, Francis, filled with compassion for the pagan noble, said to his companion: "It is especially those who are more powerful who gain less profit."³⁵

Fernández frequently had the impression that Francis was seeking to die for his holy faith. When some noblemen spoke contemptuously to him, he ordered the brother to answer them in kind. Trembling, Fernández complied with his request, expecting that at any moment his adversary would strike off his head with the sword which he wore at his belt. Francis then told him: "If these people do not afford us greater respect than they do to their bonzes, whom they

³³ EX II 261; cf. Torres 52. Teixeira, in his description of the trip to Miyako, states that boys there had frequently thrown stones and shoes at him and had cried out in ridicule: "Deus, Deus," since the Portuguese word had been fixed in their memories from having frequently heard it in his sermons (878). In Seb. Gonçalves, who frequently follows Teixeira, this becomes in 1614: "Hiam-no segimdo ás pedradas, e outras ás pancadas e çapatadas, chamando-lhe 'Deos, Deos, Deos,' porque não fiando o B. Padre a noticia que pretendia dar da soberana divindade de nenhum dos termos proprios dos jappões, arreceando nam ficassem fazendo a mesma comta do infinito Bem e Senhor, que de seus Camis e Fotoques, se o ouvissem nomear pellos mesmos vocabulos, nunca mudou a palavra 'Deos'" (4, 6). *Rodrigues Tçuzu, Ricci's adversary in the controversy over the Chinese rites with respect to the name of God, holds that Xavier was ridiculed for his condemnation of the three principal errors of the Japanese after his first audience, though Xavier states that this happened *before* it (EX II 261). Tçuzu has the Japanese on this same occasion ridicule the "Deos, Deos, Deos" of the priest. In this he follows Seb. Gonçalves verbatim and emphasizes what he had written (45v-46, Ajuda 221v-222, Cros, *Vie* II 108-109). That Xavier used the word *Dainichi* for God up to the time of his second audience in 1551 was unknown to these authors.

³⁴ EX II 260-261 288-289 299; Frois 10-11; M. Nunes Barreto in 1558 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 106, Cros, *Vie* II 119); *Rodrigues Tçuzu 44v (Ajuda 220v, Cros, *Vie* II 107).

³⁵ Frois 11.

honor so highly, they will never believe us and accept our teaching. We must therefore show them our contempt of death."³⁶

The secretary of the duke, Naitō Okimori, was one of the noblemen who were pleased to listen to Xavier and Fernández and who showed their good will towards them. He was already fifty-eight years old when Xavier visited him in his home on the far side of the Ichinosakagawa, near the bridge which passed from the north side of the ducal palace to the west bank of the river.³⁷ He had two sons, the elder being the thirty-three-year-old Naitō Takaharu.³⁸ The secretary and his wife were pious followers of the Jōdo sect and had founded numerous temples and monasteries and provided them with revenues so that the bonzes might pray for them and obtain for them, after their demise, acceptance into the paradise of Amida in the distant West. They had a high esteem for the teaching of the priest, but they gave him many reasons why they did not wish to be baptized. The chief of these was that by so doing they would lose all the merits which they had gained for themselves during their long lives through the alms which they had given in the service of Shaka and Amida.³⁹

Xavier and Fernández had employed many days in their street preaching and

³⁶ Nunes Barreto in 1558 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105-106, Cros, *Vie* II 119); *Rodrigues Tçuzu 44v (Ajuda 220v, Cros, *Vie* II 107, free).

³⁷ On the basis of the Abe map, I went with Father López de Uralde, S.J., the then superior of the Yamaguchi mission, in 1957 to the site beyond the bridge to the left of the first house, which the map indicated as the home of the knight Naitō. It was a newsstand, where I could gain no information. Near the house, opposite it on the right, was living an elderly woman who opened up the sliding door at our light appeal and greeted us kneeling with her hands upon the floor. She told us that her husband came from the Naitō house proper, which was located on the right some steps farther down the street. She invited us in. It was a simple house lying in an open field. In a kind of open workshop we were received by an elderly man dressed in European clothes. This was a laborer by the name of Naitō Sei-ichi, or Kyō-ichi. He invited us to sit down on a mat on a raised area. He told us that his house was only fifty years old but that it was the oldest house of the Naitō in Yamaguchi. According to tradition, a *yashiki*, a prominent house of the Naitō, had earlier stood there. It had been burned down during the Genroku period (1688-1704), and only the Buddhas of the house altar and the *ihai*, the tablets of the dead, had been saved at the time. Because of their restricted circumstances, the Naitō had sold their title of nobility; but he did not know when this had happened. He was unable to tell us if he was descended from the Naitō who had formerly been such a great friend of Francis Xavier, as we told him.

³⁸ Fukuo 127. Xavier calls him a very prominent lord (*senhor muito principal*) but without giving his name (EX II 269-270). During the rebellion of Takafusa in 1551, his wife concealed Torres and Fernández in a monastery which her husband had founded and later took them into her home (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 63-64 84-85; *Cartas* of 1598, 18v have *Catondono*, erroneously, instead of *Naitondono*). According to Satow, Naitō Okimori was a follower of Takafusa, and in 1557 Naitō Takaharu handed over Yamaguchi to Mōri Motonari (145). On January 7, 1556, Frois wrote from Malacca that a junk had just arrived from China with good news: Duarte da Gama had come from Japan to Lampakau (near Canton) with the news that the chief regent of Yamaguchi, a very old man by the name of Naitondono, had become a Christian with his two sons. He was such a great lord that he had 10,000 warriors. After his baptism he had knelt down with his hands lifted up to heaven and had prayed to God that, since he had now attained this age, He should take him to Himself in heaven (Ayres, *Subsidios* 91 93-94). He probably died soon after this, since in his history for the year 1556 Frois states that when the enemy was approaching after the second burning of Yamaguchi, a pagan woman, the mother of one of the chief *tonos* of the city, Naitondono [Takaharu, regent of the city], had concealed Torres and Fernández for some days in her house (50-51). And in 1559, when Vilela went to Hiei-zan, he took two letters of recommendation with him for the superior of that monastery, one from the prince of Yamaguchi and the other from Naitō Takaharu (80).

³⁹ EX II 269-270.

house calls,⁴⁰ and the new teaching and its advocates had become a daily topic of conversation in Yamaguchi when the duke, informed by his secretary,⁴¹ expressed his wish to see the foreign bonzes from Tenjiku, the home of Shaka.⁴²

Ōuchi Yoshitaka,⁴³ the duke, was one of the most powerful princes of Japan when Xavier arrived in Yamaguchi. In addition to the two provinces of Chikuzen, with the rich port of Hakata, and Buzen on the northeast of Kyūshū, he ruled over the six provinces of Nagato, Suō, Iwami, Aki, Bingo, and Bitchū on the main island.⁴⁴ He had succeeded his father in the rule in 1528. After some initial victories in the north and south, he had in 1543, on the advice of his militant vassal Sue Takafusa (Harukata) campaigned against his neighbor in the north and had suffered a severe defeat.⁴⁵ Since then he had given up all military

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 261.

⁴¹ *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes: "Começarem porem muitos dos Senhores a conhecer sua virtude, e não se falava em outra cousa entre elles e na cidade senão dos nossos pregadores vindos de terras remotas, e na sanctidade do Padre, de modo que chegou sua fama ao Duque Vōchidono o qual o quis mandar chamar" (44v, Ajuda 220v, Cros, *Vie* II 107). According to Frois, Xavier asked a prominent noble to obtain for him an audience with the king so he might, after he had heard the law which he preached, give him permission to promulgate it in his kingdom. When the noble told the king that the person concerned was from Tenjiku, that is, from Siam, from where their *hotoke* had come, he said that he wished to see him. On the day after the meeting, Xavier decided to preach on the streets of Yamaguchi without waiting for the king's permission (10). This account is not correct. Xavier clearly states that he preached for many days in the city before the audience. He did not wish to remain in Yamaguchi but to obtain from the king in Miyako permission to preach throughout the whole of Japan. Only after he perceived the impotency of the king of Japan in Miyako did he decide to return to Yamaguchi and to ask the duke of Yamaguchi for permission to preach after he had given him the gifts that had originally been destined for Miyako. In our opinion, the noble mentioned by Frois was Naitō Okimori, the secretary of Yoshitaka, of whom Francis wrote: "Nesta cidade ahy hum senhor muy principal, que muito nos tem favorecido, principalmente sua molher, damdo-nos todo favor que podia, pera que a ley de Deus ffose em crescimento" (EX II 269).

⁴² Xavier writes: "Despoys de aver passado muitos dias neste exercicio de pregar, asy polas casas como pelas ruas, nos mandou chamar ho duque de Amanguche, que estava na mesma cidade" (EX II 261; cf. Frois 10).

⁴³ For Ōuchi Yoshitaka, the *sources* are as follows, in Japanese: (1) the *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, composed three months after his death (the main source); (2) the *Chūgoku-chiran-ki*, from the second half of the sixteenth century; (3) the *Intoku Taiheiki*, completed in 1695. In addition to these there are three works of Kondō Kiyoshi: the *Ōuchi-shi jitsuroku* (Authentic Records on the History of the Ōuchi), Book 11 (1885); the *Yamaguchi-ken Shiriyaku*, a compendium of the history of the prefecture of Yamaguchi (1882-1883), Book 1, genealogy and Ōuchi Yoshitaka; *Yamaguchi-meishō-kyōseki-zushi* (Illustrated Guide for the Sights and Antiquities of Yamaguchi) (1893-1894). The European sources are as follows: Xavier (EX II 261-263 271-272); Torres and Fernández (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 46 64 84-85); M. Nunes Barreto (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105); Frois (*Geschichte* 9-10 14-16 22); *Rodrigues Tçuzu (43v-45v 49v-51 65v-67v, Ajuda 219-221v 227-v; Cros, *Vie* II 105-108 138-140). — *Accounts*: (1) in Japanese: F. Nagadomi Yoshiji, *Xaverio to Yamaguchi* (Yamaguchi, 1923); Fukuo Mōichirō, *Ōuchi Yoshitaka* (Tokyo, 1959); (2) in Western languages from Japanese and European sources: Satow 1879 (131-139 156, new impression 137-146 166); Haas 1902 (I 173 182-184 207-212); *Villion II 1904; Papinot 1909 (503-505); Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan* 1947 (19-21 27-33 38-40; in GS III 579-581 586-591 596-597); Wang 1953 (80-81 84 107); Aoyama 1967 (101-114 135-153 156 166-168). *Villion I and also II in part give translations of Japanese sources.

⁴⁴ In the gift document of 1551 Ōuchi Yoshinaga calls himself the lord of these eight kingdoms (*Cartas* 1598, 61; Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 77 79); cf. the map in Murray 121. *Rodrigues Tçuzu states that he was the lord of the whole of Chūgoku, which embraced sixteen kingdoms, and of others elsewhere (43v, Ajuda 219, Cros, *Vie* II 106), that is, of twenty kingdoms (49v, Ajuda 226v, Cros, *Vie* II 139).

⁴⁵ Aoyama 107; Papinot 505.

endeavors and had limited himself to the pursuit of trade, science, and art, to which he was by nature more inclined.⁴⁶

According to treaty the earlier *shōguns* had sent every ten years a tributary embassy to the emperor of China, but Yoshitaka had now brought this entirely into his own hands. In 1547 he had sent it in four ships with six hundred men from Hakata to Ningpo; and in 1550 it had returned with rich profits and precious wares, since Yoshitaka had a real passion for Chinese culture. He spoke Chinese and purchased Chinese goods, books, paintings, and commodities at almost any price.⁴⁷ The *Wakōs*, corsairs who had their headquarters on the islands of Nejima, Inoshima, and Kishima on the Japanese Inner Sea, opposite Suwō on the Shikoku coast, and who engaged in smuggling and piratical raids along the Chinese coast, had been on closest terms with the Ōuchis since the fifteenth century, even though the unsuspecting Ming ruler of the Middle Kingdom praised and rewarded the princes in Yamaguchi as faithful allies.⁴⁸

By imitating the temples and monasteries of the capital of Japan, one of Yoshitaka's ancestors had sought to make of Yamaguchi a second Miyako;⁴⁹ and, under the rule of his grandfather Masahiro, many *kuges* (representatives of the court nobility), scholars, poets, and artists had moved to Yamaguchi because of the confusion and wars in central Japan.⁵⁰ Yoshitaka, who had paid for the coronation of the impoverished emperor Go-Nara-tennō and had received from him the honorific title of a *kuge*,⁵¹ wished to make Yamaguchi the center of the arts and sciences; and he generously supported Japanese, Chinese, and Korean artists, poets, and scholars.⁵² He manifested a similar generosity towards the bonzes of the different sects, for whom he built temples and monasteries with rich revenues,⁵³ as he pursued his own studies in Confucianist and Buddhist writings, the literary works of Japanese and Chinese poets, and the aristocratic formalities of court etiquette.⁵⁴ Completely engrossed as he was with the lavish and luxuriant life of the court, with its dances, banquets, musical performances, and Nō dramas, he found himself compelled to raise taxes despite his rich gains from trade with China; and, heedless to all the warnings of his vassals, such as Sue Takafusa, he became slack in the ways of war. Although he had issued a sumptuary edict in 1545 as a result of their insistence upon such a reform, it remained without effect, since he himself with his own bad example set the pace for all his subjects.⁵⁵ Shortly before Xavier's advent in Yamaguchi, Yoshitaka's

⁴⁶ Aoyama 107.

⁴⁷ Wang Yit'ung 79-81; Takekoshi Yosaburō, *The Story of the Wako. Japanese Pioneers in the Southern Regions*, trad. Hideo Watanabe (Tokyo, 1940) 88; *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* (according to *Villion I).

⁴⁸ *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* (according to *Villion II).

⁴⁹ Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 3-4; Fukuo 28-29; Itō 50-52; Aoyama 102.

⁵⁰ Fukuo 137-140; Aoyama 105.

⁵¹ Papinot 505; Aoyama 106.

⁵² *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* (*Villion II); Itō 74; Fukuo 93-125; Aoyama 107.

⁵³ Aoyama 107. *Rodrigues Tçuzu writes: "Floreciam grandemente todas as seitas de Japam na cidade de Yamaguchi e em todos os estados sogeitos a Vōchidono, porque era o dito Duque hum dos mais supersticiosos e devotos dos Camis e Fotoques de quantos ouve em Japam entam, tendo por todo seu reyno edificado sumtuosos templos e mosteiros com grossas e grandes rendas pera sustentação dos bonzos, a quem continuamente mandava que rogassem per sua pessoa e fizessem sacrificios aos Camis e Fotoques, pera que lhe prolongassem a vida, dessem victoria na guerra, e prosperidade na paz, mandando grossas esmollas de prata e ouro pera os taes sacrificios" (43v, Ajuda 219v; Cros, *Vie* II 106).

⁵⁴ *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*; Fukuo 59-60 102-105 120 193-195; Aoyama 113.

⁵⁵ Aoyama 107-108.

evil spirit, his chancellor Sagara Taketō, had fled in complete secrecy to his native home in Kyūshū, since the barons of the kingdom were threatening him with death.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there was no prince in the whole of Japan who in his court and service employed greater splendor and magnificence than the duke of Yamaguchi,⁵⁷ and at the same time there was no prince in Japan who was so devoted to idolatry and magical practices.⁵⁸

In addition to all this, Yoshitaka's own personal life was a source of offense. At the age of seventeen he had married Sadako, the beautiful daughter of the Minister of the Interior in Miyako; but he had then let himself become so enmeshed by Ōsai, his concubine, the daughter of a litterateur of the capital, that he had grandiose buildings erected to favor her caprice; and he squandered his money, offices, and honors upon her followers. He had a son from her, to whom he gave his own name of Yoshitaka. At the time of Xavier's arrival, the boy was five years old, but he was despised as a bastard by the barons of the realm. In 1549 Yoshitaka had made the final break: he divorced Sadako, sent her back in disgrace to Miyako, and declared that his concubine was his lawful wife, measures which caused him to be severely reproached by Sue Takafusa.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ He fled on October 25, 1550 (*Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, according to *Villion I; Aoyama 108). On the chancellor and the growing resistance of the barons, see Fukuo 154-165, and Aoyama 107-108.

⁵⁷ Frois 9-10.

⁵⁸ Fernández wrote to Xavier from Yamaguchi on October 20, 1551, that during the past war many monasteries had been burned down and many idols destroyed, "since the entire people had lost their earlier regard for idols and magical practices. They saw how their king [Ōuchi Yoshitaka] had been such a servant of the idols and so devoted to magic, as Your Reverence well knows, and how all of this was of no help whatever to him" (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 85).

⁵⁹ The *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* discusses this in detail (*Villion II). Aoyama states with Fukuo (64-69) that Yoshitaka was polygamous, but he is silent about Takafusa's blaming him for divorce and the extensive descriptions of the *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* with regard to the scandalous reports on his concubine Ōsai; and he is of the opinion that one could not conclude that a Japanese lord of the time was immoral because of his polygamy (112). But he is especially intent on showing that it was not likely that a prince who had been surrounded by women from his childhood was guilty of pederasty, as Frois seems to imply (106 111-113). Frois states that when Fernández during the audience read the passages from the book on the loathsomeness of sodomy, it seemed to him that the matter troubled the conscience of Yoshitaka, and he broke off the audience. But before this he clearly states: "Along with his unbridled vices, he was also much given to shameless sin against nature" (9-10). Xavier says nothing of this in the audience, but he had already written that he had been ridiculed on the streets for his condemnation of sodomy, since this sin was very common among them (EX II 261). M. Nunes Barreto learned from Brother Fernández in Japan in 1556, as he expressly states, what he reported about Xavier, for example, that "Ao Rei de Manguchi reprehendeo o peccado enorme con tanta vehemencia que esteve muito a perigo" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105; which *Cartas* 1598, 50v, report as: "reprende de seus peccados"). And *Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote from the court of Yoshitaka: "Floreciam tambem naquella corte como tambem entre os demais senhores japoës muitos enormes peccados, que os bonzos sequazes das seitas levaram com ellas da China a Japam, onde até entam não avia o peccado nefando, que elles vieram emsinar"; and on Xavier's audience, he notes: "E porque assi o Duque como os demais senhores japões se davão ao peccado nefando sem ja delles ser estranhado publicamente, reprende e ameaça [Xavier] da parte de Deos mais que outros aquelle torpe peccado, ... reprimendo o proprio Yoxitaca com tanta liberdade de palavras e vehemencia de espirito que o companheiro teve pera, si, que o soberbo Duque se avia de indinar contra tanta liberdade e ousadia com que reprimia seu peccado, e que aly os avia de mandar matar dando tudo por acabado" (43v 45, Ajuda 219v 221, Cros, *Vie* II 106 108). In the long treatise on the question as to whether or not Japanese should be accepted into the Society which Mateus de Couros, who had been for many years the rector of the college of Arima, sent to the general of the order in 1612, he spoke in

On the day destined for the audience, Xavier and Fernández went in their poor clothes to the palace of Yoshitaka.⁶⁰ Naitō, the secretary,⁶¹ brought both of them into a room where the prince usually received ambassadors and others who came from foreign countries. His visitors prostrated themselves on the *tatamis* and then made twice the usual reverence to the duke. In addition to Yoshitaka and the secretary, who introduced the newcomers, there was only one other person in the reception hall—a bonze, one of the most prominent of the land—but outside, on the verandas, were many nobles and distinguished men.⁶²

The duke was forty-three years old. His full, turgid face was framed by a closely cropped, full, white beard.⁶³ He asked his visitors numerous questions—where they were from and why they had come to Japan. Xavier replied that they had been sent to Japan to preach the law of Dainichi, since no one could be saved who did not pray to Dainichi and did not believe in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind. Yoshitaka asked his visitors to explain the law of their God to him. Xavier then told Brother Fernández to read to him the chapters of his book on the creation of the world and the Commandments. Yoshitaka listened attentively for over an hour. A large part of the reading had been completed when the brother

detail about the prevalence of sodomy in Japan. According to him it had been brought from China to Japan by Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect, and this vice was so universal in Japan that there was scarcely a layman who had reached the age of twenty who was still free from it. One who was urged by a prominent person to yield to this sin and refused to do so was considered to be backward, lazy, and effeminate (cf. GS II 694). He then added the following: “E como se não tem por deshonra, antes os bonzos o vendem por virtude, segundo deziamos, elles mesmos sem nenhum pejo trazem consigo os moços que chamão *vacaxu*, com o cabelo comprido e bem composto, e vestidos o melhor que podem. Os Senhores principaes de Japão todos tem algum ou alguns pagens que lhe servem do mesmo, e os proprios se honrão de serem nomeados por tais. Ho mesmo fazem os outros que tem criados, particularmente soldados” (ARSI: *JapSin.* 2, 160v-161). See also Torres in 1551 (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 47), and the speech of Sancho Sangadono with respect to the *wakashus* in Frois 338-339.

⁶⁰ The audience was probably held in the Tsukiyama Palace, which had been built for such receptions. *Rodrigues Tçuzu has Xavier throw a “roupão velho” over his old *loba* (sleeveless Indian cassock) for this (45, Ajuda 21, Cros, *Vie* II 108). He probably means the *manta velha* (old, woolen blanket) (Frois 8), or a *cobertor de papa* (old, long-haired, woolen blanket) which Xavier, according to Nunes Barreto, carried with him on his journey to Miyako so that he and Fernández might cover themselves with it at night (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105). That Xavier put this on for the audience is not indicated by any other source, and it is probably to be attributed to Rodrigues’ imagination.

⁶¹ Frois speaks only of a “prominent noble” who arranged the audience for him and introduced him. He does not mention his name (10). From all that has been said, we are of the opinion that it was the secretary Naitō Okimori.

⁶² Frois 10. Frois states that at the third audience in 1551 some bonzes of the Shingon sect were present, who never moved from the side of the prince, because of the high regard and esteem which he showed for them (15). Aoyama suspects that the bonze present at the first audience was perhaps a Zen bonze of the Rinzaï sect, since the Ōuchi had favored this sect since the founding of the city (111). Yoshitaka had as a counselor Murasakino Gyokudō, a Rinzaï bonze from the Ryūfukuji monastery, and he frequently conversed with him (107).

⁶³ This is the impression which we derived from a photograph of the painted portrait of Yoshitaka in the Ryūfukuji temple which Father Cieslik sent to us. Another painting, which Fukuo published together with this one, seems to represent the prince at an earlier age, with a black, cropped, and twisted moustache. It was painted in 1544 and restored in 1789, as is indicated on the title. It is now in the possession of a private person. Both pictures represent Yoshitaka as sitting in gay, brightly colored clothes and a stiff black cloak. On his head is a tiny round cap made of black lacquered paper, from the back of which their rises a stiff black ribbon in the shape of a loop, which falls back in a high arch down between his shoulders. The picture of the Ryūfukuji temple has him holding a *shaku* (a flat baton or scepter) in his hand.

came to the section treating of the sin of idolatry and the errors into which the Japanese had sunk. He then read the passage on the sin of the people of Sodom, where it was said that a person who engaged in such shamefulness was filthier than a pig and meaner than a dog and other irrational animals.

This passage seemed to strike deeply into the conscience of the duke, and his face seemed to betray the fact that he was upset by this teaching. As soon as it had been read, he gave a sign to Naitō, the nobleman who had brought them, that they should leave. The prince said nothing to them at their departure, and Fernández thought at the time that he would order them to be killed.⁶⁴

Since nothing happened to them, they calmly continued with their street preaching for a long time without any visible success,⁶⁵ even though the people gladly listened to the reading on the life of Christ, and many wept when Fernández, himself in tears, read about His passion.⁶⁶ One day it happened that, as he was preaching on a street, one of his hearers, in order to deride him, spat in his face. Without betraying the least emotion, Fernández quietly drew out his handkerchief, wiped the spittle from his face as if it were drops of perspiration, and continued with his preaching. This heroic self-control made such an impression on one of those present that he asked for baptism—the first in Yamaguchi. It was Uchida, their host, who received the sacrament of rebirth with his whole family.⁶⁷ As his baptismal name he received that of Thomé, his wife that of

⁶⁴ EX II 161; Nunes Barreto in 1558 (Aryres, *Subsidios* 105); Frois 9-10. *Rodrigues Tçuzu elaborates the scene (45-v; Ajuda 221-v, Cros, *Vie* II 108).

⁶⁵ "Ffazião-se poucos cristãos. Detreminamos, visto o pouquo fruyto que se ffazia, de ir a Myaco" (EX II 261). In Teixeira the Spanish translation of the letter has "muy pocos" instead of "poucos." The Latin translation of Tursellinus has *admodum pauci*. In Valignano there is simply *poco fructo* (171). Frois places the first baptisms in Xavier's second visit (16). *Rodrigues Tçuzu finally states expressly (against Xavier): "Por não ser ainda chegada a hora, nenhuma [pessoa] recebeo sua doctrina nem se fez christam; porem da segunda vez que tornou, converteo muitos a fee (46, Ajuda 222), which Cros freely and falsely translates as "sans en recueillir grand fruit" (*Vie* II 109).

⁶⁶ EX II 261, cf. 276; Frois 341-342.

⁶⁷ We have shown above (p. 152) that Uchida's baptism was during Xavier's first visit. The occasion for this was Fernández' heroic restraint when a person spit on him as he was preaching on the streets. The scene is first reported by Valignano, who places it during Xavier's second visit and adds that one who was listening to him was convinced of the holiness of the brother's law by his comportment. He therefore visited him in his dwelling and was the first to receive baptism in Yamaguchi (177-178). Frois also places the conversion of the first pagan in Xavier's second visit in that city, and he identifies him as, "a distinguished man by the name of Uchidandono, the first host of the saint" (16). But he does not place it in connection with the incident that has been described, which he reports briefly in another place (342). *Rodrigues Tçuzu also places the incident and the conversion of the first pagan in Xavier's second visit, and he elaborates it: After the second audience, Xavier preached twice a day with Fernández on the *Tono no cōgi* Street to large numbers of people and continued his instructions at home deep into the night in the bonze monastery which had been given to them by the prince. They continued thus for many days without converting anyone. One day the brother was preaching on a street to a large group, as he usually did. A pagan who was passing by ridiculed his sermon, came nearer, and spit in the brother's face. He then left, bragging about what he had done with laughter and insults. The brother wiped the spittle from his face with his handkerchief without showing any anger or indignation. Among his hearers was a prominent Japanese. He had been a great persecutor of Xavier and had frequented his preaching more with the intent of refuting what was said than of drawing profit from it. He was astonished by the brother's heroic meekness and concluded from it that the God whom he preached must be the true God. When the sermon was ended, he followed the brother and went with him to Xavier. He took instructions and was the first to be baptized in Yamaguchi. Immediately after this the man who was sheltering him received the sacrament with

Maria; and some of his relatives followed their example.⁶⁶ But conversions were few,⁶⁷ and eight days before Christmas, Francis, Fernández, and Bernardo left Yamaguchi in order to continue their journey to Miyako, the imperial city.⁷⁰

4. TO MIYAKO BY WAY OF SAKAI (DECEMBER 17, 1550—MIDDLE OF JANUARY, 1551)¹

The landscape bore a wintery stamp when Xavier, Fernández, and Bernardo crossed the first ice-cold brook near Hikami, a village lying close to Yamaguchi,

some of his relatives. He received the Christian name of Thomé and his wife that of Maria (50v-51, Ajuda 227v-228; Cros, *Vie* II 140-141, who errs in calling the woman Martha). — The account in Rodrigues Tçuzu contradicts Xavier and Frois and is in itself improbable, since it assumes that during the six weeks of his first stay in Yamaguchi Xavier did not find anyone to take him in, and that the scene took place during the priest's second stay. It would thus have been after the prince's edict which ordered all of his subjects to abstain from causing any kind of difficulty to the foreign missionaries. He further places the incident during the course of a street sermon, whereas Xavier only speaks of street preaching during his first stay, and only of preaching and disputations in the monastery that had been handed over to him by Yoshitaka during his second stay (EX II 263; cf. 288-289; Frois 14).

⁶⁶ Frois 16. Frois calls Uchida the first Christian of Yamaguchi (16 51 55 153), Xavier's host (51), Xavier's first host (16), the owner of the first house in which Xavier took up his residence (153). In 1551 Torres also recalls this when he writes after the burning of the city, during which it seems that the monastery which Yoshitaka had given to them was also burned down, that if he did not receive a house from the new lords in Yamaguchi, he wanted to live in the house of Thomas [Uchida] until a new king came or Xavier returned from India (64-65). When Yamaguchi was burned down for the second time in 1556, and Yoshitaka's successor, Yoshinaga, fled and committed hara-kiri, Uchida also fled to Torres in Bungo with two altarpieces and a crucifix which he had saved with great difficulty and gave them to the priest. He left a son in the house of the priests in Funai with the earnest desire that he would there pronounce his vows. He himself went to the mission hospital and there took care of the sick (Frois 51 55). In 1561 Torres sent Uchida on a confidential mission to the prince of Ômura, and in 1562 we encounter him with Torres and Fernández as a *dōjuku* (catechist) in its harbor of Yokoseura (*ibid.* 153 155).

⁶⁷ EX II 261.

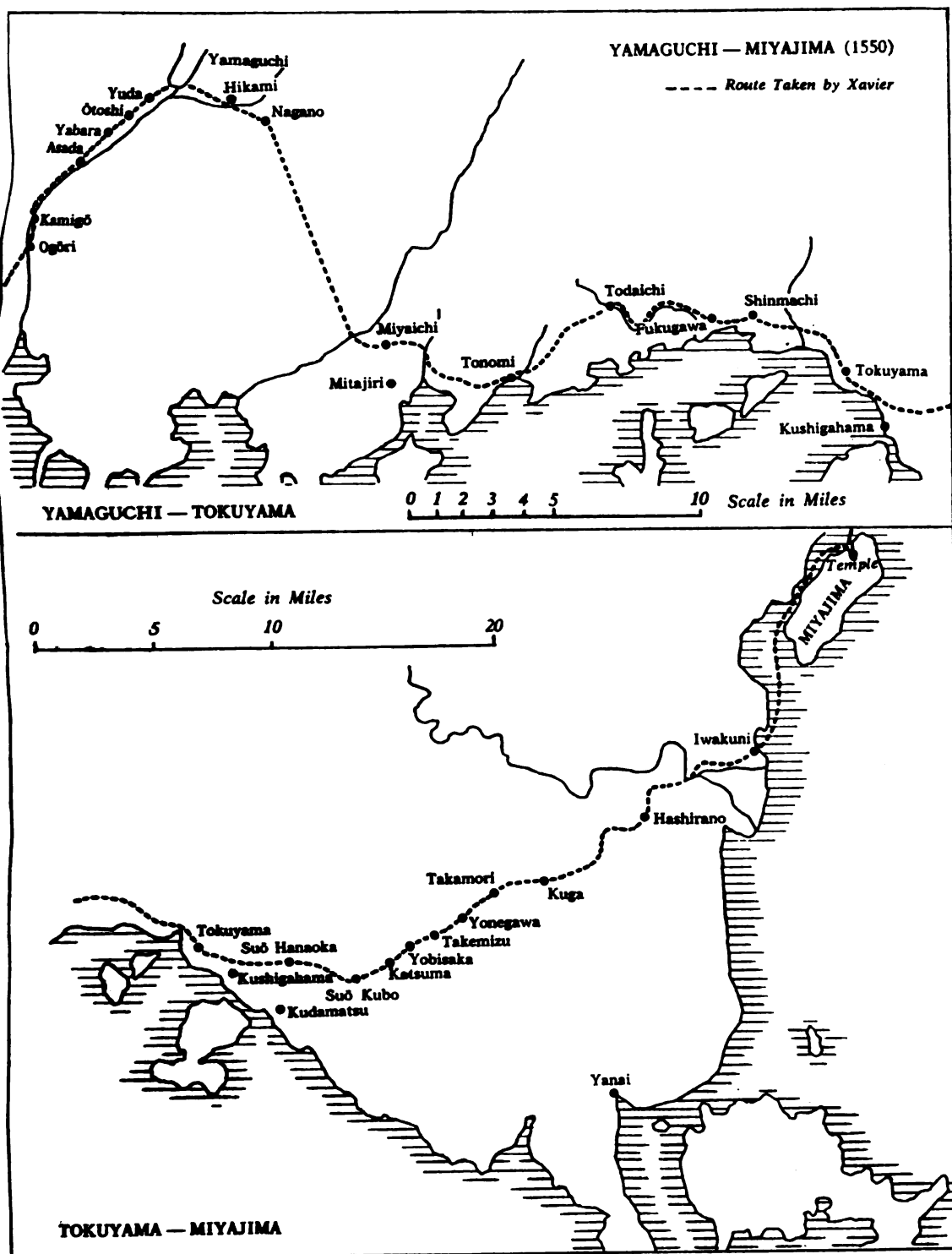
⁷⁰ Frois 11. The departure was thus on December 17, 1550.

¹ We have given the general *sources* for Xavier's journey to Miyako on pp. 139-140. Valignano gives a summary account of it. "Partiôse el Padre con el Hermano de Aman-guchi a cabo de aver passado en esta peregrinación cerca de dos meses, tomando otra mayor y passando más adelante hasta llegar a la ciudad del Meaco, en la qual y en todo el camino passô muy grandes cansancios y trabajo, y mayores injurias y afrentas de las que en la otra avia passado" (171-172). Some of the pertinent texts are given by Cieslik in his *Geibi Kirishitan Shiryô*. Xavier wrote as follows of his trip from Yamaguchi to Miyako and back: "Detreminamos; visto o pouquo fruyto que se ffazia, de ir a huma cidade a mays principlal de todo Japão, a qual per nome se chama Myaco. Estivemos no caminho dous meses; pasamos muitos perigos no caminho por causa das muytas guerras, que avia pelos lugares por omde hiamos. Não falo nos gramdes frios que naquelas partes de Myaco ffaz, e dos muytos ladrões que hay pelo caminho" (EX II 261-262). Nishioka has Xavier travel by land on foot from Yamaguchi to Sakai and return, and he gives the names of the stations: Yamaguchi, Mitajiri, Hatsukaichi, Hiroshima, Takasaki, Tadanoumi, Mihara, Onomichi, Fukuyama, Katakami, Murotsu, Himeji, Takasago-no-ura, Akashi, Hyôgo, Amagasaki, Itami, Ôsaka, Sakai (174-175). But Frois clearly distinguishes two parts of the journey: the first was made on foot through deep snow and over several rivers, with more than one stop at night, to the harbor where they embarked for Sakai, and then their continuation by boat. There is no mention of traveling on foot during their return (11-13). Torres' statement that Xavier had wandered ever on foot through most of the land (better in the second letter: "much of the land") is consequently false (46 56). "Ever on foot" here means, as it does in Frois (13): when he went by land, it was always on foot, and not on beast of burden or in a sedan chair. Quadros exaggerates in a similar manner: "Caminhou quasi toda [a

and then turned sharply to the southeast.² Beyond the neighboring village of

terra] a pé, ainda que podia andar em besta" (DI III 334). According to Nunes Barreto, Francis went entirely on foot from "Tanaxuma," by which he means Kagoshima, to Miyako (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105), and Cabral wrote from Nagasaki on September 5, 1571, to the general of the order: "O padre mestre Francisco, que está em gloria, foi daqui ao Meaquo a pé, que são perto de 200 legoas, por lacaio de hum Japão com hum trouxa as costas" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 21).

² For the part of the trip made by land, the old road that passed from Yamaguchi by way of Mitajiri, Tokuyama, and Takamori to Iwakuni is the only one to be considered. This is the only route which Nishioka gives on all his maps for Xavier's time and earlier (82 86 144 174). It is also the only route given by Xavier's successors in their letters from Japan. The distance from Yamaguchi to Mitajiri is 12.5 miles, to Tokuyama 15.5, and to Iwakuni 29.2, for a total of 57.2 miles. It was thus a journey of two or three days. A precise reckoning of these distances is given by the Japanese maps 1:200,000. For the stretch between Tokuyama and Iwakuni, the principal map and the supplementary map (no. 35) in the geographical atlas *Dai Nihon Bunken Chizu narabi ni Chimei Sōkan* (Tōkyō-Osaka, 1954) give 43.5 miles instead of 29.2. The main map is allegedly 1:300,000, but it is actually 1:310,000, as may be seen by a comparison, for example, with the supplementary map 1:460,000 (map 40). The distances indicated in the first two maps should therefore be corrected from the third. The intervals between the railroad stations are practically the same as those for the road. In the supplementary map the former are given in black, the latter in brown. The distances between stations are as follows: Tokuyama—Kushigahama 2.1, Hanaoka 2.5, Suō Kubo 3.1, Katsuma 2.24, Takamizu 1.43, Yonegawa 2.73, Suō Takamori 2.36, Kuga 2.17, Hashirano 5.34, Nishi Iwakuni 2.98, Iwakuni 2.30, for a total of 29.25 miles. In the atlas which appeared in 1963 under the title *Nihon Bunken Chizu Chimei Sōkan*, the data on map 35 are correct, but on its supplementary map, the 2.36 miles before Takamori are omitted and the stretch 1.43 raised to 2.05 and confused with the following, which makes the total distance 27.5 in instead of 29.25 miles. The small supplementary map gives the incomplete, total distance as 24.85 instead of 29.25 miles.—The distances correspond to the data given by later Jesuit letters on the land route from Yamaguchi to Iwakuni and Hiroshima. The latter was a two days' walk from Yamaguchi, as Francisco Rodrigues wrote on September 30, 1601 (British Museum: *Add. Mss.* 9859, 185). Despite their advanced age, Christians walked for more than two days from Yamaguchi to Hiroshima in order to receive the sacrament of penance, according to Rodrigues Giram in a letter of February 15, 1607 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 345v). Hiroshima was a three-day journey from Yamaguchi according to his letter of February 25, 1608 (*ibid.* 424). And on May 31, 1574, Francisco Cabral wrote about his journey from Yamaguchi to Iwakuni. The letter itself is only preserved in a copy, and most of the place names are bowdlerized in it, *I* being written as *J*, and *Iwakuni* given as *Jocomi* (*JapSin.* 7, 212 214v-215; Frois 451; Cieslik, *Geibi* 12-13). According to Cabral's letter a man in *Jocomi* had been converted by a Christian from Yamaguchi, the pedlar Mateus, on one of his journeys. The man came to Yamaguchi, a three days' journey away, and asked the priest to come and baptize his wife and children. Cabral promised him that he would visit him on his next trip to Miyako, "posto que era troxer o caminho." In February, 1574, Cabral sailed with Brother João and Mateus from Mitajiri on the ship of the pirate Kurōyemon, who promised to bring him to Shiwaku. On the same day of their departure they reached a harbor (Tokuyama?), where the captain had numerous acquaintances, who gave the travelers a warm welcome and shelter for the night. The town was eighteen leagues (44.7 miles) from *Jocomi*, where the convert of Mateus lived. When he learned that the priest was in the harbor, he came to get him; and Cabral and his two companions went with him by land to his town (*Jocomi*), "em que não fazia tempo pera embarcação." He remained there for three or four days, during the course of which he baptized twenty-two persons. When he had finished with this, Kurōyemon, who had come in the meantime with his ship to Iwakuni by sea, which was about twice as long as by land, looked him up and took him by way of Miyajima to Shiwaku (*ibid.*) That the route from Iwakuni to Yamaguchi was by way of Takamori is reported in the two annual letters of Rodrigues Giram of February 15, 1607, and February 25, 1608 (*JapSin.* 55, 346v and 428v).—On February 4, 1957, we traveled by bus from Yamaguchi to Mitajiri. Beyond Tokuyama the road consistently followed the old route. The trip from Mitajiri to Iwakuni was by train in the most beautiful sunshine. There was no snow to be seen, but it arrived seven days later in Kyōto. On our way from there to Tōkyō, we traveled on the other side of Gifu through the wintry countryside for an hour in a regular snow storm.



Nagano, which consisted of a series of straw-covered, wooden houses in the midst of fields, the forested mountains came closer together. Farther on were two small villages, and then a third, where the road began to climb over Mount Sabayama. On the far side of the pass, in a narrow, wooded valley were two more clusters of houses. The area then became more open as the black peaks of the mountains rose up above the fog. The hills on the right and left became lower. At their base the travelers had to cross the broad Sabagawa River. Beyond it, on the right, at the foot of a wooded mountain lay Miyaichi, famed for its ancient Shintō shrine.³

After four more hours of travel, they reached the glimmering sea at the neighboring city of Mitajiri, the harbor of Yamaguchi. The road then continued east from here for five more hours with views at times out over the sea with its pine-covered islands and upon the tall, blue mountains of Kyūshū in the distant south, and again into the interior, as it opened up between the wooded hills.

An hour and a half beyond Mitajiri, the sea again appeared near the little city of Tonomi, which was situated upon a small, picturesque bay surrounded by steep, wooded mountains. Here the travelers left the coast and walked for another hour between wooded mountains, which were covered on their lower slopes by bamboos and on those higher up by pines and *sugis*, the tall, straight Japanese cedars, until they reached Todaichi on the Fukugawa River. They then continued along its northern bank with its twists and turns until they reached the small city of Fukugawa at its mouth another hour away. Soon after this they arrived at the adjoining town of Shinmachi with its grey green fields of rice and gleaming white salt pans. From here the road ran for a league along the coast, with the tall, steep mountains on the left and the sea and pine-covered islands on the right, to the city of Tokuyama, on the far side of the river.

Immediately beyond Tokuyama the travelers left the seacoast and followed the old street into the mountains which led to Iwakuni, a two days' march away.⁴ After another watercourse had been passed, they reached the town of Hanaoka in the midst of rice fields, where the forested mountains on the right and left came closer together. From here the road, crossing two streams, led to Suō Kubo with its poor, terraced fields at the foot of the wooded heights. The area then became more solitary. Small rice fields and isolated farmhouses appeared at times near the road until Katsuma was reached, a village between hills covered with bamboos, dark green pines and brown *sugi* cedars; and, in the background, over the hills could be seen tall mountains. Beyond Katsuma were two other villages with small fields of rice—Yobisaka and Takemizu. Here the mountains

³ The shrine, also known as Temman-gū and Matsugasaki (*Official Guide* 784), was a twin of the large shrine of Izumo, where the ancestors of the Sawa-no-muraji, a branch of the Hanishi, were especially worshiped. The cult of Tenjin, that is, of Sugawara Michizane, did not come until later, and it gradually forced out the earlier *kami* (see Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai-Nihon chimei jisho*, p. 1164).

⁴ Frois does not give the name of the harbor where Xavier embarked for Sakai. "For various reasons" Aoyama would prefer the harbor of Yanai to that of Iwakuni. He then gives as his only reason the fact that Iwakuni was an almost unknown village before 1600, whereas Yanai was one of the few busy harbors on the Japanese Inner Sea. A ship sailing for Sakai could be found there at any time. It was also one of the main harbors of the Ōuchi in the east (114). But there is no Jesuit report of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries which cites Yanai by name, and we do not know of any Jesuit who sailed from there to Sakai. On the other hand, they repeatedly mention Iwakuni as a harbor from which they sailed to Sakai. Nishioka does not give in his historical maps a single road of Xavier's time and earlier that led from Tokuyama to Yanai.

left only enough room for the river and the road until Yonegawa came into view. The valley then became broader and within it was the large town of Suō Takamori.⁵ Beyond this, in the distance, were tall blue mountains. To the right of the road was a small Shintō shrine located within a grove of cedars, to which a long flight of steep steps led up from a red *torii*. A little beyond this was another town, Kuga, at the end of the valley; and close to it was another, final village. From here the travelers had to pass over the heights to the other side of the range.⁶ The road then descended along a narrow mountain valley through a poor little village with the name of Hachirano. The valley then became more open. In the distance could be seen the sea with its wooded islands, and behind them the tall, pale blue mountains of the main island of Japan. As their third day of travel was coming to a close, they crossed the broad river of Nishikigawa.⁷ Here, at the delta of the river, on the boundary of the province of Suō, near the harbor of Iwakuni, their journey on foot came to an end.

It had been the coldest time of the year when Xavier and his companions left Yamaguchi, and the way had been extremely difficult and wearing. The snow was frequently so deep that it reached to the knees, or even higher, of the three travelers. On one occasion they met a man who was suffering from the trying weather. When he heard that they were coming from Tenjiku, the heavenly home of Buddha, he said to them: "If you are coming from Tenjiku, why don't you tell them over there not to send so much snow?" At night the cold was so severe that Francis, since they had brought little clothing with them, had at times pulled the straw mats with which the floors of the inns were covered over himself; but he was still unable to keep warm.⁸ In addition to this they had to pass through frigid streams, where the water came up to their knees and sometimes up to their belts. And during all this time, until they embarked, the priest was going barefooted.⁹ On the way he tore his clothes and hurt his feet, but he was so engrossed with God that he did not notice this and was surprised in the

⁵ In his letter of February 15, 1607, Rodrigues Giram cites the letter of a priest (Couros), who went from Hiroshima to Yamaguchi in 1606. He sailed in the middle of August from Hiroshima to "Juaqu" (Iwakuni), ten Japanese leagues (24.9 miles) away, where he learned that in Takamori, "por onde eu necessariamente avia de passar," there was a daughter of Kumagaya Buzendono Melchior, the lord of Miri, who the year before, on August 16, 1605, had died as a martyr in Hagi. When he reached Takamori, he instructed her in the faith and then continued his journey from there to Yamaguchi (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 346v). In 1607 he went disguised, as he had the first time because of the raging persecution, from Hiroshima to Yamaguchi to hear the confessions of the imprisoned Christian Kano Hanyemon Justino before his execution. When he learned, before reaching Yamaguchi, that he had already died, he returned on the same way, and in the course of this again visited the daughter of Buzendono in Takamori. After he had baptized her, he continued his journey by way of Miyajima to Hiroshima (*ibid.* 428v-430v).

⁶ The large railroad tunnel which runs under the pass begins near the village beyond Kuga, which Nishioka mentions on pp. 82 and 84.

⁷ The famous Kintai-bashi Bridge, which spans the river with five bold arches, was not built until 1677. According to the *Official Guide* of 1955, it had been partially swept away by high water some years before (783). It has been again restored. M. Domenzain gives a photograph of it with the notice: "Antiquísimo puente de Iwakuni (Yamaguchi), por donde tuvo que pasar S. F. Javier" (*El Japón* [Bilbao-Madrid, 1942] 264), which consequently must be corrected. If there had not been an earlier bridge there, Xavier must have crossed the river in a boat or on ferry.

⁸ Frois speaks of *tatamis*. Our confrere Father Cieslik informed us that *tatamis* proper are hardly meant but *goza*, simple rush mats, which were laid, for example, over old *tatamis*.

⁹ Frois 11-12.

evening, when he had come to an inn, to see that he was bleeding.¹⁰ Since there was nothing to eat in the mountains, Xavier and his companions had to content themselves with the roasted rice which Bernardo had brought with him.¹¹

In Iwakuni Xavier found passage for Sakai.¹² This was more than fifty-six leagues away,¹³ and even with the most favorable wind the voyage there lasted from two to three weeks. If the wind died down or some other difficulty arose, the voyage could take from six to seven weeks and even longer.¹⁴ Japanese ships

¹⁰ "Andava por Japão rezando pelos caminhos, e ia tam embibido em Deus, que sem saber se apartava do caminho, e rompia as ciroulas e escalavrava as pernas e não sentia nada," according to Quadros on December 6, 1555 (DI III 332). Lucena has Xavier leave Yamaguchi at the end of September and reach Miyako in the middle of February, traveling "always on foot," with the exception of the many crossings of the deep bays; and he describes the trip with great exaggerations (7, 23), as does *Rodrigues Tçuzu (46v-47v), following him, whose text has been freely translated, distorted, and amplified by Cros (*Vie* II 111-112).

¹¹ See the report: "En el camino, que dize el Padre Maestro Francisco que hizo a Meaco, y que padezieron en él muchos trabajos, llevó consigo por compañeros al hermano Juan Fernández y a Bernardo, japon, a quien él convirtió y después truxo a estas partes de la India, del qual oymos después dezir al Padre Maestro Francisco en Goa, que él avía sido el que le avía sustentado mucha parte de aquel camino de Meaco con arroz tostado, que tanta avía sido la pobreza y necesidad, en que el Padre en este camino se vio," according to Teixeira (877-878). The priest who went from Iwakuni to Yamaguchi in 1606 along the same route taken by Xavier writes that the heat was so great that, since he was going disguised in Japanese clothes, his arms swelled as he continued on from Takamori, "sem aver por aquelle caminho nada que comer mais que arroz, que heu levava comigo, e tambem escudillas, em que o comer, dependuradas estas no cinto do moço que me acompanhava" (Rodrigues Giram, February 15, 1607, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 346v). The two inns in which Xavier and his companions spent the night on this three-day journey were probably in Tokuyama, 24.9 miles from Yamaguchi, and in Takamori, 16.8 miles from Tokuyama.

¹² Frois believes that Xavier sailed on the same ship from Iwakuni to Sakai (12). Later voyages taken by his confreres indicate some stopping points on the priest's voyage to Sakai. The following travelogues are of help in the reconstruction of Xavier's voyage: In 1559: Vilela, August 17, 1561 (*Cartas* 1598, 89v-90); July 13, 1564 (*ibid.* 140v); September 15, 1565 (*ibid.* 195); Frois, *Geschichte* 73-76. In 1564 and 1565: Almeida, October 25, 1565 (*Cartas* 1598, 161v); Frois, February 20, 1565 (*ibid.* 177; *Geschichte* 225-226). In 1574: Cabral, May 31, 1574 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 212-216; Cieslik, *Geibi* 12-15); Frois, *Geschichte* 451. In 1581: Frois, April 14, 1581 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 1-2); Mexia, October 8, 1581 (*ibid.* 16v); Coelho, February 15, 1582 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 45v-46); Frois, *Historia* II 232-235; cf. Schütte, *Valignano* I 2, 123-125. In 1584: Figueiredo, September 7, 1584 (*JapSin.* 9, 291-292). In 1586: Frois, October 17, 1586 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 173v-174). For the return voyage: In 1565: Almeida, October 25, 1565 (*Cartas* 1598, 169v). In 1578: Frois, September 30, 1578 (*ibid.* 403v-405v). On p. 173, Nishioka indicates with a blue line the usual routes from Iwakuni to Sakai on the Japanese Inner Sea in the sixteenth century. He also indicates the places where the ships were accustomed to land: Miyajima, Hiroshima (in the delta area of the Ōta River, where there were only five fishing villages before 1589; cf. Cieslik, *Geibi* 1), Ondo (on the strait of the same name), the San-no-se Strait, Tomotsu, Tadotsu (on Shikoku, but which is never mentioned in the Jesuit letters), Ushimado, Katakami, Murotsu, Shikama (the harbor of Himeji), Takasago-ura, Iwaya (on Awaji), Hyōgo, Amagasaki, Ōsaka, Sakai. Instead of Tadotsu our reports always have Shiwaku.

¹³ The equivalent of 211 miles.

¹⁴ Xavier writes with respect to his trip from Yamaguchi to Miyako and back: "Estivemos no caminho dous meses" (EX II 261), whereas Torres says of his trip from Hirado and back that he returned after four or four and one-half months (Torres 46 56). If the trip from Hirado to Yamaguchi is estimated at eight days, the stay there as forty-two, the journey from there to Iwakuni as three, from Sakai to Miyako and back as four, and the stay in Miyako as eleven, a total of sixty-eight days, then, for the voyage from Iwakuni to Sakai and then to Hirado, there are still two months left; for the trip overland from Iwakuni to Sakai, some three weeks. For the voyage from Bungo to Sakai in December, 1564—January, 1565, Almeida needed thirty-three days;

were of light construction and suitable only for sailing along the coast. They were high in the bow and low in the stern, equipped with matted sails and oars and a mast which was lowered when the ship was rowed or anchored. Fresh water was taken on board almost every two days, and ships sailed as a rule only during the day. At night they anchored in any available harbor.¹⁵ Wherever possible ships followed the windings of the coast in order to be able to find a place of refuge in time of storm.¹⁶ Within the maze of islands of the Inner Sea of Japan, especially near the numerous straits, voyagers needed to be constantly aware of the possibility of pirates armed with bows and arrows lurking behind an island in their ships. Foreign passengers, who could arouse their greed, were usually concealed below the deck when the danger was particularly acute.¹⁷ At other times they were given a place upon the open deck, where they were exposed to the winds and storms, especially in winter, when it rained or snowed and icy winds kept blowing.¹⁸ If the wind died down or an opposing wind arose, the crew had to seize their oars¹⁹ or wait in a harbor for a change of weather.

Vilela in September–October, 1559, forty-four; Frois in March, 1581, ten; whereas Kaempfer, at the end of the seventeenth century, when Japanese ships had already been improved, wrote that it usually took eight or less days, according to the wind, to sail from Shimonoseki to Ōsaka (II 291). In the tenth century the voyage usually took from seventeen to eighteen days (cf. Aoyama 116).

¹⁵ On the Japanese ships see Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 234-241, and Kaempfer II 298 302-303, by whose time the ships had already been somewhat improved.

¹⁶ See the routes indicated in Nishioka 173. Linschoten gives the description of a Portuguese pilot who sailed around 1557 (he left Ningpo on Wednesday, June 30, and arrived in Tanegashima on Thursday, July 8, which would be consonant with the year 1557; on this particular, see Boxer, *Christian Century* 126-127) in a Chincheo junk from Ningpo for Sakai. He gives his description of his voyage through the Japanese Inner Sea in the form of a sailing instruction with the following stations: *Aquina fama* (Okinohama), three leagues farther *Fingy* (Hiji), north of this on the 33.5 degree *Moryee* (Moriye), one league farther *Tamboca* (Tafuka), one league farther *Tambico* (Tomiku), to the island of *Fimexyma* (Himeshima), then over the sea to *Caminixique* (Kaminoseki) in the territory of Yamaguchi, sixteen Portuguese leagues from *Moriye* towards the northeast, from Kaminoseki 3.5 leagues to *Tozaque* (Ōbatake seto?), from there 6.5 leagues to *Meagyma* (Miyajima), "in former times, when the Portuguese still sailed to Japan, a town with a large trade, for the trading center of all Japan for all wares was here, where all the merchants came together," from there to *Camangarii* (the San-no-se Strait between Upper and Lower Kamagari) 1.5 leagues, from there to the island of *Anooxyma* (Inno-shima) five leagues, from there to *Toumoo* (Tomotsu) five leagues, from there to *Xyuaco* (Shiwaku) five leagues, from there to the harbor of *Uxymando* (Ushimado) five leagues, from there to the harbor of *Muroo* (Murotsu) five leagues, from there to *Fyongo* (Hyōgo) from eight to nine leagues, and from there to *Sacay* (Sakai) from six to seven leagues (Linschoten V 207-211).

¹⁷ Cf. Frois 8, Torres 45 55, and Frois in 1581 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 1v; *Historia* II 233). In 1574 the pirates were already armed with numerous guns and arrows (Cieslik, *Geibi* 15). When Cabral sailed this year in a ship of a pirate from Mitajiri and then from Iwakuni to Shiwaku, he had to pass a strait where pirates of an opposing group were in control. The captain of the ship he was on had to take with him an agent of his adversary in order to be able to sail through it safely (Cieslik, *Geibi* 12). All travelogues of the sixteenth century refer to the plague of pirates on the Japanese Inner Sea. Hideyoshi was the first to bring an end to the problem.

¹⁸ In February Cabral sailed from Miyajima to Kawajiri during a heavy rain and great cold in a day and a night. During his voyage he contracted a high fever with severe headaches, pleurisy, and a loss of appetite (Cieslik, *Geibi* 13-14).

¹⁹ Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 234-237. In 1578 Frois sailed in a small ship with twelve or thirteen rowers from Shiwaku to Bungo (*Cartas* 1598, 405). In 1581 the thirty rowers of his ship, all under twenty-five, had to seize their oars on the voyage from Shiwaku to Tomotsu because of a lack of wind. They had to do the same on their further voyage from Iwaya to Sakai, during the course of which they were pursued by pirates.

If the ship was not sailing as far as Sakai, passengers had to wait for another vessel to take them on their way.²⁰

The first stop for the ship on which Xavier, Fernández, and Bernardo had embarked in Iwakuni was Miyajima,²¹ a tall, wooded island two leagues north of their point of departure. The ship sailed for two more leagues between it and the main, neighboring island, until there could be seen rising from the sea a huge red *torii*, which indicated the proximity of Miyajima.²² Behind it, at the

Only by using all their strength could they reach the safety of the harbor (*ibid.* II, 1v-2; Frois, *Historia* II 234).

²⁰ In 1559 Vilela's ship had to lay over in Horie and then again in Tomotsu for better weather, each time for ten days (Frois 74-75). In 1584 Figueiredo had to wait in Murotsu for five or six days for a favorable wind. Vilela had to change ships in Tomotsu and Murotsu, Almeida in Shiwaku and Shakushi, where he had to wait ten days for this. Cabral had to wait in Shiwaku, as Frois did in 1578 and 1586 and Figueiredo in 1584.

²¹ The proper name is Itsuku-shima (formerly Ichiki-shima), from the name of one of the three princesses of the sea, Ichiki-shima-hime, to whom the temple is dedicated. The island is one of the three "fairest spots" (*san-kei*) of Japan. That Xavier visited the island on his voyage to Sakai seems certain to us: it was the first stopping place after Iwakuni, where ships were accustomed to land because of the numerous pilgrims who embarked and disembarked there. Nishioka also gives Miyajima among the usual stops. According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, the site was also a lively place for trade (I 127). In 1559 Vilela, and in 1574 Cabral, sailed to Sakai by way of Miyajima. That the other accounts of travelers of the sixteenth century do not mention the island is to be explained by the fact that their authors went from Bungo to Sakai and not from Yamaguchi. That Xavier visited the island may be inferred also from Mendes Pinto. In a letter of December 5, 1554, which he wrote from Malacca as a novice of the Society of Jesus to his confreres, he describes, from Xavier's oral reports, the size of the university of Bandu and that of the city of Sakai, "as I heard from our blessed Father Master Francis, who was there." He then adds: "Before this city is an island by the name of Meaigima, which has an idol; and the bonzes of this idol raise many deer which are very tame and domesticated; and anyone who slays one of these deer must pay without fail 3,333 *caxos*, which correspond to around twenty *escudos*" (*Diversi Avisi Particolari* [Venetia, 1568] 186v; DI III 154). A difficulty against Xavier's visit could be raised from Cabral's letter of May 31, 1574. He writes that he had decided to visit Miyajima as he continued his voyage from Iwakuni, since he had learned that a Christian who had been baptized by Xavier lived there, "posto que trocia algum caminho" (Cieslik, *Geibi* 13). *Trocer*, an old form for *torcer*, is used three times by Cabral in his letter. *Trocer caminho*, according to the *Grande Dicionário* of Morais Silva XI (Lisboa, 1958) 288, can mean: "desviar-se para ir mais depressa" (to shorten the route) or: "desviar-se do assunto em causa" (to change the plan), whereas *trocer o caminho* means according to him: "to leave the direct route." In Yamaguchi Cabral promised a Christian that he would visit him on his way to Miyako in Iwakuni, "posto que trocia algum caminho." This means in the context: although it was against his plan of sailing from Mitajiri to Shiwaku, he wanted to go from Tokuyama to Iwakuni on foot. This meant a change in his plan of travel but a shortening of the route (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 212). On his trip to Miyako, Cabral wished to visit Mōri Terumoto, the successor of Mōri Motonari, who had died in 1571, but he had then decided to see the Yoshimidono in the province of Iwami before this and from there go by land to Mōri in the province of Aki, "posto que era trocer muito de nosso caminho" (although this was far out of our way) (Cieslik, *Geibi* 11). Cabral therefore intends to say that he had decided to visit the Christian who had been baptized by Xavier in Miyajima and to remain there a night and a part of the following day, although this was contrary to his original plan of sailing on at once.

²² Taira Kiyomori was appointed governor of the province of Aki in 1146. He replaced an earlier, small sanctuary with the new temple, which was at the time one of the most ornate buildings of Japan. The large *torii* in the sea is mentioned from then on, a new one being erected whenever the old one fell to ruins. The first *torii* was erected in 1168, the second in 1241, the third, (according to a document of the temple of Daiganji of the nineteenth day of the tenth month of the year Kōan) in 1286, but it was destroyed by a typhoon in 1325. The fourth *torii* was erected by the *shōgun* Yoshimitsu in 1371. These four were built in the pure Shimmei-Shintō style (without side supports), with

foot of a green, forested mountain, was a red and white temple compound²³ with long covered walks²⁴ raised on piles, which, when the tide was in, seemed to be floating on the water. This was the famous old Shintō shrine, known throughout Japan, which gave the island its name and every year attracted thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the land, who traveled there with their "Buddhist rosaries at their belt."

The divinity which was worshiped here in the temple, and which was daily given cooked rice as a sacrificial offering,²⁵ was according to tradition a Korean queen who had been persecuted by her subjects and had sought refuge in Japan, where she had died.²⁶ Priests, bonzes,²⁷ and mikos, Shintō virgins,²⁸ rendered service in the sanctuary. A covered bridge which led to a stage built out over the water was the place where dancers, with grotesque human and animal masks and silk garments embroidered with gold and fantastic trappings, performed their ancient pantomimes to the singing of a choir.²⁹

the Shintō high priest as the director of the work. The torii collapsed in 1547 and the Shingon bonze of the Daiganji temple sent a petition to Ōuchi Yoshitaka for the erection of a new one. The prince gave his permission and the money for the new structure on January 8, 1548. During the course of this same year it was erected with side supports in the Ryōbu-Shintō mixed style. The bonze who had sent the petition directed the work. It was replaced in 1561 by a new torii erected by Mōri Motonari and his son Takamoto. The present torii was erected in 1875. On the history of the toriis of the Miyajima temple, see Shigeta Teichi, *Itsukushima-shi* (History of Itsukushima) (Tokyo, 1911²) 102-106, and its valuable complement by Ikeda Michito, "Chūsei ni okeru Itsukushima-jinja no Ō-Torii" (The Large Torii of the Shrine of Itsukushima in the Middle Ages) in *Geibichihō-shi Kenkyū* (Studies on the Native History of Geibi = Aki Bingo) 61 (1966) 1-9, an abstract of which was sent to us by Father Cieslik. A plan of the temple and of the island is given by the *Official Guide*, p. 781.

²³ Jesuit letters have eleven descriptions of the temple of Miyajima and its cult. These have been published in their original text by Cieslik, *Geibi*, and in German and English translations by Schurhammer, *Shin-tō*. We have used the following abbreviations for this note: Sch: Schurhammer; C: Cieslik. Mendes Pinto, December 5, 1554 (DI III 154; Sch 50); Vilela, October 29, 1557 (*Cartas* 1598, 58v; Sch 50); Cabral, May 31, 1574 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 214v-216; Sch 51; C 13); Frois in 1586 (*Geschichte* 73-74) (on Vilela's voyage in 1574); Mantos, January 1, 1603 (*JapSin.* 54, 251-v; Sch 51; C 34-35); Couros, October 6, 1603 (*JapSin.* 54, 167; Sch 51; C 38); Rodrigues Giram, November 23, 1604 (*JapSin.* 55, 125v; Sch 52; C 48-49); *idem*, March, 1606 (*JapSin.* 55, 256; Sch 53; C 60); *idem*, January 15, 1607 (*JapSin.* 55, 341-342v; Sch 54-55; C 84-86), *idem*, February 25, 1608 (*JapSin.* 55, 182v 428v 429v; Sch 55-57; C 94); Rodrigues Tçuzu, 1634 (I 127; Sch 57). We visited Miyajima in January, 1957, with Father Cieslik.

²⁴ Frois speaks of a veranda fifty fathoms long on the occasion of Vilela's visit in 1574.

²⁵ Rodrigues Giram in 1608 (Sch 57).

²⁶ Matos in 1603, Rodrigues Giram in 1607 and 1608. According to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, Amaterasu, by chewing, brought forth from the sword of her brother Susano-o the three sea-goddesses Ta-kiri-hime, Ichiki-shima-hime, and Tagi-tsu-hime, to whom the temple is dedicated (Sch 48-49 54). In 1608 Rodrigues reported that a priest had visited Miyajima in 1607 and had discovered that it was there believed that the soul of the *kami*, the divinity of the sanctuary, had assumed the shape of the two rats which every day ate the portion of rice that was set out for them right in front of the temple without any fear whatever of the onlookers (Sch 56). By "rats" are probably meant *mami*, a kind of small badger, which were very common on the island before the Second World war and were very tame.

²⁷ In A.D. 802 the Buddhists erected the Daigan-ji temple on the beach next to the Shintō shrine. The temple first belonged to the Tendai sect, but in Xavier's time to the Shingon sect, which converted deities into Buddhist incarnations (*Official Guide* 784). The bonzes were expelled from the temple in 1871.

²⁸ Vilela met one of these mikos on a veranda of the temple (Frois 73-74).

²⁹ Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 202-203. Ramming gives a picture of a dancer's mask from the temple treasury (336).

Countless lamps burned constantly before the closed shrine and its wings.³⁰ Sacred deer, envoys of the goddess, ran fearlessly through the streets and woods and ate from the hands of the bonzes. No one dared to harm them, since anyone who struck one of these deer had to pay a fine of 3,333 *caixas*.³¹ Fear of the vengeance of the goddess kept the deer from being slain³² and the trees from being felled upon the island.³³ There was no place in Japan where paganism and its ceremonies were more flourishing than here, where the people living on the island were servants of the temple and of its divinity.³⁴ Some five hundred years before, the sanctuary had been built here³⁵ by Taira Kiyomori,³⁶ the governor of the province of Aki at the time, to replace an earlier, smaller structure. In 1548, three years before Xavier's visit, it had been completely devastated by a fire along with the entire temple archives,³⁷ but it had already been partially rebuilt. The site was deemed to be so sacred that pilgrims did not dare bring home with them the sandals with which they had trod the sacred floors, but left them instead in the temple. They took away with them water from here as a remedy against sicknesses, and many of the pilgrims bathed in the sea even in the depths of winter in order to wash away their sins and purify themselves before setting foot within the sanctuary. They also brought sacrificial gifts and alms in order to gain the favor of the divinity. It was forbidden to eat meat upon the island. No living thing could be slain upon it, and no child could be born or corpse buried there. When one of the people living on the island was on the point of dying, he was carried to the opposite coast so that the island would not be contaminated by his dead body.³⁸

From Miyajima the voyage continued along the coast of the main island, first towards the north, then towards the southeast between wooded mountains which fell steeply into the sea. These came so close together near the village of Ondo that there was here only a narrow passage with a stone lantern in the center.³⁹ After this strait had been traversed, the ship was steered eastwards through the strait of San-no-se to the village of Kawajiri.⁴⁰ This was inhabited by pirates and marked the beginning of the greatest concentration of corsairs in the maze of islands of the Inner Sea, since for a distance of eleven leagues, between the Aki and the Bingo seas, there were only narrow channels through the series of islands

³⁰ Matos 1603.

³¹ Mendes Pinto in 1554, Rodrigues Giram in 1607. *Caixa* = Chinese copper coin, also used in Japan.

³² Vilela in 1557.

³³ Rodrigues Giram in 1607.

³⁴ Cabral in 1574.

³⁵ Rodrigues Giram in 1604 and 1608; cf. Murray 421.

³⁶ He lived from 1118 to 1181 A. D. On him see Papinot 620-621.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Rodrigues Giram in 1608. On the four or five principal feasts of the temple, the streets were filled with countless pilgrims (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 428v).

³⁹ *Japan-Pilot* 375. According to legend, the passage had been blocked here by landslides from both sides. Taira Kiyomori ordered a new passage to be made. When the day was coming to an end, he ordered the sun to stand still until the work was finished. The irate sun-goddess obtained revenge by slaying the tyrant, and the stone lantern on a rock in the middle of the strait was designated as a memorial to the dead governor (Murray 419).

⁴⁰ In 1574 Cabral sailed from Iwakuni by way of Miyajima to Kawajiri, the residence of his captain. All the people there were pirates. From Kawajiri he sailed to Shiwaku (Cieslik, *Geibi* 13-14). On this see H. Cieslik, "Der Jesuit und der Seeräuber," *Aus dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne* 63 (1964) 4-7.

that separated the large island of Shikoku from that of the principal island.⁴¹ As the boat sailed on its course, the wooded mountains rose sharply on the left, while on the right small, black islands covered with pines kept constantly coming into sight. Behind them could be seen the taller, grey green islands rising above the damp sea fog. It was an entire island world of its own with ever changing scenes, amidst which would appear at times a solitary fishing boat. On the left the green, wooded hills gradually gave way to bare, or only sparsely covered mountains.⁴² At their feet could be seen an occasional fishing village or towns such as Takehara, Tadanoumi, Fukuda, and Mihara, where shelter could be found and water obtained.

The bare mountains were then replaced by others overgrown with forests; and shortly beyond Mihara was Onomichi, a city rising picturesquely up the pine-covered mountain with its narrow, terraced streets,⁴³ and overreached by an old temple built upon a steep granite hill.⁴⁴ The boat then passed through a long strait resembling a winding river. In some places this was hardly a cable's length in width.⁴⁵ Three leagues beyond Onomichi could be seen a steep promontory on which was located a small red temple dedicated to Kannon, the goddess of mercy;⁴⁶ and shortly after this was the small city of Tomotsu,⁴⁷ lying at the foot of a wooded mountain with its harbor protected from the winds by three small islands.⁴⁸ On the right there was a view out over the large, open sea of Bingo to the distant, pale blue mountains of Shikoku.

Here the ship left the coast of the main island and sailed straight across the

⁴¹ Figueiredo, who sailed in 1584 from Funai to Shiwaku in a ship with 150 *yamabushis*, describes the voyage through the island maze: "Between the two islands of Miyako and Shikoku there are many other islands and rocks. I asked how many there were. They were unable to give me an answer, but I would estimate that there are fifty. They are strewn around almost in rows like chess pieces on the board after a game. Through the openings between them, there are rapid tidal currents. With their help very large ships with a few rowers can pass through them at great speed. On one of these lives Kurushimadono, a great Japanese corsair, who claims that he is the lord of all the sea from the kingdom of Bungo in the south to Shiwaku. He demands more or less payment from all the coastal towns. If they refuse to pay him, he tears up their passes and does what he pleases with their ships and wares. Not much further on, a distance of a few leagues from it, almost opposite it, is another island of another, similar pirate and corsair by the name of Noshima, but it is in ruins. The two pirates were at war with each other and one destroyed the other, and he is now in exile. Between these islands is also the island of Shiwaku" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9, 291v). Kurushimadono lived on the island of Ōshima, whose southern beach, opposite Shikoku, forms the northern boundary of the Kurushima-no-seto, the main passage from the Bingo to the Aki seas (*Japan-Pilot* 329 331). Noshima is the island of Inno-shima, whose northern coast is the southern side of Mekari-seto, the northern passage between the Bingo and Aki seas (*ibid.* 337 340).

⁴² "From here [Mihara] westwards the northern shore of the Inland Sea forms a striking contrast to the wooded and smiling coasts of Shikoku and Kyūshū that lie opposite. It is arid and infertile, and the hills have great bare patches like a beggar's skin showing through his tatters" (Murray 419).

⁴³ *Ibid.* A panorama from a Japanese travel guide of the eighteenth century is given in Sansom, *Cultural History* 351.

⁴⁴ The Senkōji, "founded a thousand years ago" (*ibid.*, and *Official Guide* 777).

⁴⁵ *Japan-Pilot* 343. A cable amounts to 607 feet.

⁴⁶ The temple of Kannon of Abuto, on a rock ninety-eight feet high an hour from Tomotsu, where Korean ambassadors in former times brought sacrificial gifts to the goddess in the form of rice, paper, and blocks of India ink. (*Official Guide* 777).

⁴⁷ *Japan-Pilot* 338. Vilela landed there in 1559, Frois in 1581; the town is today within the city limits of Fukuyama.

⁴⁸ Sensui-shima, Benten-shima, and Tamatsu-shima (*Japan-Pilot* 338).

bright, glimmering sea,⁴⁹ first to the east and then to the northeast for a distance of six leagues, past many hilly islands with the volcanos of Shikoku always in view, to the island of Shiwaku lying north of the city of Tadotsu.⁵⁰ This lay between the main island and Shikoku, whose coasts here were only two leagues distant from each other and linked together by an unbroken chain of islands. Shiwaku, twenty-eight leagues from Iwakuni, and the same distance from Sakai, was the usual stopping place for those sailing farther on.⁵¹ It was the northernmost harbor in the territory of Ōuchi Yoshitaka,⁵² who also ruled over the province of Bitchū, on the main island opposite Shiwaku, and was on intimate terms with the pirates of the Inner Sea.⁵³

From Shiwaku the ship sailed again towards the northeast to the neighboring coast of the main island and then along it to the northeast, leaving the large and lofty island of Shōdo-shima on the right, near which the waters opened up again on the sea of Harima. After a voyage of twelve leagues the ship reached Murotsu, where there was an excellent harbor.⁵⁴ It then continued on its way, passing the low hills of the coast on the left, a group of three islands on the right, and then the open sea, until nine leagues farther on the large and long island of Awaji

⁴⁹ On February 6, 1957, we sailed in a steam launch from Onomichi to Tomotsu, and from there by way of Tadotsu, past Shiwaku, to Ōsaka.

⁵⁰ There are no Jesuit letters mentioning a landing at Tadotsu. Xavier would thus hardly have sailed there.

⁵¹ Shiwaku, written today as Shiaku, is an irregularly shaped island some three miles long and broad and 722 feet high. It produces little. Its sandhills are covered with low grass. There are a few villages on it and some salt pans in the south (*Japan-Pilot* 319). Jesuits landed there to change ships on their way to Sakai in 1565, 1574, 1578, 1581, 1584, and 1586. Frois calls Shiwaku a very famous harbor of Japan (*Cartas* 1598 II, 174), and he notes that on the return trip in 1578 it was only there that ships were found for continuing one's voyage (*ibid.* I 405). In 1584 Figueiredo wrote: "Among these islands is also that of Shiwaku, where ships land on their going and coming from Miyako to the south and from the south to Miyako. When we reached there, the pagan Matazayemon [Matazaimon] received us, in whose house almost all of ours who pass through there take up their residence." Matazayemon, his "friend and acquaintance," had with other merchants leased the hold of a large ship for wares they were taking to Miyako. The ship would have taken the priest to Sakai for twenty *tael*, but this was too much for him. In another harbor of the island he found a small ship which was willing to take him to Murotsu for fourteen *mas* (sixteen *mas* equal a *tael*, a *tael* equals three *cruzados* according to Dalgado II 45 335); but it did not sail at once, and this cost him much for food and lodgings in the inn (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9, 291v).

⁵² When Frois, the visitor Valignano, and five others sailed in 1581 with rich gifts for Nobunaga from Bungo to Sakai, the captain had to promise that he would not land in Shiwaku, since the island belonged to Mōri Terumoto, who was at war with the prince of Bungo and, as a foe of the Christians, had ordered that any priest who came to one of his harbors should be arrested. The captain landed there nonetheless, bringing the travelers into the greatest difficulties. By chance the governor of Mōri was away. Instead of him there came a policeman with the factor of the chief pirate, Noshimadono, who had all the luggage brought to land, the cords cut, and wished to open up all the packages. Their hosts, consequently, urged the priests to sail on that same night to Tomotsu. For the same reason, Valignano, on his return in 1582, did not go from Sakai by way of Shiwaku. Instead, he took the outer route, by way of Shikoku, to Bungo (*Cartas* 1598 II 1-v 46; Frois, *Historia* II 232-233).

⁵³ See above, pp. 168-169.

⁵⁴ Murotsu, in the province of Harima, had an excellent harbor, as Frois wrote in 1586 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 174). In 1559 Vilela sailed from Tomotsu to Murotsu, where he had to take another ship. He stayed there in the house of a pagan by the name of Futatsuka (Frois 75-76). In 1584 Figueiredo sailed from Shiwaku to Murotsu past Shōdoshima, where he had to wait five or six days for a favorable wind in order to continue his voyage on to Sakai (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9, 291v-292).

drew near the main island opposite the city of Akashi⁵⁵ and thus closed off the sea of Harima. On the northeast end of the island was the village of Iwaya, where ships had to enter the harbor in order to pay the passage toll.⁵⁶ Beyond this strait the ship came into the sea of Izumi, the bay of Ōsaka, where there were four ports on the left at brief intervals from each other—Hyōgo,⁵⁷ Amagasaki, Ōsaka, and Sakai. In Sakai, the harbor of the capital Miyako, the voyage came to an end.

Brother Fernández was later able to give many details with respect to the hardships of this voyage. During the day and at night Xavier had sat on the deck with young merchants who showed him little respect in their speech. Once when he sat on another's place, the person became so enraged that he began to pour abuse upon him, but Francis said nothing in return. He bore everything with great patience and looked sadly upon the fellow's rantings. Another young man on the ship occasionally made fun of the priest by speaking to him as if he were a fool or a dumb animal. Francis only once looked with reproach upon his rude companion and asked him why he spoke to him in such a manner. He should know that he had a great love for him and was consequently eager to teach him the way of salvation. But this made little impression upon his adversary.

But Xavier and his companions also received better treatment on their voyage. At one harbor where they stopped, a prominent man heard that the priest was from Tenjiku. When he saw that he was so poor and such a stranger to the land, he had compassion on him and gave him a letter to a friend who was married and living in Sakai. In it he asked him to please give the foreign priest someone who was going to Miyako.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ There is no Jesuit report that mentions a landing at Akashi on the voyage to Sakai, and the site is not even named by Nishioka as a landing place. The city had a small harbor into which ships were accustomed to withdraw when the wind was adverse. During the earthquake of 1596, fifty ships took refuge there; but all were destroyed by the storm or swallowed by the sea, "since there, near the beach, are the most dangerous shallows on that route" (Frois, December 28, 1596: ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 245v; Hayus 374).

⁵⁶ When Frois and Valignano sailed from Shiwaku to Sakai in 1581, the captain declared that they would have to put in at Iwaya in order to pay the usual toll (the equivalent of four to five *cruzados*). Pirates who were lurking behind the islands to prey upon them had been waiting for them to do so. The visitor Valignano had fortunately insisted that they should not land but should continue on their voyage so that they might reach Sakai on the same day, where the captain could pay the toll. Nevertheless, when they reached Sakai, they were surrounded by pirates and had to pay them 160,000 *cashas* = 150 *cruzados* in order to regain their freedom (*Cartas* 1598 II, 1v-2 45v-46; Frois, *Historia* II 233-234; Alvarez-Taladriz, *Sumario* 145*-146).

⁵⁷ Vilela sailed from Murotsu to Hyōgo in 1559. His ship remained there for a day and a half and then sailed on to Sakai (Frois 76). In 1564 Frois found only one ship in Shiwaku, which he took for Sakoshi (a short distance before Murotsu) (*Geschichte* 226). From there he sailed to Hyōgo. On December 28, 1596, he wrote: "When one sails from Shimo [South Japan] to the region of Miyako, there is on the left, eighteen leagues from Sakai, a city by the name of Hyōgo. Some thirty-three years ago, when I was going to Miyako, I encountered this city still in its flower. Of its three parts, two consisted entirely of temples and monasteries of bonzes, while the third was made up of merchants and other lay people who were in the service of the bonzes there." He then notes that the city had been devastated during the time of Nobunaga; the temples had not been rebuilt as before; and what had been reconstructed had been largely destroyed again by the earthquake and fire of 1596 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 241; Hayus 365). For 1569 he wrote of Nobunaga: "He had the city of Hyōgo burned down and reduced to dust and ashes. It was composed almost entirely of temples of the *kami* and *hotoke*, splendid, ornate structures, which were one of the great sights of Japan" (*Geschichte* 360).

⁵⁸ Frois 12. Vilela, who traveled from Bungo to Miyako in 1559 dressed as a bonze,

The ship which brought Xavier and his two comrades to Sakai landed at a time when it was no longer possible for them to approach the individual for whom they had received their letter of recommendation.⁵⁹ Ridiculed and insulted by the rabble for their strange appearance and unusual dress, they sought shelter for the night in the grove of pines belonging to the Sumiyoshi shrine.⁶⁰ There

wrote of his trip: "God alone knows the hardships which I experienced on the way, since it was almost three hundred leagues inland. How often was I with my head already under the knife? How often stoned? How much hunger, cold, and danger on the sea did I have to endure because of the many robbers among them? How many false witnesses? How often was I concealed in homes, how often going along the way in the dark, in the midst of many streams and rivers to the peril of my life? The Lord knows" (*Cartas* 1598, 195). In another letter he wrote: "I sailed from Funai in Bungo for 270 leagues towards the north without hope for my life because of the many pirates and wayfarers along the route, and because all were subject to the devil and full of greed. Then it seemed to me that in my prayer I saw Father Master Francis before me with a cheerful countenance, as he was in life, and he promised me his help... My place on the ship was a piece of wood, with which I was quite content. But the Lord permitted a bonze to push me from it and to sit upon it himself. How many insulting things did they say to me? How many times did they spit upon me? How often did they ridicule me? The Lord knows.... If I wished to write all that I experienced on that journey, I would have to express it at greater length. I pass over the hunger, the cold, and the trials and hardships of so long a journey" (*ibid.* 140-v). Another author adds a detail which probably refers to this voyage of Xavier. In 1555 Quadros wrote: "They also say that when he sailed in some ships on the sea of Japan, the people on land shot many arrows to kill him. But our Lord freed him from them all, and in some cases not without a miracle, as I heard" (DI III 334).

⁵⁹ Our sole source for Xavier's first night in Sakai is *Rodrigues Tçuzu, who could only say the following about the whole stay of the priest: "Tendo pois neste caminho passados immensos trabalhos, perigos e incommodidades corporaes chegaram a Cidade do Sacaj.... Aqui os trataram deshumanamente por os verem daquelle modo, sem acharem quem lhes quisesse dar pousada, zombando e escarnecendo delles com risadas pollas ruas sem lhes darem socego algum. E assi não achando modo pera poderem pregar pellas ruas e praças, nem lugar pera se agasalharem, sayam fora da cidade a hum pinhal de hum Cami afamado, que aly está, chamado Sumiyoxi-no-daimiojin, onde ao pé de hum daquelles pinheiros fazem huma chosa com humas esteiras velhas que buscaram, na qual se agasalharam. Aly os vinham buscar os rapazes da cidade em bandos a vellos e lhes atiravam as pedradas dizendo-lhes mil injurias e blasfemias e perseguindo-os grandemente, de modo que eram hum ludibrio a todos. O santo desejando de soffrer tudo isto e muito mais por amor de Christo Nosso Senhor, não tinha estas cousas por afronta, antes grandemente se alegrava com ellas. O que mais atormentava seu coração era não ter modo pera pregar e manifestar a ley de Deos aquella gente tam cegua e ostinada. E posto que se conformava com a providencia e beneplacito divino, que por seus altos avizos assi o permetia, arrebatava-lhe o coração de magoa ver os Japões somersos en tanta profundidade de erros, sem conhecer seu verdadeiro senhor e salvador, hindose todos ao Inferno pera sempre. Vindo pois que não podia aly pregar, parte-se pera o Miaco" (47v; Ajuda 223v; Cros, *Vie* II 112-113). — Aoyama puts little credence in this account. His chief objection to it is that the house of the Hibiya family was near the harbor and well known to everyone in Sakai. It consequently could have been immediately pointed out to Bernardo by anyone. His second objection is that all who were persecuted were kindly received in this place of refuge (116-117). But this objection is vitiated by the reports of missionaries which indicate that foreigners in Japan were at this time everywhere subject to the ridicule of the common people and especially of the young. His first objection loses its force if we accept the fact that Xavier's ship did not arrive in Sakai until late at night, when foreign travelers could not disturb a high lord with a visit. Although Rodrigues is often uncritical, rhetorical, and inclined to color events, he did not simply invent anecdotes as Mendes Pinto did for his *Peregrinação*. His account can therefore quite probably go back to a local, though partially misunderstood, tradition.

⁶⁰ The famed Sumiyoshi temple, located within a pine woods, was half a league from Sakai (Frois 360). It is unlikely that Xavier and his companions went so far out of the city and that the youths followed them that far. Rodrigues apparently confuses

at the foot of a tree they erected a kind of hut with some old rush mats which they had obtained,⁶¹ but here also troops of young fellows sought them out and threw stones at them.

The next morning, however, they succeeded in locating the home of the person to whom they had been recommended. It was the residence of a wealthy family of merchants, the Hibiya, which was located near the harbor on the main street, Kushiya-no-chō (Comb Shop Street). This ran through Sakai from north to south,⁶² and was not far from the old Myōkokuji temple of the Hokke sect.⁶³ The three foreigners were there hospitably received⁶⁴ by Kudō, the owner of the

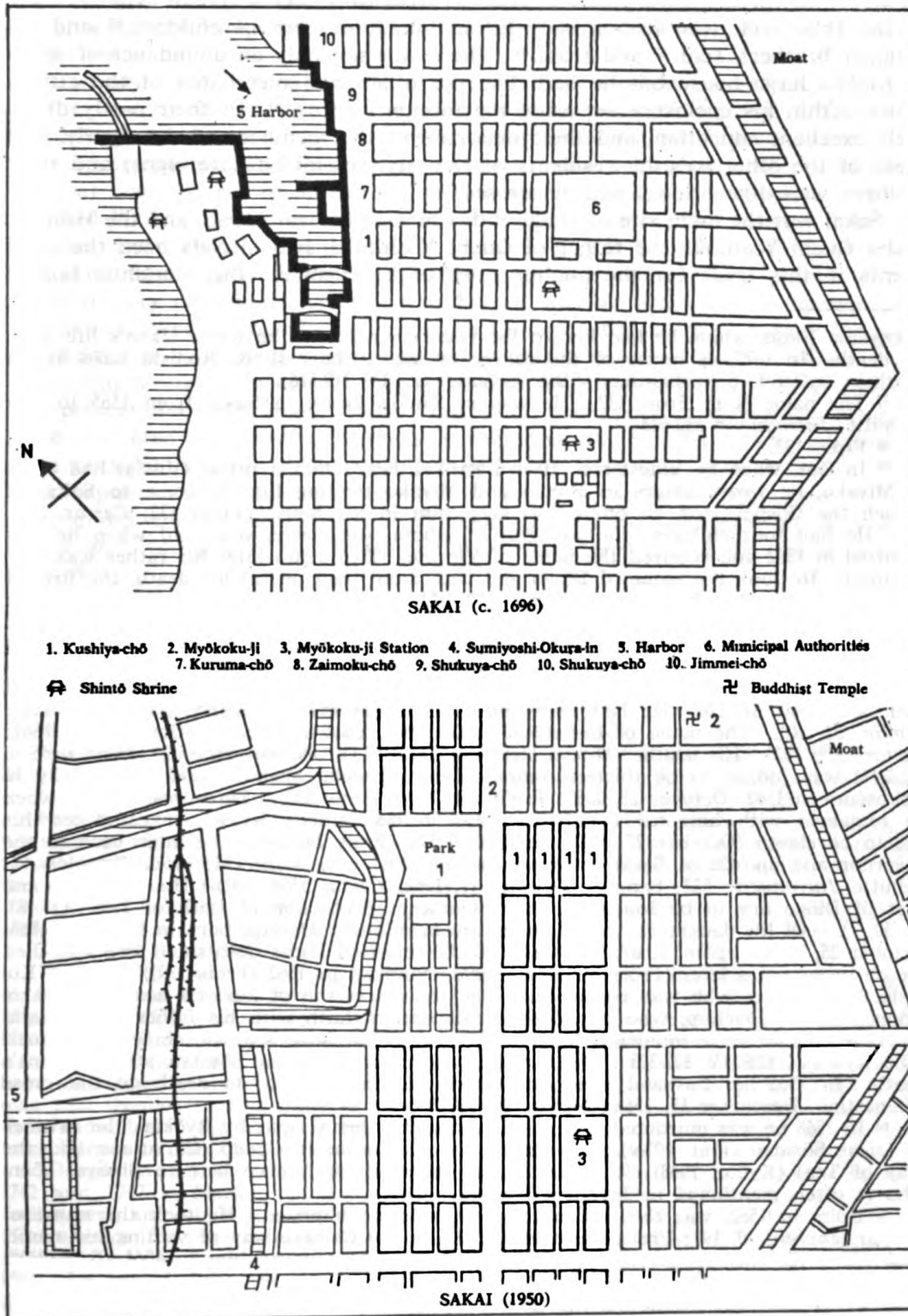
this temple, which Nobunaga had to a large extent burned down, with a temple of the same name near the harbor of Sakai, to which Professor Matsuda drew our attention. He sent us a photograph of a map of the city from around 1696 and added in a letter of April 2, 1957, the following explanation: Near the harbor and the Sumiyoshi Bridge and the street named after it, and some sixteen hundred feet south of Hibiya's house, at the end of the second street south of it, there is a Shintō shrine. This is now known as Kaikō-jinja, but it was formerly called Sumiyoshi-Okunoin (the Inner Sumiyoshi Shrine), which, according to the map, lay in the midst of a pine grove. In 1969 we received from Professor Matsuda new photographs of a still better and more detailed map of the city from 1689, which he had later discovered in the municipal library of Sakai. On this map the Sumiyoshi-Okunoin shrine is also called Aguchi jinsha. All of its buildings are represented in the least detail within a pine grove. South of these, separated by a block of houses, is a second, smaller shrine by the name of Shukuin-Sumiyoshi-tongū, or Sumiyoshi Daimyōjin. In an accompanying letter, Professor Matsuda noted that the addition Okunoin (the Inner) probably means that the Sakai shrine was subordinate to the main shrine near Ōsaka.

⁶¹ Cros has *branchages secs* instead of *esteiras velhas* (Vie II 112), and he is also rather free with his texts in other places. In his translation he has Xavier say: "Une seule chose, ici, trouble ma joie, c'est que nous ne pouvons pas prêcher" (*ibid.* 113).

⁶² On the Hibiya family and its stemma, see Alvarez-Taladriz, *Sumario* 128-129; Schurhammer, "Die Ryūsas" (GS IV 319-326); Matsuda Kiichi in *Nippon-rekishi* 127 (1959) 71-78; and Alvarez-Taladriz, "Un documento inédito del año 1586" [letter of A. Prenestino, S.J., of December 15, 1586, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 10, 197-200v] (Ōsaka, 1959), in Japanese in *Kirishitan Kenkyū* VIII 213-246. The large main street was called Kuruma-no-chō in the north, Kushiya-no-chō in the middle, and Ebisu-no-chō in the south (Alvarez, "Un documento" 8 and 22). On the new city map of Sakai 1:10,000, which was given to us during our visit in 1957, there is near the tram stop of Myōkokuji the Ebisu Kōen (God-of-Luck Park), and, to the right of it, the ward of Kushiya-chō, where the map of 1696 has the house of Hibiya. When we visited the city, we found it in ruins as a consequence of the last war. Where the map indicates the Ebisu Park, now known as Xavier Park, the city had not yet been rebuilt, but in the middle there was a stone marker with an English and Japanese inscription recalling Xavier's visit to Sakai. I was told that the people wished to have a park laid out there again.

⁶³ In the court of the famous temple is shown a large *sotetsu* tree (*Cycas revoluta*, a kind of fern palm resembling the sago palm). It had a circumference of fifty-six feet at its base and was said to be around 450 years old. It thus goes back to Xavier's time (Murray 323; *Official Guide* 667).

⁶⁴ The first witness for this is Pedro Morejón, S.J., who on September 27, 1628, wrote from Macao about Konishi Yazayemon Leão, who was banished there at the end of 1627. He wrote that he was "nieto de Rióquei Diego, principal ciudadano del Sacai, muy nombrado en las cartas antiguas, cuyos padres hospedaron en su casa al sancto Apostol de Japón San Francisco Xavier" (P. Morejón, *Relación de los Mátyres del Japón del año de 1627* [México, 1631] 51v). This rare work is found in ARSI: *JapSin.* 63, 197. Morejón was in Japan from 1590 on. From 1595 to 1613, he was in the region of Miyako in Ōsaka, Sakai, and Miyako, and was rector for nine years. He personally knew Diogo Ryōkei (Kudō's son), who was still living at the time. From 1596 to 1602 he was the superior of the newly founded residence in Ōsaka, from where he regularly visited Sakai (Pedro Gomes, February 3, 1595, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 12, 243; Organtino, December 27, 1595: *ibid.* 332; Fray Jerónimo de Jesús, O.F.M., "Relación" ("December 8, 1596, in Ōsaka," in L. Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y relaciones del Japón* 3 [Madrid, 1923] 71; Schütte, *Introductio* 436). In 1614 Morejón went into banishment in Manila with Diogo's friend



house.⁶⁵ The latter was one of the most distinguished citizens of Sakai.⁶⁶ He already had three grown sons: Hibiya Ryōkei, who was married to a follower of the Ikkō sect, who had already borne him a number of children,⁶⁷ and his younger brothers Tōan⁶⁸ and Hōin.⁶⁹ There was not only an abundance of space in Kudō's large house but he had, like the other rich merchants of the city, a house within his enclosure set aside for foreign visitors.⁷⁰ In their costly dress, their excellent education, and their deportment, the members of the family, like those of the other wealthy residents of the city, resembled sovereigns; and their children were like princes and princesses.⁷¹

Sakai was the main site of trade with China in central Japan, and the Hibiyas, under Ōuchi Yoshioki, the father of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, had already been the chief agents in this trade for the mighty ruler of Yamaguchi. But Buddhist bonzes

Takayama Ukon, whom he had known for twenty years; and he wrote Ukon's life after his death. In 1627, as rector of the college of Macao, he assisted Konishi Leão at his death in 1627 (cf. Schurhammer, "Die Ryūsas," GS IV 319-326).

⁶⁵ The name is in Frois 132. He was in Kudō's house in Sakai from 1565 to 1569 (Schütte, *Introductio* 632-633).

⁶⁶ Frois 132.

⁶⁷ In 1561, when his eldest son, Hibiya Ryōkei, heard that a priest (Vilela) had come to Miyako, he wrote letters to Bungo and Miyako inviting him to come to Sakai to preach the Gospel; and he offered to keep him in his house (Frois 132; *Cartas* 1598, 83). He had four children, the youngest of whom was eleven years old when he was baptized in 1562 and received the name of Vicente. Two years later his father was also baptized. He took the name of Diogo and was, from then on till his death, the firmest support of the church in Sakai (Frois 132; Alvarez-Taladriz, *Sumario* 129, who gives further sources on him and his family tree). In 1595 he was already very old (annual letter of September 30, 1595, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 59v). He died a holy death and left his house as a church, for which it had always served, as Morejón wrote in 1627 (*Relación de los Mártires* 47). On his wife, who was baptized in 1573 with the name of Ines, see Frois 315-316. He had many married daughters (Prenestino, October 1, 1587: *JapSin.* 51, 70). The name of his eldest son is not known (Sanches, October 11, 1562: *Cartas* 1598, 102). His brother Hibiya Heiemon *Vicente* (Frois, November 28, 1596: *JapSin.* 52, 241) was judged to be thirteen years old by Almeida when he met him briefly in Yokoseura in 1562 (October 25, 1562: *JapSin.* 4, 277v; Frois 132). Three years later, when he remained with him for twenty-five days in his father's house, he estimated his age to be eleven (October 25, 1565: *JapSin.* 6, 67v; Frois 243-245). He later became the governor and apostle of Shiki on Amakusa and died as a saint (Morejón, *Relación* 47; Schütte, *Introductio* 532; Sanches, October 11, 1562: *Cartas* 1598, 102). His signature and that of Diogo are to be found on the magnificent profession of faith of 1588 (Q 483, pl. 30, 2). — Of his daughters, the following are mentioned: *Monica*, born in 1549 (Almeida, October 25, 1565: *JapSin.* 6, 67; Frois 132 242-243), married Lucas Sōsatsu in 1566 and died six or seven years later (Frois 312-316); *Agata*, baptized in 1562 (Frois 132), married Konishi Josei Bento, who was baptized in 1579, the eldest son of Xavier's host in Miyako, Konishi Ryūsa Joachim, who signed the profession of faith with his father in 1588 and succeeded his father as municipal judge in Sakai after the latter's death (cf. Schurhammer, "Die Ryūsas," GS IV 322-325); and *Sabina*, who married Lucas Sōsatsu after Monica's death. In 1586 her husband was condemned, though innocent, to death on the cross (Prenestino, December 15, 1586: *JapSin.* 10, 197-202v).

⁶⁸ In 1568 he was murdered with his Christian brother Gaspar by Ryōkan, the brother of Lucas Sōsatsu (*ibid.* 197-v). Nishimura Tei, *Kirishitan to Chadō* (Christians and the Way of Tea) (Kyōto, 1948) 49, suspects that there is a reference here to Shioya Tōan, who is often mentioned in Japanese sources.

⁶⁹ Hōin, in 1562, was the first of his family to be baptized. He took the name of Gaspar (*JapSin.* 10, 197; Frois, *Historia* II 358; on the Chinese way of writing his name, *ibid.* 235). He was probably Diogo's brother, who was sent by him in 1561 to Miyako to get Vilela (Frois 132).

⁷⁰ Frois 226. On his house, his tearoom and his teaware, see Almeida, October 25, 1565: *JapSin.* 6, 69v-70; Frois 244-245, and Alvarez-Taladriz, *Sumario* 45-47 146*.

⁷¹ Almeida, October 25, 1565: *Cartas* 1598, 161v; Frois 226; DI III 154.

and Shintō priests were also actively engaged in this trade. When the prince once, for example, wished to send a cargo of agate to China, he used Shōnyo Shōni, the abbot of the Hongwanji temple, as his agent in dealing with the trading house of the Hibiya.⁷²

The city, a safe refuge for friends and foes, was protected from hostile attacks on the west by the sea and on the other three sides by a deep, broad ditch that was always filled with water. With the exception of the large, main street,⁷³ the streets were narrow, and they had gates at both ends with guards who could close them at once in case of an uproar so that the disturbers of the peace could be arrested.⁷⁴ Sakai, with more than a hundred rich and ornate monasteries and temples of various sects⁷⁵ and some six thousand homes,⁷⁶ was the most prosperous and prominent city of Japan.⁷⁷ Mendes Pinto later heard Xavier speak of the populous city of Sakai. According to him it was an independent republic and, like Venice, ruled by consuls. According to Xavier's estimate, there were a thousand merchants in it, each of whom was worth thirty thousand ducats. There were others much more affluent, and they acted like kings and queens and their children like princes and princesses. Sakai constantly maintained a mercenary army of three thousand warriors, all foreigners, including their captain, who camped in tents outside the city's defensive moat and were paid well every month. When their captain wished to enter the city, he could do so with only three or four companions and without his arms. The inhabitants were however on very good terms with foreigners, and it seemed that much fruit could be gained among them.⁷⁸

Francis and his companions did not stay long in Kudō's hospitable quarters.⁷⁹

⁷² Alvarez-Taladriz, *Sumario* 129.

⁷³ Frois, December 28, 1596: *JapSin.* 52, 241v.

⁷⁴ Vilela in 1562: *Cartas* 1598, 113.

⁷⁵ Vilela, October 6, 1571: *Cartas* 1598, 327; Valignano 456.

⁷⁶ Aoyama 121. On March 15, 1616, Couros wrote: "casi 60,000 vizinhos" (*JapSin.* 58, 280v). In 1615 Ieyasu burned the city down with all its environs as far as the gate of Kishiwada in the south. Only a field of charred wood and ashes remained from it, as Father Vreman wrote on December 13, 1616, adding: "Periere in incendio praeter privatas ad viginti mille aedes magnis sumptibus aedificata idolorum templa quam plurima" (*ibid.* 489). The city is consequently completely changed from what it was, and the sea is further from the former harbor.

⁷⁷ Frois, January 8, 1567: *AHSI: JapSin.* 6, 183; Coelho, February 15, 1582: *Cartas* 1598 II, 45; Mexia, January 6, 1584: *ibid.* 124v.

⁷⁸ Mendes Pinto, December 5, 1554 (DI III 153-154).

⁷⁹ After *Rodrigues Tçuzu has given the impression in his chapter on Xavier's journey to Miyako that no one gave him shelter in Sakai, he speaks of the priest's trip to Miyako and of his return to Sakai and Hirado, and he then adds: "Nesta viagem do Miaco nos lugares por onde passava e achava commodidade sem perder occasiam, pregava a todos e lya pollo seu livro de catequismo deixando feitos alguns Christãos que deixou bem instruidos, como diz o padre Cosme de Torres em huma sua carta [Torres 56], mas não tivemos noticia, onde os fizera" (47av). Frois knows where Xavier converted these individuals. He writes in his history that he converted three persons on his way from Hirado to Yamaguchi: one was a noble already advanced in years, the others were a nobleman and his wife (11). The later copy of Rodrigues Tçuzu's history, made between 1742 and 1747 in Macao, has an addition which is somewhat in contrast to Tçuzu's earlier text, and which was probably added by another hand to the now lost archetype: "Entre estos foi seu cazeiro no Sacay Reoquei fibra, fibra sōsat,..." (224v; Cros, *Vie* II 123). The statement is wrong. The first, Hibiya Ryōkei Diogo, was not baptized until 1564; the second, Lucas Sōsatsu, was baptized in 1566.—Lucena writes that despite all the difficulties of the voyage, Xavier did not die on the way, and also that it was not until he reached Sakai that he became ill with a fever. He then continues: "Fez alguma detença por entender como receberia aquella gente a prégaçam, e nam por se curar nem

The letter of recommendation which he had given to his host had included the request that Kudō should place the foreigners in the company of someone who was going to Miyako. The merchant soon found an opportunity to do so. He learned that a prominent nobleman was about to leave for the capital. He brought his guests to him so that they might join his company and thus be freed from the numerous tolls and the danger of being robbed.⁶⁰ When Xavier told his host of his plan to visit the bonze university of Hiei-zan as well as Miyako, Kudō gave him a letter of recommendation to one whom he knew in the capital. In it he asked the addressee to be of help to the foreigner in his project.⁶¹

Miyako was a two days' journey from Sakai.⁶² The nobleman traveled in a sedan chair accompanied by his pages and squires. The priest and his two companions ran between these latter at the double, like the rest, through the deep snow of the wintery countryside.⁶³

Just beyond Sakai there was a bridge over the Yamatogawa that led northwards to the temple compound of the famous old Shintō shrine of Sumiyoshi,⁶⁴ which

convalecer do febre, a que nenhum respeito quis guardar" (7, 23). He evidently confuses Xavier with Almeida, who on his way to Miyako had to remain for twenty-five days in Sakai in 1565 because he was ill with a fever. As soon as he felt somewhat better, he preached there until he was strong enough to continue his journey (Frois 242).—Brou states that the travelers were finally well received in Sakai; he then continues: "Il était temps, car François fut pris d'une fièvre ardente. Par bonheur elle dura peu. Aussitôt remis, il commença ses catéchismes." He gives Cros 117 as his source, though there is nothing of this there. His source is Lucena. He then continues: "On dit qu'il ébranla quelques âmes, et il se forma dans la ville un petit noyau de chrétiens," citing Cros 123 for this. But the latter is here freely translating in his own way the Ajuda text: "à cette époque sûrement remonte la conversion à la Foi de Reoqueifibra et de Fibra Sôsat, tous deux de Sacay."

⁶⁰ Frois 12 419. Aoyama notes that, because of the prevailing wars, the control of the travelers at the *sekisho* (tolling stations), which before their abolition by Nobunaga in 1567 were still numerous, was probably very severe (117). Around 1450 there were more than six hundred tolling posts in a stretch of twenty-five miles along the Yodogawa (Sansom, *History* II 260).

⁶¹ We conclude this from the effect which the letter of recommendation had on the addressee in Miyako.

⁶² According to Xavier (EX II 229). According to Frois the distance was eighteen [Japanese] leagues (*Geschichte* 12; letter of December 28, 1596, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 245v), about forty-five miles. According to *Rodriguez Tçuzu: "averá perto de 14 legoas nossas" (47a; Ajuda 224; Cros, *Vie* II 113: "est de quinze lieues portugaises"), the equivalent of fifty-two miles. Actually, the distance on both routes was fourteen Japanese, or nine Portuguese, leagues, the equivalent of thirty-four miles.

⁶³ Frois 12. When we traveled from Sakai to Kyōto in February 7, 1957, we had a light rain in Sumiyoshi. This was followed by sunshine without a trace of snow, which however fell on the eleventh in Kyōto. When Frois made the same journey at the end of January, 1565, the snow was from four to five spans (2.9-3.6 feet) high, and it continued to snow. The Japanese assured him that they had never seen anything like it in the past sixty years. Some houses in the villages were buried in snow up to their roofs. It snowed so much that no progress could be made on foot or horseback, and two leagues before reaching Miyako a boat had to be taken (Frois 229; letter of March 6, 1565: *Cartas* 1598, 178-v). When Vilela arrived in Miyako in January, 1560, the snow in the streets of the city was for many days as high as a man on horseback (Vilela, September 15, 1565: *Cartas* 1598, 195; cf. Frois 83).

⁶⁴ The sanctuary is that of the empress Jingō Kōgō and dedicated to the three sea-gods, Soko-zutsu-no-o, Naka-zutsu-no-o, and Uha-zutsu-no-o. According to the legend, they helped the empress on her campaign against Korea (cf. Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 35 73-74 199). It was transferred here in the fourth century (Papinot 607). In 1580, when Nobunaga captured Ōsaka, the stronghold of the mighty Ikkō bonzes, after a siege of five years, he also had many Shintō shrines in Sumiyoshi burned down (Frois 360). In 1615 Ōsaka and its environs were burned down by order of Ieyasu. Among the buildings almost entirely destroyed was, as Couros reported on March 15, 1616, the

lay within a large grove of pines. An hour beyond this was another complex, that of Tennōji, one of the oldest and most revered Buddhist sanctuaries in Japan.⁸⁵ Three leagues beyond Sakai was the large city of Ōsaka⁸⁶ situated on the delta of the Yodogawa. Leaving this on the left, the travelers crossed over a tributary of the river on the "Kyōto Bridge,"⁸⁷ located at the base of the monastic fortress of the Ikkō sect.⁸⁸ Going along from there through flat land⁸⁹ over the "Kyōto Road," they passed a number of villages⁹⁰ until they reached an hour

Sumiyoshi temple, which had been built in 777 A.D. and had on its properties eight thousand bonzes and temple employees (*JapSin.* 58, 284-v).

⁸⁵ During the siege of Ōsaka from 1575 to 1580, Nobunaga also had the Tennōji temple and its monastery burned down. These had been built by Shōtoku Taishi in the sixth century and were a very popular place of pilgrimage (Frois 359). According to tradition, the gilded copper statue of Kannon along with the Amida group of the Zenkōji temple in Nagano should be the oldest Buddhist statues coming from Korea to Japan (Murray 322-262; *Official Guide* 528). The temple precincts in 1615, when Ieyasu had the sanctuary burned, were half a league in circumference—an entire city of temples, chapels, pagodas, and dwellings of the bonzes and temple servants. Hideyori had spent more than a million pieces of gold on their restoration and enlargement. As Couros wrote on March 15, 1616 (*JapSin.* 58, 284), every year a giant tooth of Buddha was put on display. The temple was again completely destroyed during the course of an air raid in 1945 (*Official Guide* 663-664). It was not as yet rebuilt when we visited the site in 1957.

⁸⁶ Ōsaka, the capital of the province of Settsu, has frequently been the residence of Japanese emperors since the fourth century. It became the headquarters of the Ikkō sect when Shōnyō Shōnin, the abbot of the Honganji monastery in Kyōto, moved his seat to the Ishiyama monastery in Ōsaka in 1532 and converted it into a strong fortress (Ponsonby 271-272). In 1580 the city was captured by Nobunaga and burned down with all its temples, palaces, and other buildings (Frois 359). After it was rebuilt, it was severely damaged by the earthquake of 1596, which destroyed the elaborate buildings of Hideyoshi and almost all the houses near the river (Frois, December 28, 1596, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 237v-238v). In 1615, when it again had 90,000 homes, it was burned completely down by Ieyasu (Couto's letter of March 15, 1616: *JapSin.* 58, 282-284v). In 1945, during the Second World War, over half of the houses were destroyed (*Official Guide* 656).

⁸⁷ Kyō-bashi; cf. Kaempfer II 13; Murdoch 528 (map of the siege of 1614); and the map of Ōsaka in Challaye 257.

⁸⁸ In Xavier's time "the Bonze of Ōsaka," the head of the Ikkō sect, was practically the lord of the city.

⁸⁹ The Kyōkaidō, the Kyōto Road, began at the Kyōto Bridge (see the map in Murdoch 528), which went by way of Hirakata to Miyako, as Frois wrote on December 28, 1596 (*JapSin.* 52, 241). "The road from Ōsaka to Yedo is called Tōkaidō by the Japanese," according to Kaempfer (II 292); and this route, which he describes in detail and illustrates with maps, must have been traversed by him on his two official journeys to the court in February, 1691, and March, 1692. It was the Kyōkaidō as far as Miyako (III 12-16, with map, p. 32). On his second journey to the court, he had first to make a detour from Ōsaka as far as Imaichi since "the usual, shorter way was under repair" (III 155-156). In Kaempfer's time the sides of the road were planted with numerous *tsadanil* trees (III 13). For determining the route traveled, we have used the Japanese map Ōsaka-Kyōto 1:200,000, the map in Challaye 249, and the one in Kaempfer III 32. There were many villages along this road. Kaempfer consequently wrote that the area was unusually dense in its population, and that there were so many villages near each other on the road that they almost formed one continuous street from Ōsaka to Miyako (III 14). We therefore assume that the nobleman whom Xavier followed used this route.—Another road, the Takatsukikaidō (see the map in Murdoch 528), went from Ōsaka along the opposite, right bank of the river by way of Takatsuki and Yamazaki to Miyako. Nishioka gives both routes for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (154-155). Vilela went with Brother Lourenço in 1559 from Ōsaka by way of Yamazaki, where, leaving Miyako on the left, he took a boat for Rokujizō in order to go from there on foot by way of Ōtsu and Sakamoto directly to Hiei-zan (Frois 77). The Tōkaidō, already mentioned in the Nara period, was not recognized as an official road until 1618.

⁹⁰ Challaye here indicates the villages of Noe, Hannyaji and Morishyodji.

later the Yodogawa near Imaichi.⁹¹ From here the old military road passed through the broad valley towards the northeast, with the bank of the river ever on the left.

A half an hour farther on was another village, Moriguchi;⁹² and an hour from it was Sada, known for its temple dedicated to Sada Tenjin.⁹³ They then passed two more villages⁹⁴ and arrived at Deguchi, which had a shrine of the Ikkō sect.⁹⁵ The mountains on the right then drew near to the river. At their feet was the town of Hirakata,⁹⁶ where ships on the voyage from Miyako to Ōsaka were accustomed to lay over.⁹⁷ Here in Hirakata, three leagues from Ōsaka, travelers from Sakai to the capital usually passed the night.⁹⁸

For the next hour and a half there was one village after the other as far as the second narrow pass, where the wooded mountains drew near from both sides of the river and encroached upon its banks. Here, at the confluence of the Yodogawa and the Kizugawa, flowing from the right, was the large town of Hashimoto with its abundant shops and bordellos.⁹⁹ It was famous for its greatly revered temple of Iwashimizu-Hachiman-gū, located on the heights of the steep Otokoyama and dedicated to the war god Hachiman. This temple, four leagues from Miyako, was one of the oldest Shintō shrines in Japan.¹⁰⁰ From here the

⁹¹ Kaempfer: Immitz (III 14) and Imaiitz (III 156). The more important and larger villages on the route, those with at least two hundred homes, were according to him: Immitz, Morigutz, Sadda, and Defudsj (III 14).

⁹² Kaempfer: "Morigutz, where the best cinnamon is produced" (III 14).

⁹³ In 1692 Kaempfer mentioned here, to the right of the village, a Shintō sanctuary, "the famous temple of Tensin, which has a splendid stone gate leading into a spacious court called Sadda Tensin." He notes that they had passed through two other villages before reaching Sadda, the second of which was called Ogire (III 156). Challaye has the town of Higashi after Moriguchi.

⁹⁴ Niwaji and Shimeno according to the Japanese map. Challaye has Nuwaji instead of Niwaji; Kaempfer has Symminotsuja or Symmi for Shimeno, and on the map Symminotsieja and Symmi.

⁹⁵ Kaempfer has Defudsj (III 14) in 1692: "the village of Deguts, then to a city of the same name, where we saw a temple with the name of Ikosju" (III 156); the map has: Doguts.

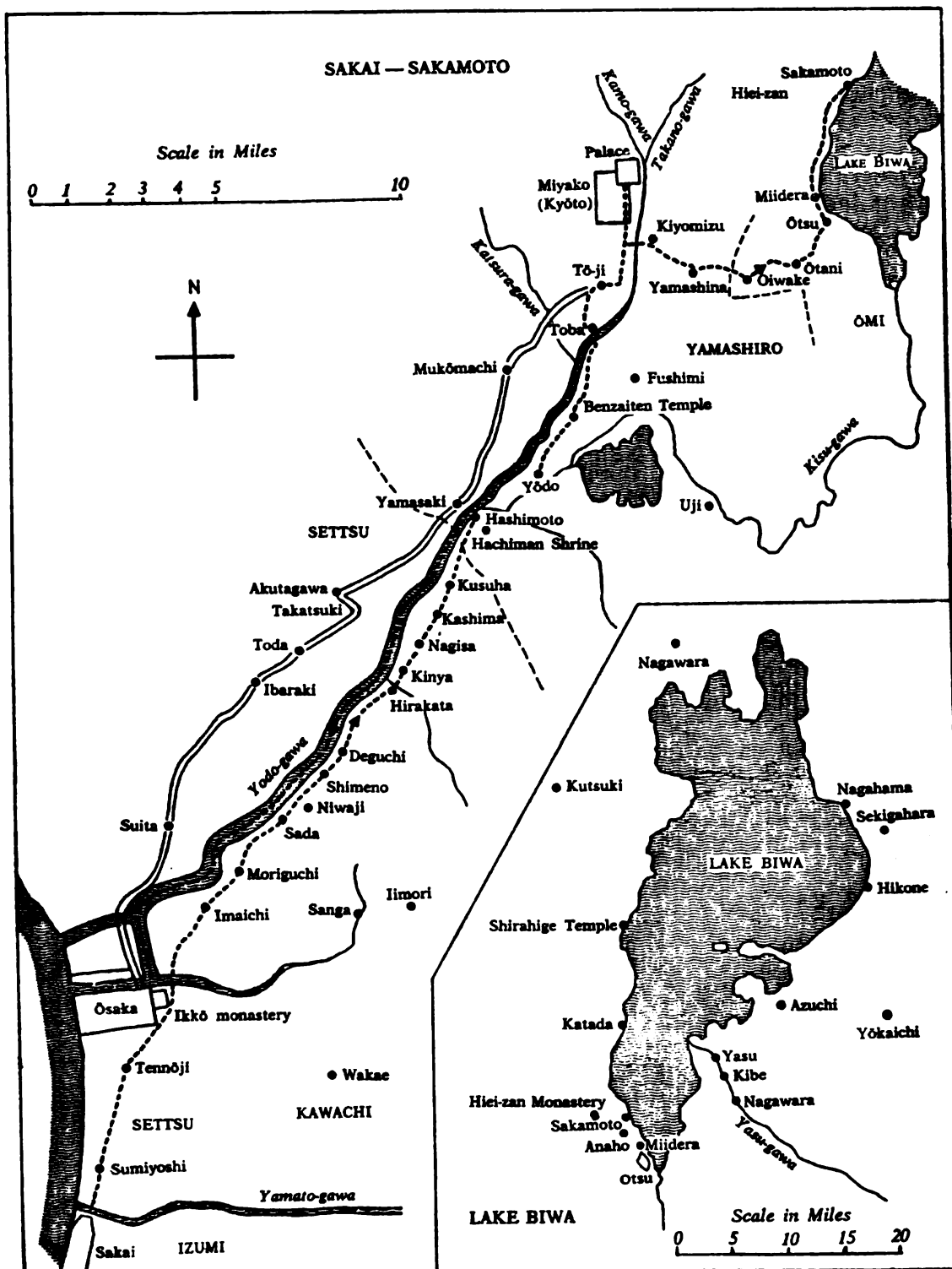
⁹⁶ In Kaempfer's time it was a village of around five hundred homes, and warm food could be obtained in the inns at any time at small cost. Kaempfer here took his noon meal on both of his journeys to the court (III 14 156). In 1596 there was a small fortress to guard the narrow pass on the mountain above the village. During the earthquake the façade of a gate (*monzē*) located above the fortress fell upon it; the two then crashed down upon the village causing great destruction, as Frois wrote on December 28, 1596 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 241; Hayus 365).

⁹⁷ Papinot 158; cf. Frois 285.

⁹⁸ The Japanese map gives the villages: Kin-ya, Nagisa, Kami-shima, Shino-shima, and Kusuha. Kaempfer gives: Nangisa, Siuke, Finoje, and Kudsjuwa, and notes: "Opposite, on the other side of the river, is the village of Jamasakki at the foot of a mountain, famed for its two prominent monasteries and a temple on its peak" (III 156).

⁹⁹ Kaempfer III 14.

¹⁰⁰ In 1691 Kaempfer wrote that they had passed through the villages of Fatsuma, with two hundred homes, and Fasimotto with three hundred (III 14). In 1692 he wrote that on the road, to the right of Yodo, was the city of *Jawatta* (Yawata), and that beyond it were several good homes and other buildings on the slope of a pleasant mountain, on which stood the famous temple of Hachiman (III 156). On his return he noted that he had seen the temple of Yawata from the boat (III 198). By this he meant the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gu, one of the oldest Shintō sanctuaries in Japan, fifteen miles south of Miyako near the village of Yawata, located three hundred feet above the Kizugawa on Mount Otokoyama. Vilela, who hid there for eight days during a persecution, described the place in 1571: "Four leagues south of Miyako near Yawata there is an elaborate monastery dedicated to Hachiman. It is a very charming spot richly overgrown with pines, cedars, cypresses, and other trees. Around the sanctuary there are thirty



road led in an hour over the Kizugawa to the small city of Yodo,¹⁰¹ which was surrounded by water. Here the Ujigawa, which flowed from the east, was crossed on a long bridge. This river here joined the Katsuragawa, coming from the northwest, to form the Yodogawa. Leaving Yodo, the travelers, following the left bank of the Katsuragawa, passed the famous temple¹⁰² dedicated to the goddess Benzaiten, one of the seven divinities of good fortune, and arrived at Toba, where travelers were accustomed to embark for Ōsaka on the Kamogawa, a tributary river.¹⁰³ Soon after this, near the tall pagoda of the Tō-ji monastery,¹⁰⁴ which belonged to the Shingon sect, they reached Miyako. It was in the middle of January when Xavier and his two companions entered the imperial city.

Despite all the difficulties of the route, Xavier was more joyful than ever on this two-day journey.¹⁰⁵ He went barefooted in his sleeveless, black, torn cassock, with a small Siamese cap tied to his head, and his pack with his breviary, spiritual reading, and his surplice on his back. At times he skipped with joy or

monasteries with many bonzes which are subject to the main monastery. It is an asylum for malefactors. A river flows close by the site. A large and beautiful temple is found there. The crossing is made in boats, since there are no bridges. None are built because of the wars; they are destroyed by the enemies. The main monastery is sparklingly clean, large, but already old, since it was built a thousand years ago. Here in this region there are many melons, peaches, pears, and other fruits. It is a place through which one goes on his way to Miaco, and is also a much frequented site of pilgrimage. Much trade is conducted there. The people living in this town are wealthy, their houses are clean, large, and well built" (Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild Kyōto," GS II 681). In 859 A.D. six buildings were erected there and the principal shrine was dedicated to the emperor Ōjin and his mother Jingō Kōgō (Ponsonby 115). According to Frois the site was entirely dedicated to the cult of the war god Hachiman, who was highly revered by the soldiers; and on the hill there were numerous temples and chapels to which pilgrims from all parts of Japan streamed. The place was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1596, and in the collapse of the houses more than 250 persons lost their lives (Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild" 681; *Shin-tō* 76; Murray 356; *Official Guide* 669).

¹⁰¹ Here was an old fort which at the beginning of the sixteenth century belonged to the Hosokawa, and later to the Miyoshi (Papinot 752). Kaempfer describes the city, traversed by several canals and surrounded by water, and its two bridges. One of these, the "Great Bridge" was four hundred steps long and made of wood; the second was two hundred steps long and had twenty arches and its brick fort in the center of the river (III 14-15 156-157).

¹⁰² In 1692 Kaempfer mentions the "famed Benzaiten temple" (III 157). The Japanese map gives the signs for a Shintō shrine and a Buddhist temple instead of their names at this site between Yodo and Toba. The goddess is often represented as riding on a snake or dragon (Murray 45 55).

¹⁰³ The Kamogawa became navigable at Toba. Xavier sailed from here in 1551, Vilela in 1552 ("where he had to embark," Frois 129), and Frois in 1565 ("two leagues from Miyako," *ibid.* 285). In 1592 Frois wrote that Toba was a league from Miyako (ARSI: *JapSin.* 51, 315v).

¹⁰⁴ The monastery of Tō-ji, begun by Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect, was burned down during the civil war in 1468, but it had been partially rebuilt by Xavier's time and was located in the neighborhood of a village a little more than half a league from Miyako. It was in the midst of fields and surrounded by a high wall and ditch, and it formed a broad complex of buildings in the shade of old trees. It was not far from the Rāshōmon Gate in the south of the city. Its tall pagoda was a landmark for pilgrims and travelers coming to Miyako, and it was one of the principal sights of the capital. In the earthquake of 1596 the walls were thrown down, and only the main temple with its tall pagoda remained standing (cf. Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild," GS II 655-656, and "Kōbō Daishi," *ibid.* 683; Frois 241; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 34; Ponsonby 111-112; Murray 336; *Official Guide* 698). The tower was burned down shortly after Vilela's arrival (in 1559); it was rebuilt with nine stories in 1591 (Frois IV 258v).

¹⁰⁵ Frois 12.

tossed an apple into the air and caught it again.¹⁰⁶ His eyes were filled with grateful tears that God had chosen him to herald His holy faith at the court of Japan.¹⁰⁷

5. MIYAKO AND HIEI-ZAN (JANUARY, 1551)¹

But with his arrival in the capital of Japan, Xavier encountered the grim reality of it all. Not far from the Tō-ji monastery the old Rashōmon Gate led

¹⁰⁶ *Kaki* or oranges? There were no apples at the time in Japan.

¹⁰⁷ Edmond Auger, who entered the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1550, has Benedetto Palmio (who met Bernardo, Xavier's companion on the journey to Miyako, in Rome) say in his *Dialogus*, a fictitious conversation at the Villa Santa Balbina of the Roman College between Polanco, Frusius, Palmio and Auger, Roillet and Coudret, with respect to Xavier's journey to Miyako: "Mais ce que son prosélyte Bernard le Japonien, qui est encore avec nous, me discourait un après-dîner de sa gaieté et gentillesse surpassa l'humeur de tout autre homme de la sorte. Il n'avait qu'une sienne robe de toile noire sur soi, avec un petit bonnet en tête que portent les Siamois, aussi de toile, pieds et jambes nus, son petit paquet de sa bible [meant is his spiritual reading] de son bréviaire, d'un surplis sur le dos, et en courant à travers les neiges, des forêts toutes gelées, à guise d'un laquais, pour ne perdre la compagnie de certains barbares à cheval, il sautait parfois, il s'égayait et jetait une pomme en l'air, une pomme qu'il tenait en sa main, puis la reprenait d'un visage tout arrosé de larmes joyeuses, avec des propos très profonds de la bonté et miséricorde de Dieu, qui l'avait choisi pour semer sa doctrine céleste en des provinces si lointaines et comme arrachées du monde" (FN III 278-279). Frois also mentions the Siamese cap and Xavier's unusual gaiety on this occasion (12). Several authors have false data with respect to this last part of his journey. In 1551 Torres wrote about this trip which Xavier and his companions made to Miyako: "*Muchas vezes yendo por moços d'espuelas de algunos fidalgos al galope por no saber el camino de los lugares, adonde yvan*" (92; cf. 55). In 1558 M. Nunes Barreto wrote after his return from Japan: "Padre Mestre Francisco... agora o soube no Japão, quantos trabalhos lá padeceu tanto andando a pé, yndo de *Tanaxuma* até Meaco... com grande frio trazendo sempre hum cobertor de papa às costas e muitas vezes indo por moço de esporas de *fidalgos japões* pera que podesse passar sem perigo de ladrões e indo correndo com a loba às costas após aquelas a que ia acompanhando" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105). In 1580 Teixeira gave a similar account: "El hermano Juan Fernández, su compañero en este camino [de Meaco], nos escribió un ytinerrario dél a los que estábamos en la China, el año del Señor de [15]63, en el qual, entre otras particularidades y trabaxos que deste camino contava, uno dellos era, que el P. Mtro. Francisco, para pasar al Meaco, se avia hecho *criado* de un Japón gentil que iba á Meaco á caballo, y le llevaba mucha parte del camino un llo de hato áuestas, yendo muchas vezes casi corriendo en pos del caballo, por no quedarse lexos dél, por ser el camino peligroso y de muchos ladrones" (878). *Rodrigues Tçuzu adds some color to the events: "Ardia neste tempo o Goquinai [the five central provinces of Japan] em guerras continuas que avia entre os Senhores, e a cidade de Miaco muy perturbado e desinquierto com ellas, e por essa causa nos caminhos entre a Miaco e Sacay em muitos passos avia gente de guarniçam e presidio, que infestava o caminho, tratando muito mal os que não eram de sua parte, aynda não fossem inimigos; e assi a gente ordinaria não podia passar estos caminhos sem grande perigo. Neste caminho de Sacay aa Miaco, que averá perto de 14 legoas nossas, por causa dos salteadores e dos soldados, seguiam com passo apresurado *alguns fidalgos, que hiam a cavalo, servindo-lhes de lacayos ou moços de esporas levando sua trouxa à costas; e comtudo como era gente estranha, não deixaram os soldados de lhes fazer mau tratamento escarnecendo delles grandemente*" (47v-47a; Ajuda 223v-224; Cros, *Vie* II 113 inaccurate).—*The scene*: Xavier has often been represented by painters and engravers in the retinue of a Japanese knight. The engraving of Stefano Piali in the *Compendio della vita di S. Francesco Saverio* (Roma, 1793) 84 is absurd. Xavier is hanging onto the tail of a horse of a half-naked Japanese adorned with a feathered headdress in order to follow him through the wild mountain path.

¹ The sources for Xavier's visit to Miyako are: a short passage in Xavier's letters (EX II 261-262) and a short account from information provided by Juan Fernández in Teixeira (878), Frois (*Geschichte* 12-13), and Lucena (7, 24).—*Descriptions* are to be

into the lower city. It was a great field of ruins,² a consequence of the preceding wars. Only here and there in the distance could be seen the swayed roofs of a rebuilt temple and monastery. A half an hour farther on was the upper city, which consisted of a great number of broad streets which bisected each other at right angles and were closed off at both ends. These were lined with one- and two-storied wooden houses, shops, fortified homes of the nobility, and ruins black with smoke. After Francis and his two companions had thanked the nobleman for his protection, they set out in search of the one to whom Kudō had addressed the letter which he had given them in Sakai. They were referred to the northeastern part of the city, where Sakai merchants lived south of the royal palace.³ One of these kindly took the three strangers into his home after they had given him their letter of recommendation.

Their host was a merchant by the name of Konishi.⁴ His family had its

found in the unreliable *Peregrinaçam* of F. Mendes Pinto (c. 208), Tursellinus in 1596 (4, 6), *Rodrigues Tçuzu in 1634 (47a-v; Ajuda 224-v; Cros, *Vie* II 113-114 122); Bartoli in 1652 (*Asia* 3, 16); those who have used Japanese sources for the history of the time: Haas in 1902 (I 98 176-179); Steichen in 1904 (7-13), and among more recent authors: Brou in 1912 (II 193-197); Bellesort in 1917 (c. 12); Schurhammer, "Xavier in Miyako," in 1921 (GS III 653-654); Bernard Maitre, *Infiltrations* in 1939 (25-31); Kōda Shigetomo, *Oranda zatsuwa* in 1934 (176-191); Schurhammer, "Xaver in Japan" in 1947 (GS III 683-685); Matsuda, *Kinki Kirishitan Shiwa* in 1949; Laures, *Die Anfänge der Mission von Miyako* in 1951 (11-20); *Matsuda in 1957 (information supplied to the author by letters, more detailed in the following work); Matsuda, *Kinseishoki Nihonkankei Nambanshiryō no Kenkyū* in 1967 (541-566); Schurhammer in 1965 (GS III 653-654 683-685); Aoyama in 1967 (117-125).

² Ponsonby, who has much valuable data on the history of Miyako and its buildings, based on Japanese sources, writes: "In 1582 the capital for the most part still lay waste, as indeed it had done in large measure ever since the disastrous civil wars of Bummei (1469-1486). In his *Kyōto Bōmokushi* [a collection of sources in thirty-eight volumes, whose editor died in 1928], Mr. Usui [Kosaburō] states that all that remained of the old capital, and that in by no means perfect form, was the small portion between Takakura and Horikawa from Ichijō to Shijō. Everything else had reverted to open country, and even this much of it was uncultivated. Outside this area a few big temples were standing, but they were for the most part in a ruinous state" (231-232). "During the terrible civil war known as *Ōnin no ran* (1467-1477) practically the whole of the city was laid in ruins, and absolutely nothing remains of the original buildings" (2).

³ When he rebuilt the city between 1585 and 1591, Hideyoshi laid out another street between the different avenues running from north to south, for example, Sakai Street, in the northeast (Ponsonby 233-234). As Professor Shinmura told us in 1957 at the time of our visit to Kyōto, the Sakai merchants lived there. In Xavier's time this was the northeastern boundary of the city.

⁴ On the Konishi family and its later history, see Schurhammer, "Die Ryūsas" (GS IV 319-326). In 1957 Professor Matsuda sent us further information on the three branches of the Konishi. The first branch (A) lived not far from the Hibiya family in Sakai. In 1535, for example, a Konishi Tokurō is mentioned on the street of Zaimoku-chō, in 1537 a Konishi Yazaemon, in 1538 a Konishi Sozaemon (or Yatarō), and in 1541 Konishi Taitō, Yazaemon, and Zenzaburō in public positions. They were followers of the Jōdo-Shinshū sect. Professor Matsuda cites as a source for this the history of Sakai by Sakai Shiyakusho, *Sakai shishi* II 300. The eight volumes of this work were published between 1928 and 1931. The Konishi of the second branch (B) were pharmacists. They lived in the eighteenth century on the next cross street, Shukuya-chō. An original document of 1721 names Konishi Yazaemon, sixty years old, whose family for four generations had been the heads of the pharmacists in Sakai. In 1957 I was shown the place where their house had traditionally stood. The Konishi of the third branch (C) lived in Xavier's time in Miyako. They were followers of the Hokke sect and were probably distantly related to the Konishi in Sakai, as the common name of Yazaemon in all three branches and their common origin in Sakai would indicate. Kudō's letter was probably addressed to the father of Konishi Ryūsa, since he already had a grown son-in-law. He was, it seems, already dead when Vilela opened the mission in Miyako in 1559.

origins in Sakai,⁵ and he himself was in close contact with the family of the Hibiya in Sakai.⁶ He was married and had a grown, married son, Konishi Ryūsa.⁷ From Kudō's letter he could see what had brought his visitors to the capital.

In Goa Xavier had already been informed by Anjirō about the king of Japan and the universities of his native land; and before setting out for the Far East, he had written the following from Cochín in January, 1549, to the general of the order, Ignatius:

Because of the abundant information which I have of Japón, . . . I have decided to go to this land. . . . I am determined to go first to where the king is and then to the universities, where they do their studies, with great hope in Jesus Christ our Lord that he will help me. . . . When I have seen the writings of Japón and I have conversed with the people of those universities, I shall write at great length about everything; and I shall not fail to write to the University of Paris, and through it all the other universities of Europe will be informed.⁸

He also wrote as follows to Simon Rodrigues:

When I shall have reached Japón, if God so wills, I shall write you in great detail about the things which they have written in their books, which they say have come from God, since I am determined with the help of God, when I have come to Japón, to go there where the king is. And afterwards, when I have gained experience of what

⁵ The vice-provincial Pedro Gomes wrote on March 15, 1594, about his son Konishi Ryūsa, that Hideyoshi had made him governor of Sakai "que he da sua propria patria e officio de grande dinidade entre os Japoens, que o teve todo o tempo athé o dia de sua morte" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 27-v).

⁶ This is indicated by the later relationships, especially since both were merchants. Bento, the eldest son of Konishi Ryūsa, married Agata, the daughter of Hibiya Diogo, and Konishi Yazaemon Leão, the grandson of Hibiya Diogo, the daughter of Dom Agostinho Konishi Tsunokamidono Yukinaga, the son of Konishi Ryūsa. Vicente, the son of Hibiya Diogo, served under Dom Agostinho and became the governor of Shiki under him. Konishi Ryūsa and Bento signed the letter of the Christians of 1588 along with Hibiya Diogo and Vicente (cf. Q 482-483, pl. XXX).

⁷ Konishi Ryūsa (Pedro Gomes always writes his name as *Riutça*) was already at the beginning of 1594 more than seventy years old (Frois IV 243v has "over 60"), and was thus born around 1522. At the time of Xavier's arrival in Miyako, he would have been around thirty, "dos christãos mais antigos que se fizerão nas partes de Meaco desdo tempo que foi para lá o padre Gaspar Vilela e conheceu também noso bom Padre Mestre Francisquo Xavier" (Pedro Gomes on March 15, 1594, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 27; see also Frois IV 243). He was baptized around 1560 with the name of Joachim. He is the only Christian of Miyako of whom it is said that he knew Xavier personally. We therefore assume that his father was Xavier's host in 1551. He was from then on the main support of the Christian community in the capital. Though he was at first not well off, he always took a paternal care of the priests (cf. Frois on July 12, 1569: *Cartas* 1598, 271, and *Valignano, *Libro primero*, 1601, 81). He stood in high favor with Hideyoshi, who appointed him governor of Murotsu and of the island of Shōdoshima, and in 1585, together with a pagan, governor of Sakai. At the outbreak of the persecution, he and his son Bento signed the magnificent letter of the Christians of central Japan. In 1592 he accompanied Hideyoshi to Kyūshū as his general treasurer. He died piously, as he had always lived, the following year in Miyako in the home of his eldest son. His second son, Agostinho, who later became Hideyoshi's admiral, was thirty-eight in 1593 according to the Japanese document, *Gisojitsuroku*. He was thus born around 1555. His eldest son, Bento, was baptized in 1579, Agostinho in 1583. In addition to these there were two other brothers and a sister, Catarina. The claim that Dom Agostinho was the son of an ex-pharmacist from Sakai, which is found, for example, in the Japanese work *Sakai Kagami* II 650, in Steichen 101, and Papinot 306, is based upon a confusion, as Shigetomo Kōda notes in his *Oranda Zatsuwā* 184. On August 31, 1584, Frois wrote that Dom Agostinho was born in Miyako (*Cartas* 1598 II, 122v).

⁸ EX II 10-11,

is there, I shall write this in great detail to India, to the College of Coimbra and of Rome and of all the universities, especially that of Paris.^{8a}

And before leaving Malacca, Xavier wrote from there to the Society in Europe:

When we shall have reached Japão, we are determined to go to the island where the king is and to announce to him the message which we are bringing on the part of Jesus Christ. It is said that there are great places of study where the king is. We are going filled with confidence in the mercy of God our Lord that He will give us victory over His enemies. We are not afraid to meet the scholars of those parts; for one who does not know God or Jesus Christ, what can he know?⁹

His plan had been to go to the king immediately after his coming to the Land of the Rising Sun. But when he arrived there, he was at once put to a severe test. Three months after his arrival, he wrote from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa:

We landed here at a time when the winds were against going to Meaco, which is the principal city of Japán, where the king is and the greatest lords of the kingdom, and there was no wind to help us to go there before the lapse of five months; then, with the help of God, we shall go. It is a distance of three hundred *leguas* from here to Meaco. We are told great things about that city, since we are assured that it has more than ninety thousand homes, and that it has a great university for students with five principal colleges and more than two hundred monasteries of *bonzos* and of others like friars, who are called *Gixu*, and of nuns, who are called *Amacata*. In addition to this university of Meaco, there are five other leading universities, whose names are: Coya, Negru, Fieson, Omy. These four are in the neighborhood of Meaco, and it is said that in each of them there are more than 3,500 students. Another university with the name of Bandu is very far from Meaco; and it is the greatest and most important in Japán, which more students attend than any other.... We are told so many things about the size of these lands and universities that we first wish to see them before we can assert and write what is true; and if it is as we are told, we shall write to you about them in great detail after we have had experience of them.... After we have seen the disposition for fruit which can be gained in souls in these parts, it will not be difficult to write to all the chief universities of Christendom.... And if the disposition of these parts should be as great as it seems to us, we will not fail to communicate this to His Holiness, since he is the Vicar of Christ on earth and the Shepherd of those who believe in Him.... And we shall not forget to write to all the pious and blessed friars who live with very holy desires for the glory of Jesus Christ in the souls of those who do not know Him. And no matter how many may come, there will always be an opportunity for them to fulfill their desires in this great kingdom and in another still greater, which is China, where one can go safely without being ill treated by the Chinese if one has a safe-conduct from the king of Japán, who, as we hope in God, will be our friend and will readily provide us with this assurance.... In the course of 1551 we hope to write to you in great detail about the entire disposition that exists in Meaco and in the universities so that Jesus Christ our Lord may be known in them. This year two *bonzos* who have studied at the universities of Bandu and Meaco are going to Yndia.¹⁰

In his letter to Dom Pedro da Silva, the captain of Malacca, Francis had also mentioned his plans for the future:

^{8a} *Ibid.* 39.

⁹ *Ibid.* 148.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 207-210.

I shall take great pains to persuade the king of Japão to send an embassy to India so that it may see its greatness and the things that are there and those things which they are themselves lacking so that there may be negotiations between the governor and the king of Japão for the erection of the said factory [in Sakai]. I have great confidence that in the course of two years I can write to Your Grace that we have a church of Our Lady in Miaco so that those who come to Japão can recommend themselves to Our Lady of Miaco in the storms of the sea.^{10a}

Xavier wrote to Antonio Gomes with the same post that he had great hopes that he would write to him some day that he should come to Miyako or Bāndu, and that it was quite possible that before three years had passed he would write to him to come to take up his residence at one of these great universities. He added that he should persuade the governor of India to send gifts and a letter for the king of Japan with the priests who were sailing. If he were converted to Christianity, the king of Portugal would gain much profit from his factory in Sakai.¹¹

Xavier therefore wished to obtain two things in Miyako: He wished to speak with the king of Japan and to obtain from him permission to preach and the sending of an embassy to the governor of India, and to visit the university of Hiei-zan, whose tall, snow-covered mountains bounded the capital on the east, in order to herald the faith there, to dispute with the scholars of that institution, and to obtain their approval for the public expression of his teaching.¹²

On the day after the arrival of his guests, Konishi sent them accompanied by

^{10a} *Ibid.* 229-230.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 222. Even after his unfortunate attempts to obtain permission to preach from the king of Japan and from the superior of the university of Hiei-zan, Xavier's main plan of obtaining entrance into the universities of Japan remained alive, as his letters written after his return from Japan indicate (*ibid.* 225 275 288-291 297-299 336 348-349 371 373-374).

¹² Aoyama does not entirely exclude the possibility that Xavier went to Sakamoto: someone may have convinced him that it would be impossible for him to obtain the imperial permission for preaching without the intervention of the Hiei-zan monastery. Nevertheless he regards it as improbable, since the imperial court and this monastery had lost much of their influence during the sixteenth century, and both the Jōdo-shin and Hokke sects had become active and influential in Miyako since the fifteenth century without any permission from this monastery (119-120). But it is to be noted, in opposition to this, that in 1554 and 1559 Torres, despite Xavier's failure to obtain this permission from the superior of the Hiei-zan monastery, repeated the attempt. He first sent Brother Lourenço in 1554 with a letter of recommendation from the converted bonze Senyō Paulo, well known in Hiei-zan, and then in 1559 the same brother with Father Vilela and a letter of recommendation from Ōuchi Yoshinaga, the prince of Yamaguchi, as Frois reports at length (39-43 73 77-78). Frois here emphasizes the fact that without the approbation and authorization of the Hie-no-yama monastery, the chief university of Japan, *no other law than that of the old sects could under any circumstances be preached* in the city of Miyako. The brother was therefore sent to obtain this permission (42). At Hiei-zan Brother Lourenço was informed that he would have to obtain this from the *zazu*, the superior of the monastery (42-43). The same was told to him at the time of his second visit (78); and Diogo, the Christian who had brought him and Vilela to Sakamoto, where he lived, also told them that if they could not visit the main bonze of Hie-no-yama, they would have even greater difficulty in obtaining an entrance into Miyako (80). When gifts were asked for an audience with the *zazu*, which neither of them had, and Vilela without the superior's permission wanted to found a mission in the capital, Diogo and the two Japanese companions of the priest, Lourenço and Damião, sought to deter him from it, since they thought it would be foolhardy to attempt this without the approbation of the Hie-no-yama monastery (81-82; cf. Vilela's letter of July 13, 1564, in *Cartas* 1598, 140-v; and of October 6, 1571, in GS II 677).

one of his servants¹³ to a son-in-law¹⁴ who lived in Sakamoto¹⁵ at the foot of the nearly 3,800-foot-high Hiei-zan,¹⁶ which marked the entrance¹⁷ to the monastic university six leagues from the capital.

¹³ Brou writes: "Les contretemps allaient se multipliant sous le pas du saint. Le premier lui vint de son hôte. Celui qui l'avait hébergé à Sakai lui avait donné, à son tour, une lettre pour un ami. Mais celui-ci se hâta de se débarrasser des étrangers en les envoyant à vingt lieues de là chez son gendre" (II 194). He cites Cros II 117-118 for this. But the latter simply translates Frois and has none of Brou's additions. Since Xavier had a letter of recommendation from Kudō, such a rejection by a man such as Konishi Ryūsa, or by his father, would have been completely incomprehensible, especially when the circumstances are taken into account, and the fact that Konishi Ryūsa was later the greatest benefactor of the church in Miyako (cf. note 16, and GS III 662).

¹⁴ Konishi Ryūsa had an acquaintance in Sakamoto with whom he lodged his son and Frois at the time of the persecution in 1569, as the priest wrote on July 12, 1569 (*Cartas* 1598, 270-271). If there is no further mention of this acquaintance of Ryūsa, it may perhaps be explained by the fact that Nobunaga had the town together with the Hiei-zan monasteries burned down in 1571 (GS II 676-680).

¹⁵ Frois writes: "Chegando o Padre a esta cidade, que hé a Metropoli de todo Japão achou não estar a terra na disposição que era necessaria para seo intento por tudo andar alterado em guerras. O Cubosama estava fora da cidade com alguns senhores principaes. E dando o Padre hua carta ao hospede, que o havia de agazalhar, ao outro dia logo o mandou com hum mosso a casa de hum seo genro, que estava 16 ou 20 legoas dali" (9; *Geschichte* 12). Over the chapter on the journey to Miyako, he wrote: "This chapter will draw verbatim from some papers which were found many years later after the death of Brother João Fernandes, and he had narrated these same things to me by word of mouth in Yokoseura and on the islands of Hirado" (14). Fernández died in 1567 (Schütte, *Introductio* 315; against Frois 342).

¹⁶ *Official Guide* 13.

¹⁷ On August 17, 1561, Vilela wrote from Sakai to the India provincial Quadros of his trip to Hiei-zan in 1559: "Chegamos à serra de Fienoyama, que está antes do Meaco 6 legoas" (copy sent by the first *via* from India to Portugal in *JapSin.* 4, 136v). The Italian translations have: "sei leghe" (*ibid.* 142 148v 154v); the Latin has: "decem et octo milliariis" (*ibid.* 130), as does the translation of the *Epistolae Japonicae* (Lovanii, 1569, I 235: "milliariis octodecim") and Maffei in his Latin translation of the Japanese letters, which appeared in Dillingen in 1571 and was repeatedly republished: "Ad montem contendimus Frenojamam, ab urbe Meaco passuum millibus decem et octo" (*Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum* [Dilingae, 1571] 167; Neapoli, 1573, 150; Coloniae Agrippinae, 1574, 302; *Opera Omnia* II 188).—Frois wrote his *History of Japan* after being urged to do so by Maffei (cf. Frois, p. VIII). At this time there were no regular provincial archives in Goa or in Japan. In 1584, when Frois wrote the first part of his history, there were no printed or unprinted letters at hand in Goa apart from the Japanese letters and the Latin translation of the letters printed in Maffei's edition, which was highly esteemed by the visitor Valignano (GS III 78 88-89). In 1586 there was a similar lack of archival materials in Japan, where Frois completed the first part of his history of Japan (*ibid.* 83). In the Latin and Italian translations of the India and Japanese letters, the Portuguese leagues (*legoas*) were taken as the equivalent of three Latin or Italian leagues. We therefore assume that Frois in a distracted moment was deceived by the Latin text of Maffei with respect to Vilela's letter on his trip to Hiei-zan, which he probably had, and also by his history of Japan, where similar *lapsus memoriae* and contradictions are to be occasionally found (see above, p. 73, where he confuses Ninshitsu with his pupil). In his history he takes Maffei's eighteen *millia passuum* for eighteen Portuguese leagues (*legoas*). When he further mentions eighteen to twenty leagues, this can be explained by the fact that the *legoa* wavered between 3.67 and 4.10 miles. In the latter instance, eighteen leagues are thus almost the equivalent of twenty *millia passuum*. The data in the Japanese letters on the distance of Hiei-zan from Miyako also vary. In his letter of July 13, 1564, for example, Vilela writes that he had gone from Sakai to the university of Hiei-zan in two days, which was three *legoas* from Miyako (*Cartas* 1598, 140v). By this he probably means that he went to Sakamoto at the foot of Hiei-zan, eleven miles from the capital. In 1570 and 1571 Frois stated that Sakamoto, and in 1571 Vilela, that the mountain of Hiei-zan was four *legoas* from the capital (GS II 676-679).—All attempts to explain the eighteen to twenty *legoas* in Frois with Portuguese or Japanese

Deep snow covered the land as Xavier, Fernández, and Bernardo made their way to the town of Sakamoto, which could be reached in four hours.¹⁸ The servant went down the long street with the foreigners who had been entrusted to his care and, then across the Go-jō Bridge,¹⁹ over the wide, graveled bed of the swift but shallow Kamogawa, and then along the old military road of Tōkaidō,²⁰ which led from here to the east. After they had passed the last houses of the suburb and had continued on their way for an hour, they came to the narrow, rough mountain path²¹ that began south of the high-placed temple of

leagues are demolished by the distances and the goal which Xavier had. If the Portuguese league is taken as 3.73 miles, the distance to the town to which Xavier was sent by his host would be 63.4 to 74.6 miles; if the Japanese league (*ri*) is taken at 2.5 miles, it would be from 44.7 to 49.7 miles. But it is unthinkable that Konishi would have sent the strangers, who were already tired by their exertions of the two preceding days, on their way so far from Miyako in the middle of winter with his servant through a snow-covered and war-torn land without any clear reason. Professor Matsuda, who assumes that Frois is referring to Japanese leagues, wrote to us in 1957 that Xavier was probably sent to Nagawara in the district of Yasu to the southeast of Lake Biwa. In 1559 Vilela was sent there to obtain a letter of safe-conduct from the superior for a visit to the university of Hiei-zan, since the bonzes there were already aroused against the foreign visitors. Or Xavier may have been sent to Yōkaichi, which was 9.3 miles farther north. But Nagawara is not eighteen to twenty *ri* from Miyako, as Matsuda assumes, but eight; and Yōkaichi is twelve *ri* from Miyako, which would mean distances of twenty and thirty miles respectively. For the same reason none of the universities mentioned by Xavier apart from that of Hiei-zan come into question. The Kibe monastery near Nagawara is 8.5 *ri* (21.1 miles) from Miyako, and the universities of Kōyasan and Negoro are 20 *ri* (fifty miles) away. The Bandō monastery in northern Japan is completely out of the question, especially since this monastery could not have given Xavier any permission to preach the Gospel in the capital of the country. If the priest wished simply to obtain a view of the activities in the Japanese universities, he could have done this in one of the five university colleges of the Zen bonzes in Miyako or on Hiei-zan.

¹⁸ A distance of nine miles in a straight line, but actually somewhat farther.

¹⁹ Kaempfer gives a precise description of the route from Miyako to Ōtsu, having taken it on two trips to the court, in 1691 and 1692 (III 25 28 116-117 160 189, map on p. 32). Our only concern is the route he took from Yamashina. We have completed his data with other information from Murray 295 and 323, the *Official Guide* 744-746, and the following Japanese maps: Ōsaka-Kyōto 1:200,000, maps 25 and 26 in the geographical atlas *Dai Nihon Bunken Chizu*, and the new large map of Kyōto. On February 10, 1957, we made a round trip on the electric train to Sakamoto by way of Ōtsu. As far as Ōtsu this follows the Tōkaidō Road. In Xavier's time the Tōkaidō passed the old Go-jō Bridge. In its place is the Matsubura Bridge, built in 1906. In 1589, when Hideyoshi erected the large temple of Hōkōji with the giant statue of Daibutsu, the direct approach to it was along Rokujō-Bōmon Street. He therefore had the old Go-jō Bridge torn down and reerected farther south on Rokujō-Bōmon Street (Ponsonby 409-410 413-416). The legend of the battle of the hero Minamoto Yoshitsune with Benkei also pertains to the old Go-jō Bridge (Papinot 45 381-383; Ponsonby 410 416), which is already reported by Vilela in 1571 (GS II 665-666). In 1545 the high water had carried it away, but it was immediately rebuilt.

²⁰ When Hideyoshi laid out the course of Tōkaidō Road farther to the north and the Go-jō Bridge to the south, he had the new San-jō Bridge erected for the new highway (Ponsonby 3 409 413-414). The new Tōkaidō Road from then on passed from this bridge through the suburb of Awata by way of Ke-age and the Hina-oka-tōge Pass to Yamashina. Nishioka gives the old route on his map on pp. 78-79; Sansom erroneously gives the new route for that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in his *History of Japan* II 42 and 224.

²¹ In 1576, when Nobunaga built his ornate palace in Azuchi on the east shore of Lake Biwa, a difficulty to its approach from Miyako was "the rough mountain range and rocks of Hie-no-yama, which intervened between Miyako and that lake of the kingdom of Ōmi. In order to make it of easy access, he had it all cut by hand so that the earlier, rough road, which men climbed with effort, and horses only with great difficulty, became entirely smooth without any obstacles. It thus became a comfortable street, broad and

Kiyomizu.²² It began near the temple of Seikanji,²³ and led to the pass of the Higashiyama. After another hour they reached the large village of Yamashina²⁴ on the far side of the range. Near it was a burial mound overgrown with pines, beneath which were resting the mortal remains of a king of ancient times.²⁵ On the right and the left of the road, the slopes of the mountain were all covered with pines; but between these were occasionally to be seen *sugi* trees, that is, Japanese cedars, and clumps of bamboos. Not far from the grave of the king, to the left and away from the road, was a bonze monastery;²⁶ and soon after this could be seen a temple of Kannon.²⁷ Here began the boundary between the provinces of Yamashiro, in which Miyako was located, and that of Ōmi.²⁸

spacious, where ox carts and the sedan chairs of women could pass without difficulty" (Frois 365).

²² The old Go-jō Bridge was also called Kiyomizu, since it led to that temple, and Kanjin-bashi, since it was built from public subscriptions arranged by the said temple (Ponsonby 416).

²³ Lying at the foot of Kiyomizu Hill. On this temple, destroyed in 1573, see GS II 593 641 651.

²⁴ Yamashina is often mentioned from the seventh century on. The wife of the minister Kamatari, the founder of the Fujiwara family, founded here in 669 a Buddhist temple with statues of Shaka and the four guardians of heaven. The temple, which had the name of Yamashina-dera, was transferred in 678 to the capital Asuka, and in 710 to the new capital of Nara. It became the family temple of the Fujiwara and the main seat of the Hossō sect under the name of Kōfukuji (*Official Guide* 722-723). When the emperor Tenchi-tennō died in 671, he was buried in Yamashina. Soon after 902 the large Shingon temple of Kanjūji was founded in Yamashina by the bonze Jōshun under the patronage of the mother of the emperor Daigo-tennō. Thanks to the generosity of the emperor and the Fujiwara, this temple prospered greatly and, under the name of Miya Monzeki, was ruled by imperial princes. The temple and its elaborate buildings were burned down in the civil war in 1470 (Coates 177; Ponsonby 114-115). In 1212 Shinran Shōnin, the founder of the Ikkō sect, built here the small temple of Kōshōji, where he lived for sixteen years. In 1218 he converted it into a *honganji*, that is, an imperial temple. In 1320 the temple was transferred to Miyako, where it was burned down by the Hiei-zan monks. Most the bonzes then returned to Yamashina. Rennyo Shōnin, the eighth patriarch of the Ikkō sect, reerected the building (the present Yamashina Gobō), where he died in 1499. The temple was severely damaged by Hosokawa Masamoto during the war in 1507. It was again destroyed by a fire set by Rokkaku Sadayori and the Hokke bonzes in 1532. The headquarters of the sect were then transferred to Ōsaka (Coates 57-58; Ponsonby 160 270-271; Sansom, *Cultural History* 368).

²⁵ The burial mound, *misasagi*, is the resting place of the emperor Tenchi-tennō, who died in 671. During his rule the Japanese renounced their dominion over Korea (Papinot 648; Murray 395). In 754 there is mention of gifts from China tendered in the *misasagi* of Tenchi in Yamashina (Nachod II 1068). When the emperor Kammu in 793 transferred his seat of rule to Miyako, he reported this to the *misasagis* of his ancestors: to that of his father, the emperor Kōnin, in Nochi no Tawara; to that of his grandfather, the prince Shiki, in Saki no Tawara; and to that of his great-grandfather Tenchi in Yamashina (Ponsonby 9). On these *misasagis*, or imperial burial sites, see Nachod I 132-135, II 294-295 302-305 877-878.

²⁶ Kaempfer writes: "We saw here, at the distance of some pistol's-shots from the road, a monastery called Muro Tai Dai Moosin with an elaborate *torii*, or temple gate, near the road, which marked the path to the convent" (26). He later refers to it as "Morota miosin [Murō Daimyōjin], the famous monastery" (160, and map 32). Kōbō Daishi founded the monastery of Murōji in Yamato around 800 (Nachod II 943-944).

²⁷ "A little farther on is a Quannon temple with a large, famed, gilded idol of Dsisoo [Jizō] in a hexagonal shrine" (Kaempfer 26 160). On his map Kaempfer here has the name Rokudziso. *Roku-Jizō* means the six holy names of Jizō: Emmyō, Hōsho, Hōshu, Jichi, Hōin, and Kengoi (Papinot 517).

²⁸ The Japanese map has here on the left of the street a hooked cross as a sign of a Buddhist temple and the name *Shi no Miya* (Four Temples). It is near the boundary of the province.

On the far side of the boundary, a quarter of an hour from the temple of Kannon,²⁹ they reached the large village of Oiwake at the foot of a high mountain on the right. The people of this village were mostly occupied with wrought-iron works, wood and ivory carvings, and the making of idols.³⁰ The valley here became narrower. The mountains covered with thick, dark, forests of pines drew closer together. Near the neighboring village of Ōtani³¹ began the climb over the hill of Ōsaka.³² Beyond the tollbooth, on the height of the pass, was a small temple dedicated to a blind bard of ancient times.³³ Here the travelers were greeted by a brilliant panorama. At their feet lay the large blue lake of Biwa with its surrounding mountains. Four leagues wide and forty long, it embraced almost the entire province of Ōmi with the islands and villages and cities which rimmed its shores.

From here they descended sharply to the city of Ōtsu on the narrow south shore of the lake. It consisted of a long main street running along the beach, which was filled with shops and inns, and a few side streets.³⁴ Here the servant left the old military road. The way now led towards the north, with the wooded slopes of the Hiei-zan range on the left. These descended slowly to the shore of the lake, leaving room for fields, while on the right there was a view of the wide waters of the blue lake and of the pale blue heights above the eastern bank. To the left, upon this range and within its sixteen valleys, were the temples and monasteries of the university of Hiei-zan. According to tradition, it had formerly comprised three thousand monasteries. From five to eight hundred of these had survived the numerous wars. This complex was a counterpart of the University of Paris, the leading institution of higher studies in Christendom. Hiei-zan was similarly the chief site of the Buddhist sects and scholars, who received a large portion of the revenues of the kingdom of the Ōmi for their support.³⁵

²⁹ "In a quarter of an hour we came to Iwanotseja, a small hamlet, and immediately after it to the large village of Ojiwaki" (Kaempfer 26).

³⁰ "It consists of a single, long street with about four hundred houses inhabited by locksmiths, wood and ivory turners and carvers, weight-makers, wire-pullers, and, especially, painters and other individuals who sell all kinds of idols and statues. We saw here on the right a tall mountain covered with snow by the name of Ottowano Jamma" (*ibid.* 26 160).

³¹ Kaempfer is here somewhat confused. In 1691 he wrote with respect to Oiwake: "After we had gone for about a quarter of an hour farther on, we came to the city of Oitz [Ōtsu] an hour before sunset" (26); but with respect to his return trip: "We left Ootz [Ōtsu] and came to the electoral village of Odani, then to the village of Ootzakka [Ōsaka], then to Ojewazi, or Ojwake [Oiwake], another village almost contiguous to the preceding" (116). In 1692 he states only with respect to Oiwake: "We then passed through some other villages and left others on the right and left and arrived an hour before sunset at our lodgings in the city of Ootz" (160); and on his return: "We left Ootz early in the morning and came through the village, or electorate, of Odani and the other villages of Jakotsieja and Jabunosta, both almost next to each other, to a village at the foot of Mount Finoo [Hino-oka]" (189). The map has erroneously from west to east: *Iwanotsieja*, *Ootzsakka*, *Odani* or, commonly, *Oiwake*, *Oitz*; and it has the boundary of the province go straight through *Ootzsakka*.

³² The name is derived from *Au saka* (Mount Rendezvous). The train passes here through a tunnel (Murray 395).

³³ The shrine is dedicated to Semimaru, a blind poet and bard of the ninth century (Papinot 554). Murray cites his famous poem on the pass, "which everyone in Japan knows by heart: *Kore ga kono / Yuku mo kaeru mo / Wakarete wa / Shiru mo shiranu mo / Au saka no seki*. ("From here and there they come and go; the known and the unknown are parted here at the toll post of Mount Rendezvous.")

³⁴ Kaempfer 26 116. He estimated the number of houses at his time at about a thousand.

³⁵ On the monasteries of Hiei-zan, see Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild" (GS II 674-680).

A short distance beyond Ōtsu was the large village of Miidera with its extensive monastic buildings and its highly revered temple of Kannon.³⁶ Soon after Miidera were Shiga and then Karasaki, the latter famed for its giant cedars reaching to a height of a hundred feet.³⁷ In another hour and a half the travelers were in the large town of Sakamoto,³⁸ the end of their journey, at the base of Hiei-zan, and the home of Konishi's son-in-law.

All along the way, Xavier and Fernández attracted the attention, and even ridicule, of the villagers because of their strange, foreign garb. Boys and members of the lower classes broke into laughter, shouted at them, and heaped them with abuse. Children also ran along the streets doing the same as they made fun of the strangers.³⁹

The data on the number of monasteries vary: earlier 3,000, 3,300, 3,800, 5,000, now (before the destruction of 1571) 400, 500, over 500, 800. For revenues they had nearly a third of the kingdom of Ōmi, as Frois wrote in 1571 (*ibid.* 678). On the complete destruction of the monasteries by Nobunaga in 1571, see *ibid.* 678-680. They were only partially rebuilt.

³⁶ In 1571 Miidera had around two thousand inhabitants and was renowned for its many great scholars and abundant revenues. Frois was there for two days and saw a number of large and well-built monasteries in ruins, and others that had numerous bonzes. According to him there could have been three hundred bonzes there in the still surviving monasteries (GS II 677). The temple, called Onjōji, was founded in 686 in memory of the emperor Kōbun and is the seat of the Jimon branch of the Tendai sect. When it was at its height, the monastery had 859 buildings. Today there are still more than sixty. The present structure is from 1690. The two monasteries in Miidera and on Mount Hiei-zan had monastic troops, and they were at constant strife with each other (Murray 396 368; *Official Guide* 746; Papinot 489). In 1559 Vilela, on his way to Sakamoto, visited "the very renowned temple of Miidera in Japan, now very old and robbed of its earlier greatness and splendor" (Frois 77).

³⁷ The tree, which is famous throughout Japan, has a circumference of thirty-seven feet and more than 380 branches, which stretch from north to south for 150 feet, and from east to west for 160. It is now withered, but will be preserved for the future. It probably was already standing in Xavier's time and regarded as sacred for its age (Murray 396; *Official Guide* 746).

³⁸ Sakamoto was "a large town at the base of the university of Hie-no-yama," as Frois wrote on July 12, 1569 (*Cartas* 1598, 270v). It was a little smaller than Cochín (GS II 676) and had a thousand inhabitants subject to the monastery of Hiei-zan before its destruction by Nobunaga in 1571 (*ibid.* 677). The town was divided into two parts: Upper and Lower Sakamoto.

³⁹ Frois states: "Naquelle caminho os mossos e a gente baxa, que os topavão, lhe davão gritas e rizadas e lhe dizião muitas injurias, e sahindo os meninos ás ruas fazião o mesmo escarnecendo delles" (9; *Geschichte* 12-13). Aoyama places this persecution in Sakamoto and attributes the failure of their journey to it: "They were unable to obtain permission for an audience. For the residents of Sakamoto and of the area about it persecuted the unknown missionaries who had come from the capital. The missionaries were probably suspected by the people because of some misunderstanding. The opposition between the *shōgun* resident in Sakamoto and Miyoshi Chōkei, who had driven him from the capital in 1549, and the opposition between the influential Tendai monks of Hiei-zan in Sakamoto and other monks active in the land provided occasions for numerous disputes. It is possible that there was a connection between these tensions and the persecution of the missionaries. It is also easy to understand that under these circumstances the son-in-law of Konishi Ryūsa did not let the missionaries stay in his house" (118). But it should be noted here that (1) the *shōgun* was not at the time in Sakamoto; (2) there is no mention of a persecution in Sakamoto in the sources, since the visitors of 1551 were still completely unknown to the people of the town; (3) the situation at the time of Vilela's visit in 1559 was different, since the opposition of their teaching to that of the Buddhist bonzes of Hiei-zan was then known, and slanders of the worst sort were circulating in the monasteries there. Vilela's host, the Christian Diogo, consequently did not dare to keep his guests any longer in his house, since he feared that he would be ruined by the people of Sakamoto, who were vassals of Hiei-zan (Frois 77-82).

Xavier's efforts to obtain an entrance into the monastic university located in the heights of the mountain in order to preach Christ there, to dispute with the scholars, and to obtain from its superior permission to preach his doctrine were all in vain.⁴⁰ In order to visit the university or to obtain an audience with the *zasu*, its superior, there was need of a rich present, and since Xavier had left all of his treasures in Hirado, his efforts were of no avail.⁴¹ He consequently cut short his stay in Sakamoto and returned soon after his arrival there to Miyako in order to obtain an audience there with the king of Japan.⁴²

⁴⁰ The superior of the monastery on Hiei-zan was the *zasu* (literally: "master of the chair"). All the monasteries of the Tendai sect were also subject to him (Papinot 763). In 1554 and 1559 the *zasu* was Sairakuin (Frois 43 76 78 80-81). On October 8, 1561, Torres wrote: "There are three chiefs as highest lords in this land. The first, whom they call *Zaso*, is the head of religion, or the ecclesiastical head, like the pope of Rome; for it is his office to approve and ratify the newly arising sects; and if these are not ratified and authorized by his letters, they receive no belief or respect from anyone" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 230-v; *Cartas* 1598, 74; cf. also Frois 42-43).

⁴¹ When Brother Lourenço visited the monastery, he was unable to speak with the *zasu*. When Vilela and the brother made a second visit in 1559, Vilela spoke with the chief judge of the university and expressed his wish to speak with the chief scholars of the monastery about his law. He was told in reply that if he wished to dispute with them, this was not wanted; but if he merely wished to see the university, a precious gift was needed for this, and without such a gift he would be unable to gain entrance (Vilela, July 13, 1564: *Cartas* 1598, 140v-141; also Lourenço on June 2, 1560: *ibid.* 70). Frois is more explicit: When Vilela asked the bonze Shikinai to arrange an audience with the *zasu* for him so that he might obtain letters of recommendation from him, he has him tell the priest that he had been informed that when the priests came to Yamaguchi they had brought very great presents and very unusual gifts to Ōuchidono, the king at the time. How much more should they then do for the *zasu* Sairakuin, who was the high priest of Hiei-zan and a close relative of the *dairi* (emperor) and head of the university in all of its sixteen valleys! Since the priest was aspiring to such a high degree of honor and dignity as to be permitted to see the *zasu* and, in keeping with custom in Japan, he had something to offer to him, he might let him know what kind of a present he was bringing with him (81).—Xavier had promised his confreres in India and Europe that he would write to them in great detail about the universities after he had seen them. That he did not obtain entrance into the university of Hiei-zan is indicated by the letters which he wrote after his return from Japan, and in which he is completely silent about his attempt to visit it. The vagueness with which he later wrote to Simon Rodrigues about the monastic universities is also an indirect indication that he was not able to see any of them at first hand: "It seems to me, my dearest Brother Maestro Simón that you should write to our blessed Padre Ignacio about those who have to come to Japón in order to go to these universities. From almost all Japón, *vonzos* go to study in Vandou [Bandō], and what they learn there they teach in their lands when they return from Vandou. As I am told, Vandou is an extremely large city and has many illustrious people. They have the reputation of being very militant, but there are some good people among them. This is the information which I have about Vandou; and this should be the case with the other universities" (EX II 298-299). Since Xavier did not find an entrance into the university of Hiei-zan, Brother Lourenço in 1554 did not find any remembrance of his visit there, nor any knowledge of the Christian faith (Frois 42).

⁴² "Não fez o Padre detensa em caza daquelle homem e tornando-se ao Miaco per-tendo ver, se podia vizitar ao Vó, Rey universal de todo Japão," according to Frois (9; *Geschichte* 13). Aoyama quotes Xavier's words: "We remained for some days in the capital. We attempted to speak with the king and to obtain from him permission to preach the law of God in his land." According to Aoyama, by "king" is meant either the *shōgun* or the emperor. But since it was more difficult to obtain an audience with the emperor than with the *shōgun*, Xavier's host apparently sent him to Sakamoto where the *shōgun* Askikaga Yoshiteru was staying at the time so that he might first seek there an audience with the *shōgun*. As a member of the influential Konishi group, his host probably had some relations with an official of the court of the *shōgun* and could therefore, in accordance with Xavier's desire, probably act as an intermediary in obtain-

In India Xavier had already learned from Anjirō much about the private life of the *ō*, the king of Japan.⁴³ He was like the pope and had jurisdiction over secular persons as well as the clergy, but he delegated his temporal rule to the *gosho*, who was like their emperor. This *gosho* was, however, subservient to the *ō*, and he knelt when he spoke with him. If the *gosho* did something bad, the king could behead him. This *ō* was married to one wife. When the moon began to wax, he fasted and dressed in white and wore a crown upon his head until the full moon, and he refrained from marital acts. But when the moon again waned, he lived again with his wife for the other fifteen days, and he engaged in hunting and gave himself over to other amusements. If his wife died after he had attained his thirtieth year, he maintained perpetual chastity from then on, and lived like a religious.⁴⁴ There were also other legends current about the king. There were 366 idols made of wood or stone in his palace, each one of which had to watch over him for one night. If he did not feel well at night, the idol concerned would be pummeled with blows of the fist and banished from the city for a hundred days. After this it would be called back with every honor and mollified with caresses so that it would forget the insults it had received.⁴⁵ Other things were also said about the king.⁴⁶ He could not walk upon the earth with his bare feet. When he was forced to leave the enclosure of his house, he did so in a sedan chair or wearing straw sandals that were a span in height. He was as a rule unapproachable to mortal view, and it was said of him that he mostly sat in his palace with his sword in one hand and his bow and an arrow in the other. His inner garments, those which touched his body, were black. The robe that he wore over these was red, and over this he wore another made of thin silk and shaped like a veil. He wore tassels dangling from his hands and a cap with earflaps in the shape of a bishop's miter on his head. His forehead was painted black and white.⁴⁷ His food had to be placed in earthen vessels.

ing such an audience (117-119). — But all this is conjecture without any foundation in the sources. In Xavier's letters and in the other contemporary documents, the "king of Japan" is always the emperor, also called *dairi* and *ō*, but never *shōgun*; and Rodrigues Tçuzu writes that the *shōguns*, although they had seized the rule and the revenues for themselves, still always recognized the king as their natural lord, and no *shōgun* dared to attribute the title of "king" to himself but rather claimed that he was ruling in the name of the king, and that this had been ratified by him (182). The *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshiteru was moreover no longer in Sakamoto at the time of Xavier's arrival but in Katada, nearly four miles farther north, as Aoyama notes in the printed text of his doctoral thesis, where, in contrast to what he had originally written, he adds on p. 117, after note 5, "according to Matsuda 561." By this he means: according to Matsuda's *Kinseishoki Nihonkankei Nambanshiryō no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1967), indicated in the list of abbreviations, and not his *Kinki Kirishitan Shiwa* (1949), given in the bibliography. The *shōgun* was a boy of sixteen who had been driven from the capital, where his adversary had seized his rule, and where he was not able to return until 1552. At the time of Xavier's arrival he was completely powerless, a puppet in the hands of his protectors. There is consequently no indication in the contemporary sources that Xavier sought to obtain an audience with the *shōgun*. Father Schütte does not consider Xavier's trip to Sakamoto and Hiei-zan to be unlikely, but he does not regard it as certain. Nevertheless he does not have any other explanation for Frois' text (*Introductio* 604 630).

⁴³ A collection of texts on the king of Japan is to be found in Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 125-134. In reports of the missionaries, he is usually called *vo* or *voo* [ō]. He is also called *dairi* after his palace.

⁴⁴ Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 128-129.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 129-130. The texts are given by Alcáçova for the end of 1554 (*Codex Ulyssiponensis* I 205v: Q 6045), and by Frois from Miyako, February 20, 1565 (*Cartas* 1598, 173).

⁴⁶ Torres on October 8, 1561 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 230v-231) gives a copy of the Spanish text. The Portuguese translation which we followed in *Shin-tō* 130 is not exact.

⁴⁷ According to the Spanish copy, the Portuguese translation in *Cartas* 1598, 74, and

But even though he was revered as an idol, he could be deposed on three counts: if he set his bare feet upon the ground; if he slew anyone; and if he was not a very tranquil man.⁴⁸

When Xavier beheld the palace of the king with his companions, he was bitterly disillusioned. The city here, as everywhere else, manifested the devastating consequences of the preceding wars. The palace area in the north of the upper city had the shape of a giant square surrounded by a bamboo hedge linked together with shrubs, having a gate on each side through which one could see the gardens and, in the far distance, a number of poor, single-storied buildings. The royal palace was of itself no more than a common farmhouse⁴⁹ in which the

the Italian translations in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 239v and 245v; only the very defective Latin translation has "red and white" (*ibid.* 235).

⁴⁸ According to Torres. In a letter of June 1, 1569, Frois indicates the respect which the people had for the emperor. The bonze Nichijō Shōnin claimed that he wished to help the emperor regain his earlier prestige, position, influence, and wealth. From eight to ten years earlier he had purchased in Miyako a piece of brocade, and he had traveled with it through the distant parts of Japan and had declared in the towns and villages that the cloth was from the emperor's clothes, that he had given it to him, and that he now wished to sell it as relics. All, in accordance with their means, gave him something for a small piece of it, one a ducat, another two ducats, and so forth. And he thus obtained a large sum of money (Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 133-134). Alcáçova, who was in Japan from 1552 to 1553, gives a further insight into the respect shown for the emperor in Xavier's time. He heard the following anecdote from Torres in Yamaguchi, and he reported it in 1554: "No tempo que o Padre Mestre Francisco estava nesta terra [of Yamaguchi], chegou hum homem de Meaco, que trazia huma gamela, em que a gente dizia, que o rei de Meaco, que elles tem como santo, lavara os pes; e assi a tomavão com muita serimonia e a punhão na cabeça por a grande santidade que dizião que el-rei tinha. Este mesmo homem dixe ao Padre Mestre Francisco se queria pôr a gamela na cabeça, e o Padre lhe dixe que dispois. Este rei de Meaco nunca pôe os pes no chão, porque se os pôe dizem-lhe logo que não he santo, e se lhe vem a vontade privão-no da dignidade" (*Codex Ulyssip.* I 205; see also Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 129-130).

⁴⁹ The author of the *Rōjin Zatsurwa* (Miscellanea of an Old Man), composed before 1598 (Ponsonby 245), states that "up to the time of Nobunaga, the imperial palace was no different from a farmhouse. There was no wall surrounding the palace but only a bamboo hedge linked together with bushes. When we were young, we played with clay on the balcony of the palace and fashioned little figures from it" (Haas I 98). Ponsonby has collected some texts for the history of the imperial palace from the Ōnin War to Xavier's time (180-182), and he gives plans of it (32-33 58 334-335). According to him, the palace grounds had no enclosure in 1545, at best a bamboo fence; and in 1560 this hardly protected the palace from the wind and rain (182). In his history Frois notes that in 1565 the palace was old and badly damaged (237). When Nobunaga ordered the imperial palace to be rebuilt in 1568, it was at the time so dilapidated that it no longer had a definite shape. He spent 100,000 *cruzados* on the new building, which was finished in 1571 (cf. Frois, June 1, 1569: *Cartas* 1598, 264v-267, and *Geschichte* 378); but it was still undeserving of the name of an imperial palace (according to Ponsonby 182-183 245-246, who cites the *Rōjin Zatsuwa*, the *Nobunaga-ki*, and the *Heian Tsūshi* for this and gives the cost as a little over ten thousand *kan* [the *kan* being worth 8.28 pounds sterling]). *Rodrigues Tçuzu describes how the entire country was ruined by the constant civil wars between 1340 and 1582, and how the king and the *kuges* were crowded together (*accuralados*) in Miyako, and beggarly poor (181), when Xavier came to Japan in 1549 (183). The palaces of the king and of the other lords of the city had been for the most part destroyed by fire. But since the *kubō* had his palace there, and his captains were also living in the city, it recovered the state in which Xavier had found it, and it remained so until Miyoshi Chōkei murdered the *kubō* in 1565 and burned down his palace and the palaces of his captains and lords, "during the course of which a large part of the city was destroyed and, as far as the houses and the number of their inhabitants is concerned, it was reduced to the miserable condition in which we saw it when we came to Japan twenty-six years after the departure of the blessed priest. The palaces of the kings and of the *kuges* were miserable structures of pine, as were the walls, and the trappings of the *kuges* were extremely poor and pitiable.

lord lived without pomp and royal court.⁵⁰ Although the palace had been roughly restored in 1536 for the coronation ceremonies,⁵¹ everything gave the impression of extreme poverty. The bald-shaven *kuges*, the court nobility, in so far as they had not left the city and found support from foreign princes or private individuals,⁵² had been stripped of their earlier revenues and lodged in miserable buildings in the neighborhood of the royal palace. Princesses and dames of the palace, scorning all the earlier court etiquette, called through gaps in the half-ruined fence to wandering merchants in order to obtain for themselves at little cost sweet potatoes, which were the delicacies of the poor.⁵³ The south gate was reserved for the king.⁵⁴ The west gate was the main entrance,⁵⁵ but only servants of the palace could use it.⁵⁶ When Xavier came in his poor clothing with his two companions to the gate and announced himself and expressed his desire to speak with the king, he was asked if he had a gift, which was required for admission. He replied that he had brought one with him to Japan but that he had left it in Hirado. He was willing to have it brought from there if he could see the *ō* so that he might present it to him,⁵⁷ but this made no impression upon the interrogators. He therefore had to return to the house of his host with his two companions and his mission unaccomplished. From Konishi he was able to obtain more accurate information about the true status of the king.⁵⁸

The enclosure of the royal palace was made of wood and reeds plastered with mud. It was very old and dilapidated, open everywhere and abandoned without guards" (240-241). Rodrigues Tçuzu came to Kyōto the first time in 1591.

⁵⁰ Frois 13. The king was Go-Nara-tennō (1527-1557).

⁵¹ Ponsonby 182.

⁵² Rodrigues Tçuzu 181 236, and Frois 358.

⁵³ "A l'arrivée de Xavier à Kyōto, l'empereur Go-Nara était sans influence aucune. Réduit à vivre des secours que quelques daimyō voulaient bien lui envoyer, il menait, avec son nombreux entourage, une existence des plus précaires. Son palais n'était plus qu'une immense mesure, où les voleurs entraient à volonté, emportant encore le peu qui s'y trouvait. Les princesses et les dames du palais héraient, à travers les brèches du mur d'enceinte, les marchands ambulants de patates douces, et se procuraient ainsi, à peu de frais, la friandise du peuple" (Steichen 7-8).

⁵⁴ Ponsonby 335. It was the Kenrei-mon Gate. But according to Murdoch, the emperor did not appear in public from 1521 to 1587 (28).

⁵⁵ The Yotsuashi-mon Gate (Ponsonby 181).

⁵⁶ Frois on April 27, 1565 (GS II 647).

⁵⁷ Frois 12-13, who rightly states that the *kubōsama* (the *shōgun*) was outside the city with some leading lords when Xavier came to Miyako. But Mendes Pinto already confuses the king with the *kubōsama* and states in his *Peregrinação* that the priest had not been able to see the Cubamcamá, since 100,000 *caixas*, the equivalent of 600 *cruzados*, were asked for this, and that the priest had been much troubled by his not having what was needed for obtaining what he so greatly desired (c. 208). Tursellinus has the priest remain for some days before the royal palace in his attempt to secure an audience (4, 6). Lucena unites the data of both authors and has Xavier employ some days and different means in his many attempts to obtain entrance to the palace of the *dairi* (king) and *kubōsama* (*shōgun*), both of whom asked 100,000 *caixas* for this (7, 24). *Rodrigues Tçuzu follows him here (47a; Ajuda 224; Cros, *Vie* II 113-114). Bartoli has Xavier make an attempt to obtain a visit with the *vo* (king and *zasso* (*zasu*), both of whom demanded six hundred ducats (3, 18). Massei (3, 3) and Sousa (*Oriente Conquistado* 1, 4, 1, 36) follow him in this, both calling the king *dairi*. Bouhours unites the different accounts: Xavier attempts to obtain an audience with the *kubōsama*, *dairi*, and *zasu*. And they ask 100,000 *caixas*, the equivalent of 600 *écus*, for this from him (1. 5).

⁵⁸ Xavier writes that he obtained information on the powerlessness of the king after his attempt to obtain an audience: "Trabalhamos por falar com el-rey pera lhe pedir licença, pera em seu regno pregar a ley de Deus. Nom pudemos falar com ele. E depoyos que tivemos emfformação que nom hé obedecido dos seus, deixamos de imssystir em pedir-lhe a licença pera pregar em seu regno" (EX II 262).

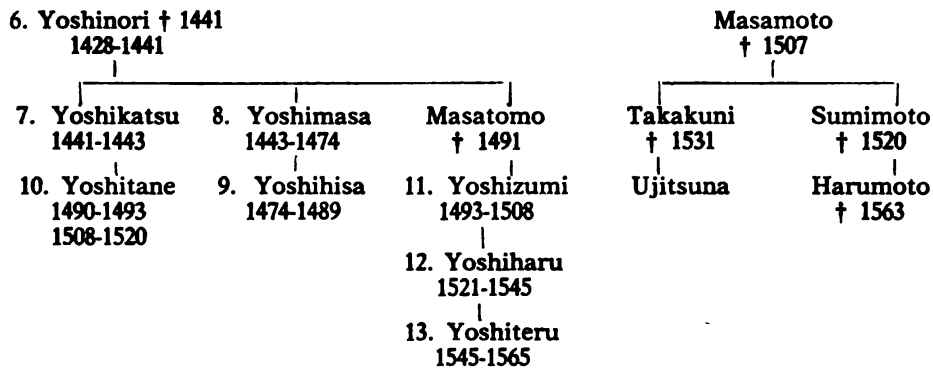
During the course of more than two hundred years the *shōgun* (the *gosho*, as he was called by Anjirō)⁵⁹ had appropriated all authority, even if he allegedly ruled in the name of the king.⁶⁰ The *ō* thus had as few lands and resources as his courtiers, the *kuges*. He was completely impoverished like his court officials and lived off of the alms which the *shōgun* or individual lords gave him, or which he received from princes⁶¹ or bonzes for the conferring of honorary titles which were reserved to him, or for the confirmation of their sects.⁶² Although his palace had not been burned down during the civil war that had been waged seventy years earlier, like the manors of most of the nobility and also of the *kuges*, it had by this time fallen into ruins and only the main building had been poorly reconstructed. It was now again in a ruinous state, since the poverty of the kings had permitted only the most necessary repairs during the last seventy

⁵⁹ Other names for the *shōgun* are: *kubōsama* and *bakufu*. The original title was *sei-i-tai-shōgun* (supreme commander for the overthrow of the barbarians). *Gosho* is the name of the imperial palace, but it later became employed also for the *shōgun*. For a better understanding of the subsequent events, we give the following family trees of the *shōguns* of our period, indicated by numbers, and of their prime ministers (*kanryōs*):

(*Taikō* was the name assumed by a retired *shōgun*.)

Ashikaga (*Shōgun*)

Hosokawa (*Kanryō*)



⁶⁰ Rodrigues Tçuzu writes that in 1340 the captain general of the kingdom, the *shōgun* Takauji, appropriated the rule and the revenues for himself. The king and the *kuges* thus became abjectly poor (181-182 239-240).

⁶¹ On December 13, 1584, Frois wrote: "The supreme lord of these sixty-six kingdoms is the *vō* or *dairi*, who always resides in his palace in Miyako without letting himself be seen or be in conversation with anyone. Though he lost his position and his services and his incomes four hundred years ago, and is nothing more than an idol, he is still held in great respect. And since he is the supreme lord, he gives titles and honors to secular princes and lords and to religious, who give him their gifts for this" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9, 329v). On October 8, 1561, Torres wrote: "El officio y presidentia deste es en las cosas de la honrra, porque a él solo pertenece darlas a cada uno según que le parece, y según la calidad de las personas y cosas echas. Y así su officio es dar nombres o títulos a los señores conforme a lo que merecen, por donde se sabe de qué honrra y calidad es cada uno y qué respecto y reverentia se lo deve tener. A este... pertenece agradalos en sus títulos acrescentando a cada uno en ellos los grados de honrra que le parece aver merecido. Estos títulos y grados dellos que se dan, se muestran por ciertas letras con que se conseden, hagan en sus firmas, las quales les quedan a manera de armas y insinias, y así mudar los señores sus firmas conforme a los títulos y letras dellos que se les conseden, como aconteció a este señor de Bungo [Ōtomo Yoshishige], al qual después que acá estamos le avemos visto firmas de 24 maneras por los grados que a su título le fueron por el *Voo* acrescentados" (*JapSin.* 4, 231). Instead of twenty-four, the Italian translations (*ibid.* 240 246) and *Cartas* 1598 (74v) have thirty-four, and the Latin translation has four (*JapSin.* 4, 235v). Cf. Murdoch 28-31.

⁶² Rodrigues Tçuzu 241.

years.⁶³ During the great flood of 1544, the water had come up to the royal palace and had carried off a part of the bamboo hedge.⁶⁴ And nine years before this a typhoon had thrown down the Nikka-mon, "Sunflower Gate," and in 1541 another, the corresponding Gekkwamon, "Moonflower Gate," in the royal garden, and also a tower and the storehouse.⁶⁵ The poverty of the kings became so great that when King Go-Tsuchi-mikado died in 1500, his body was left unburied for forty days, since there was no money for the solemn burial until this was provided by the prince of South Ōmi.⁶⁶ His successor, Go-Kashiwabara, had to wait for twenty years for his solemn coronation, that is, until 1521, when the superior of the temple of Hongwanji in Yamashina, Shōnyo Shōnin,⁶⁷ who had become rich through trade with China, gave him 10,000 *ryō*⁶⁸ for this. The present king, Go-Nara-tennō, who took over the rule in 1527, could also not be solemnly crowned until 1536, when the prince of Yamaguchi, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and the superior of the temple of Hongwanji gave him the money for the celebration.⁶⁹

Konishi was also able to give his guests information on earlier events which explained the present condition of the king and his capital.⁷⁰

Famine and pestilence had in two months, in 1460 and 1461, carried off more than eighty thousand persons in Miyako. The streets and the Kamogawa River under the Shi-jō Bridge had been blocked by rotting corpses.⁷¹ Seven years later the Ōnin War, the great civil war, had broken out. The two parties were fighting for the succession in the office of *shōgun*, and Miyako was for eleven years the field of battle. At its end practically the whole city had been burned down and destroyed, and only half of the population, some forty thousand, had still survived. Only a few important buildings were still standing at its conclusion, and these were largely in ruins.⁷²

But even after this war had ended, pestilence and smallpox, hunger, con-

⁶³ Ponsonby 173 181-182.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 174.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 182.

⁶⁶ Papinot 131 515. The prince of South Ōmi was Rokkaku Takagai (Sansom, *Cultural History* 359).

⁶⁷ Ponsonby 271.

⁶⁸ The *ryō* was a unit of weight. In 1473 ten *ryō* of gold dust were worth twenty thousand copper coins (Ramming 407). A silver ingot (*ichimai*) amounted to ten *ryō*, worth four *tael* and three *mas*, or four *cruzados* and six *vintens* (Alvarez-Taladriz 127*; Frois 10).

⁶⁹ Ponsonby 271. According to Haas I 98, Papinot 505, and Murdoch 24, Ōuchi Yoshitaka alone paid for the coronation. According to Ponsonby, the coronation was on March 16, 1536, six years after he began to rule (182). Ramming writes that it is frequently maintained that the Monto monks had provided the money for the coronation, but actually it was the *shōgun* Yoshitane who provided the means for its execution five years after the king had mounted the throne (188-189). But Yoshitane had already died in 1522. In 1560 Mōri Motonari still had to give the emperor Ōgimachi the money for his coronation ceremonies (Papinot 474).

⁷⁰ For the following, see Papinot: on the Ashikaga *shōguns* 32-35, the Hosokawa 183-185, the Miyoshi 393-395, the Rokkaku, a collateral branch of the Sasaki 515-516, and Matsunaga Hisahide 363-364; see also Sansom, *History* II 217-241, and *Cultural History* 358-360 367-368 391-393; Murdoch 21-24 28 55-56; Ponsonby 175 208-209 271; Aoyama 22 105 120 122; Haas I 178. In addition to these, we obtained information through letters from Professor Matsuda in 1957 based on such Japanese works as the *Tokitsugu-Kyō-ki* (Diary of the Court Official Yamashina Tokitsugu, 1525-1576; edited in *Dai Nihon Shiryō* VI 10); the *Yūhen-Ōnin-ki*; and the *Ashikaga Kiseiki*, which he has employed in his most recent work, *Kinseishoki Nihonkankei Namban-shiryō no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1967) 541-566.

⁷¹ Ponsonby 172; La Mazelière II 345.

⁷² Ponsonby 173. On the Ōnin War, 1467-1477, see Sansom, *History* II 217-229.

flagrations, floods, and fighting had prevented any rest from coming to the land.⁷³ There was consequently much resentment when the *shōgun* Ashikaga Yoshimasa, unmindful of the misery of his people, devoted himself entirely to an aesthetic and luxurious life, and built for himself an elaborate palace in the east of the city at the foot of Higashiyama and handed it over to the Zen bonzes at the time of his death in 1490.⁷⁴ Four years later a devastating fire broke out in the north part of the lower city, which had been partially rebuilt. Sixty blocks of houses were destroyed, and in 1500 another conflagration destroyed 20,000 homes.⁷⁵ Smallpox and pestilence were from then on a constant plague. In 1539 and 1540 an epidemic took the lives of twenty-six thousand, and a flood put fifteen blocks of houses under water. In 1540 there was a frightful typhoon that carried everything with it, and in 1544 another flood forced the people to sail through the streets in boats.⁷⁶

In addition to these natural disasters there was continuous political turmoil. During the Ōnin War, the fighting had been centered around the office of *shōgun*. After this there was fighting between the two branches of the Hosokawa family and their followers, the Miyoshi, for the hereditary position of *kanryō*, or prime minister, of the *shōgun*, who had been practically stripped of his power. It was a battle in which all took an active part, even the lord of South Ōmi, Rokkaku Sadayori, and the bonzes of some sects and their followers.

The *shōguns* had become powerless puppets in the hands of their prime ministers, the Hosokawas, who elevated and deposed them at will. Among the *shōguns* who were placed in office from the beginning of the Ōnin War, Yoshimasa was eight years old, Yoshihisa nine, Yoshizumi fifteen, and Yoshiharu and Yoshiteru eleven at the time of their elevation. Yoshitane was an exception in that he was already twenty-five years old when he entered office in 1490. But when he marched against Rokkaku Takayori and put him to flight, Hosokawa Masamoto rose up against him, forced him to flee in 1493, and set his cousin, the fifteen-year-old Yoshizumi in his place. Masamoto was himself assassinated in 1507 when the banished *shōgun* returned to Miyako with an army of Ōuchi Yoshioki, the prince of Yamaguchi, and routed the allied troupes of the Hosokawa, Miyoshi, and Rokkaku.⁷⁷

After the death of Masamoto, his three adopted sons fought for the position of prime minister and the possession of Miyako. The first of these, Sumiyoshi, fell in battle in 1507. The second, Sumimoto, was defeated by the third, Takakuni, in 1519 and died in exile the following year. In 1529 Takakuni forced the *shōgun* Yoshitane to flee and replaced him in 1521 with Yoshiharu, the eleven-year-old son of Yoshizumi. In 1531, however, Takakuni was also defeated and slain as he was fleeing.⁷⁸

The struggle over the position of minister then continued between Ujitsune, the son of Takakuni, and Harumoto, the son of Sumimoto.⁷⁹ Among the followers of the Hosokawa, the Miyoshi had a leading part in the fighting. Miyoshi Nagateru had aligned himself with Sumimoto and had defended Miyako for him;

⁷³ Ponsonby 173-174.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 191-192 205-207. On Yoshimasa and his palace see Sansom, *History* II 229-232. As a Zen temple, it was called Jishō-ji.

⁷⁵ Ponsonby 174.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 208-209.

⁷⁷ Papinot 33-34 504.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 184.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 184-185.

but he had been defeated, and in 1520 he had committed *hara-kiri* in the Chion-in temple. His son Nagamoto, who had forced his way into the capital with the Hosokawa in 1520 and had compelled the *shōgun* Yoshitane to flight, was slandered by his adversaries and in 1532 was slain by command of Hosokawa Harumoto in the Hongwanji temple of Yamashina. When this happened, seventy of his men committed *hara-kiri* in order to follow their lord in death.⁸⁰

In this same year, 1532, Harumoto's ally, Rokkaku Sadayori, had attacked and burned the main temple of the Ikkō sect in Yamashina⁸¹ with the assistance of the Hokke bonzes and their followers, the Hongwanji. The reprisal on the Hokke, who were hated by all the other sects because of their intolerance, occurred four years later. The powerful bonzes of the Tendai sect had come down with their monastic troops from Hiei-zan and had burned down all the twenty-one temples and monasteries of the Hokke in the capital and had driven out their inmates. In the assault on their main temple, Honkokuji, three thousand of its defenders had been slain.⁸² But the pestilence, which soon after came upon the city in 1539 and 1540, the violent typhoon and the flood of 1540, and a new high water in 1544, which destroyed the Shi-jō and the Go-jō bridges over the Kamo-gawa, were interpreted by the people as the revenge of the spirits of those who had fallen during the expulsion of the Hokke. At an assembly of all the sects, it was decided that the Hokke bonzes should be reinstated and their twenty-one temples reerected.⁸³

In 1532 Harumoto had been reconciled with the *shōgun* Yoshiharu and was appointed by the latter as his prime minister. But the position of the *shōgun* was insecure. In 1539, threatened by Miyoshi Chōkei, he had fled from Miyako and had been obliged to live for three years in exile in the province of Yamato before he was able to return to his capital.⁸⁴ In 1543 he had been compelled to obtain a loan from the Sakai merchants, giving as security for it revenues from his possessions as an Ashikaga.⁸⁵ In 1545 he had finally been forced to abdicate in favor of his eleven-year-old son Yoshiteru. In 1546, when he dealt with Harumoto's rival, Ujitsune, with respect to the position of minister, he was forced by Harumoto, who had marched on the capital, to flee with his son to Sakamoto.⁸⁶ Harumoto forced his way into Miyako, and in the following year, 1547, his troops burned down four temples in the region of Higashiyama and also did serious damage to the elaborate palace which had been built there by the *shōgun* Yoshimasa.⁸⁷ Only when the new *shōgun*, Yoshiteru,⁸⁸ reconfirmed Harumoto in his office of minister could he return with his father to Miyako.

⁸⁰ Also called Yoshinaga. He also had the title of *chikuzen-no-kami* (*ibid.* 394), but this did not mean that he was the lord of Chikuzen. On the meaning of this title, see Murdoch 29-30.

⁸¹ Ponsonby 271.

⁸² *Ibid.* 208. Frois refers to this attack when he wrote on October 4, 1571: "It is now thirty-seven years since they [the Hiei-zan bonzes], in order to submit all the others to their dominion, attacked Miako with their arms and put almost everything to flames; and in so doing they slew a great number of people" (GS II 678); Murdoch exaggerates when he writes that "half the metropolis of Japan was reduced to ashes" (21).

⁸³ Ponsonby 208-210 174 415.

⁸⁴ Papinot 184 34.

⁸⁵ Sansom, *Cultural History* 348.

⁸⁶ Papinot 34 184.

⁸⁷ Ponsonby: "The temple [Jishōji, the former palace of the *shōgun* Yoshimasa] suffered heavily in the troubles of 1547. The *Kyōto Shōgunkefu* says: 'Hosokawa Harumoto, with troops from Shikoku, encamped on Higashi-yama and set fire to the Jōdo-ji, Shinnyo-dō, Shishigatani and Kitashirakawa'" (207). Murdoch exaggerates: "Five years

But in 1548 Harumoto fell out with his chief assistant Miyoshi Chōkei, the son of Nagamoto,⁸⁹ who now took the part of the *shōgun's* rival Ujitsuna.⁹⁰ In February, 1549, the young *shōgun*, Yoshiteru, had to flee again with his father to Sakamoto.⁹¹ Besieged by Chōkei in his fortress of Miyake,⁹² which lay south of the capital, Harumoto fled to Ōmi,⁹³ while his adversary entered Miyako in October of this same year.⁹⁴ In Ōmi Harumoto obtained the help of Rokkaku Yoshitaka, the son of Sadayori.⁹⁵ In 1550 Chōkei handed the capital over to his vassal Matsunaga Hisahide,⁹⁶ defeated Harumoto at Ōtsu on Lake Biwa,⁹⁷ and then marched by way of Anaho,⁹⁸ where the former *shōgun*, Yoshiharu, had died on May 21, to Sakamoto. There, on December 28 of this same year, 1550, he captured the recently completed castle of the *shōgun* Nakao-jō and forced the young *shōgun* Yoshiteru to flee to Katada, which lay still farther to the north.⁹⁹ After this Yoshiteru was again reconciled with Harumoto.¹⁰⁰ When Xavier came to Miyako in January, 1551, the summer palace of the *shōgun* was partially destroyed; his other palace, north of the royal palace, and the palace of Hosokawa Harumoto, which was not far from it, and its elaborate gardens were all abandoned by their owners,¹⁰¹ and the *shōgun* had fled from Sakamoto.

Nevertheless, despite all the destruction caused by the preceding wars and the vast conflagrations in the devastated city, there were still many interesting temples and monasteries which remained standing, as if by miracle, in the midst of the ruins, or which had been completely reconstructed.¹⁰²

before [Xavier's arrival in Kyōto in January, 1551], the Japanese records tell us, the city had been reduced by war and fires to such a state that it was impossible to live in it; whoever did attempt to live there, ran the risk of being burnt, slain, or starved" (55-56).

⁸⁸ Papinot 184.

⁸⁹ Miyoshi Norinaga, the eldest son of Nagamoto, who was slain at the command of Harumoto, had the title of *chikuzen-no-kami*, and in 1548 he assumed the name of Chōkei (Papinot 394). In 1601 Valignano wrote in his **Libro primero*: "Quando el Padre Xavier vino a Japón, era Señor de la Tenca [Tenka: Central Province] hun gentil llamado Mioxidono [Miyoshi], que ni aun era Señor de los cinco reinos de Gquinay [Go-kinai: Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Settsu, and Izumi], y aun que governava como capitan del Cubo, el Cubo podia bien poco, y el Dairi con los Cungues [*kuges*] vivian miserablemente, y todos los más reinos, que están de Miaco para las partes orientales, eran ocupados de diversos señores y yacatas, de los quales muchos eran más poderosos que el mismo Señor de la Tenca" (25; Ajuda 276).

⁹⁰ Papinot 184 394.

⁹¹ The date is from information received from Matsuda.

⁹² Between Ōsaka and Miyako, south of Ibaraki.

⁹³ Papinot 394-395 516.

⁹⁴ The date is from Matsuda. According to Haas, Norinaga (Miyoshi Chōkei) marched on Miyako in November, 1549, and "destroyed the palace of Higashiyama, which was not built until the time of Yoshiharu" (I 178). Meant is the palace built by Yoshimasa in 1493. According to the *Kyōto Shōgunkefu*, Chōkei did not burn the Higashiyama palace until December 26, 1551; and even then, the Ginkaku, the Silver Pavilion, remained unharmed (Ponsonby 207; cf. Murdoch 56).

⁹⁵ Papinot 516.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 395.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 184.

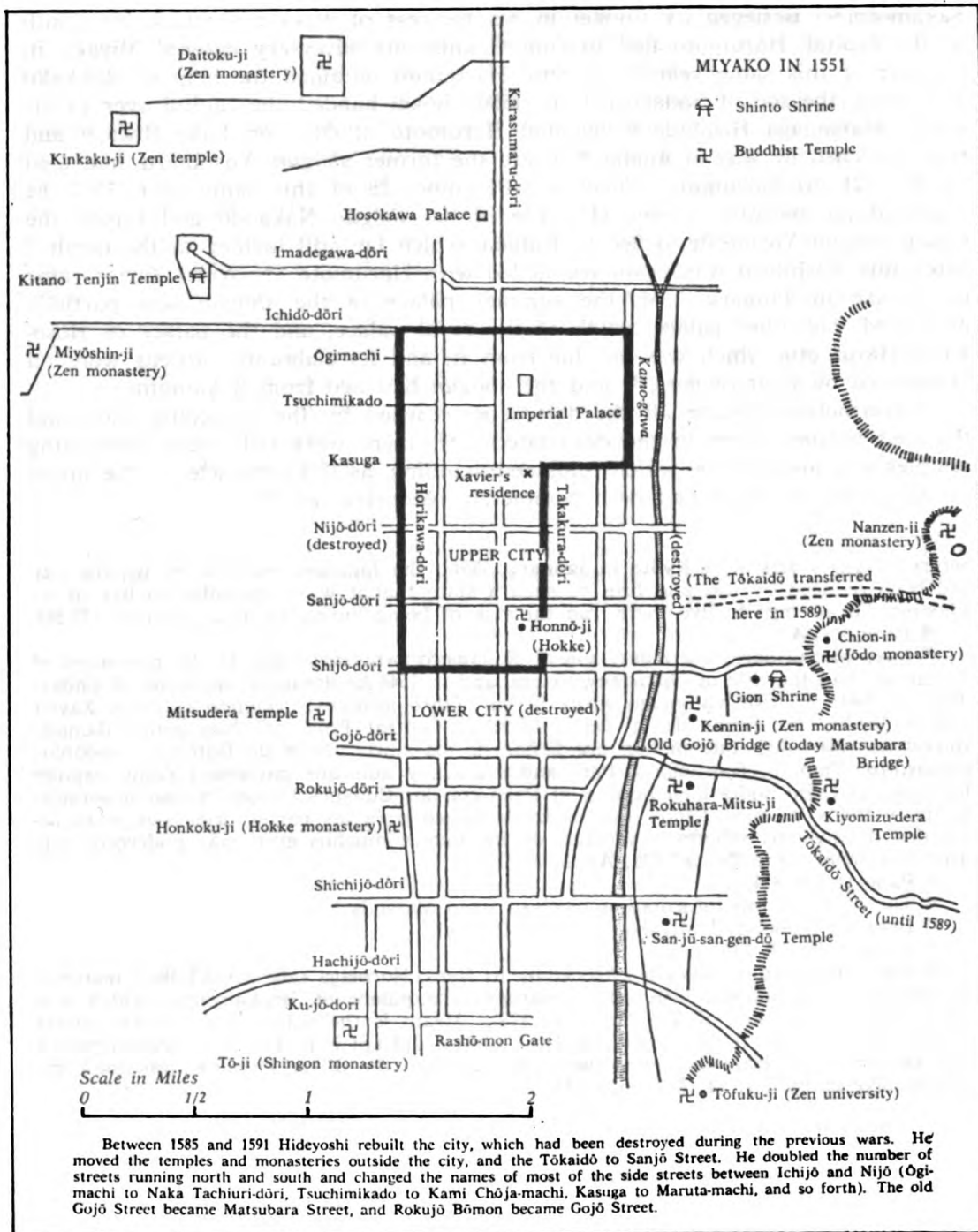
⁹⁸ Anaho lay immediately south of Sakamoto.

⁹⁹ According to Matsuda. Haas erroneously has the *shōgun* return to Miyako already in the spring of 1551 (I 178). In March, 1551, he had to flee from Katada still farther north to Kutsuki. It was only on February 22, 1552, that he concluded a peace with Chōkei and was able to return to Miyako, as we have been informed by Matsuda.

¹⁰⁰ Papinot 184.

¹⁰¹ See the city plan in Sansom, *History* II 224, and Frois 237.

¹⁰² For the following, see Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild" (GS II 619-682). We have



The Amida temple was located in the upper city, in the quarter inhabited by merchants and artisans, where precious silks and brocades, gold fans, and all kinds of utensils were fabricated. The temple, which was called Hyakumanben, was the most frequented of all those in the city. All day long, but especially in the evening, when the shops were closed, it was thronged with people, who gave alms and prayed before the statue of the god, as with quickened pace, and with their Buddhist rosaries in their hands, they hurried about the temple and repeated in a loud voice the usual prayer: "Namu Amida Butsu," and, with raised hands, bowed before the entrance to the sanctuary.¹⁰³ Not far from the Amida temple was that of Emma-ō, the judge of the infernal regions. It also was much frequented by devout individuals who gave it alms so that they might be preserved from his fiery torments. The statue before which they rendered their devotions was ugly and towered over the masses since it was as large as a good-sized elephant. In his right hand he held a scepter as a sign of his judicial authority, and at his sides he had two devils as tall as three men. One of these had a pen in his hand in order to write down the misdeeds of the sinners. The other read them from a sheet of paper. On the walls were painted many kinds of infernal torments and numerous figures of men and women and of devils who tortured them.¹⁰⁴

To the west and outside the city a good half-hour from the royal palace was the large Zen monastery of the Myōshin-ji temple¹⁰⁵ surrounded by a grove of pines.¹⁰⁶ During the Ōnin War this had been burned down, but it had been immediately rebuilt. At its center was an octagonal wooden tower equipped with carvings and painted in a variety of colors. The tower, which was divided into more than a hundred compartments, turned on its axis. These compartments contained all the books that had been written by Shaka and were so numerous that no one could read them all.¹⁰⁷ This book tower was so constructed that when sitting or standing one could, without moving, see all the books that one wished to see because of the rotation of the tower on its axis. Through a triple gyration of the tower, one could obtain the same reward as if he had read all these holy books; and in addition to this he could secure a long life, prosperity, and protection from bad luck of any sort.

North of this monastery was the very old, large, and much frequented Shintō shrine of Kitano-Tenjin in the midst of pines and lofty cedars, dedicated to Sugawara Michizane, the faithful servant of an earlier king. Many steps led up to a black altar lit by numerous lamps and candles. On its walls were many portraits of individuals of former times, some painted and some carved. The numerous stone lanterns and stone and bronze figures of oxen were votive offerings of the faithful.¹⁰⁸

Farther north, in a large park on the brim of a pine-enclosed lake, was the three-storied Golden Pavilion, the Kinkaku, which the *shōgun* Yoshimitsu had built 150 years earlier along with other ornate buildings of his palace. At the

complemented the data in this with other from Ponsonby, Murray (1901), and the *Official Guide*.

¹⁰³ "Stadtbild" 650; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 34. The name *Hyakumanben* means "A Million Repetitions" (of the *nembutsu*, the invocation of Amida) (Coates 243). The temple was destroyed by fire along with the entire upper city in 1565 (Frois 237).

¹⁰⁴ "Stadtbild" 650; Frois 239; cf. Murray 47.

¹⁰⁵ "Stadtbild" 650; Frois 238; Ponsonby 198-200; Murray 332; *Official Guide* 715-716.

¹⁰⁶ One of the pines was planted in 1462 (Murray 332).

¹⁰⁷ The Buddhist canon comprises 6,771 volumes.

¹⁰⁸ "Stadtbild" 657-658; Murray 329-330; *Official Guide* 690-691.

time of his death he had bequeathed it to the Zen bonzes, who here erected their Rokuonji monastery. All of the buildings, with the exception of the Golden Pavilion, had been destroyed by fires during the Ōnin War, and they had only been partially rebuilt in a makeshift fashion. In an artificial rock grotto within the pavilion, a statue of the founder, representing him as seated and dressed as a bonze, had been placed. Near it were statues of Kannon and of the four heavenly kings.¹⁰⁹ The road to the east out of the park passed a small temple of Fudō, the god of wisdom, who was represented as surrounded by flames, enthroned upon an altar with his two attendants,¹¹⁰ and having his sword of justice in his right hand and his rope for the binding of evildoers. From here the road passed out of the park to the large monastic complex of the Daitoku-ji temple, which belonged to the Zen sect. This was an entire monastic city in the midst of another extensive park, where the most prominent and most respected bonzes of all Japan had their residence. The buildings had twice succumbed to conflagrations in the fifteenth century, but they had been reerected immediately after the Ōnin War, though not as ornately as they had earlier been.¹¹¹

In the south of the city, the Hokke had elaborately rebuilt¹¹² their temple of Honnōji, which had been burned down in 1536. South of it was their main temple of Honkokuji, which had been reconstructed at about the same time.¹¹³ It was located on an area about a gun's-shot in length and breadth, and it was surrounded by a broad, deep trench and equipped with but a single entrance. Within this defensive ditch were the dwellings of the bonzes, to whose sect Xavier's host belonged. These were surrounded by charming gardens with artificial pools, islands, hills, clumps of trees, and a series of minor temples which had been founded by benefactors of the monastery. The main temple was large and had three naves that were separated from each other by huge columns of cedar. Over the main altar was enthroned a large, gilded statue of Shaka, and in front of it were two basins in which sticks of fragrant aloes were constantly burning. On a lacquered table were displayed the sacred, gilded writings of Shaka; and in front of it were smaller, lower tables covered with gold lacquer, each of which was provided with a book and a mat for the choral prayers of the seated bonzes. The monks were dressed in white silk and wore over this a black cloak. They belonged to the most prominent families of Miyako, and they had many sons of these latter as pupils in their monastery. Thanks to the many alms which

¹⁰⁹ "Stadtbild" 658-659; Frois 239; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 35 37-38; Ponsonby 203-205; Murray 330; *Official Guide* 691-692. The Golden Pavilion, which was set on fire by a pyromaniac in 1950, had been rebuilt again in the old style by the time of our visit in 1957.

¹¹⁰ *Official Guide* 692.

¹¹¹ "Stadtbild" 659-661; Frois 237-238; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 34; Ponsonby 185-187; Murray 330; *Official Guide* 692-694. Frois, who visited and described Daitoku-ji in 1565, counted fifty monasteries within the monastic precincts. The monastery of Ōtomo Yoshishige, the prince of Bungo, which was founded for his son, still preserves the portrait of its founder.

¹¹² Frois 281 285 452; Ponsonby 209-210; *Official Guide* 698. The monastery of Honnōji, where Nobunaga was killed in 1582 by the traitor Akechi Mitsuhide, lay south of the Rokkaku temple, not far from the crossing of the Karasumaru-dōri and Rokkaku-dōri streets, separated by a single street from Nambanji, the main church of the Jesuits, who lived there from 1560 to 1587 (Frois, *Hist.* II 329; cf. Schütte, *Introductio* 606-612. It was later transferred to its present site at the crossing of the Teramachi-dōri and Ōike-dōri streets (*Official Guide* 698).

¹¹³ "Stadtbild" 652-655; Frois 281 285 357-358; Ponsonby 207-209; *Official Guide* 697. It has been there since 1345.

the monastery received from followers of the sect, it was one of the richest in the city.

Farther west, but still between these two Hokke monasteries, was the Mibudera temple, which pertained to the old Ritsu sect. This was dedicated to Jizō, the Buddhist helper in need, and patron of travelers, pregnant women, and children. The Buddhists believed that he conducted souls to another life and with his trident freed them from hell and accompanied them to the paradise of Amida. His much revered statue adorned the high altar.¹¹⁴ A half an hour south of Mibudera was the monastery of Tōji, which Xavier had passed on his way to Miyako. The large temple precinct, which belonged to the Shingon sect, was surrounded by a low ditch and high, thick walls. It was one of the main sights of Miyako and had in addition to its main temple, with its tall, many-storied pagoda, a series of lesser temples. The buildings had been destroyed by fire during the civil war, but they had by this time been extensively rebuilt. The main temple was located on the edge of a lotus pool in the shade of ancient trees. The founder of the sect, Kōbō Daishi, had erected it; and some of the portraits contained in the sanctuary were thought to be of him.¹¹⁵

To the east of the city, on the other side of the Kamogawa, on the slopes of Higashiyama, was a series of temples, the most renowned in the city.

One of the most popular sanctuaries of Miyako was the Gion shrine on the far side of the Shi-jō Bridge, which was dedicated to the ox-headed, moon-god Susanoo. This ancient Shintō sanctuary was visited by many pilgrims from different provinces of Japan, who, after they had paid their devotion, went about the temple in procession "praying the Buddhist rosary," and then prostrated themselves upon the earth before it.¹¹⁶ The feast of Susanoo, which in 1503 was again celebrated for the first time since the devastations of the civil war, was, with its richly figured processional cars, the most brilliant in all the city.¹¹⁷ Here, as elsewhere, Buddhists had settled near the sanctuary and had erected close to it a temple in honor of Yakushi Nyorai, one of the five gods of wisdom, and to Kannon.¹¹⁸

Northeast of the Gion shrine was the Chion-in, the principal monastery of the Jōdo sect, with the grave of its founder within its precincts. The complex was located on a terrace above a wooded slope which provided a view through the pines down upon the city of Miyako. Though the temple buildings had been burned down during the Ōnin War, they had soon after been reerected.¹¹⁹

South of the Gion shrine was the Kennin-ji monastery of the Rinzai-Zen sect, one of the five Go-zan, or university colleges, of the capital. Its bonzes, however, shunned the study of books and limited themselves to meditation and prayers in choir. The buildings had been severely damaged during the previous civil war.¹²⁰ Farther south of it was the Rokuhara-Mitsu-ji temple on Tōkaidō Street.

¹¹⁴ "Stadtbild" 656-657; *Official Guide* 694. The temple was near the west end of Shijō-dōri Street. The Ritsu (Risshū) sect was introduced into Japan by the Chinese bonze Kanshin in 754 and is today little known (Papinot 514).

¹¹⁵ The temple is also called Kyō-ōgoku-ji.

¹¹⁶ "Stadtbild" 662-663; Frois 236; Ponsonby 109-110; Murray 346; *Official Guide* 698-700. The temple is also called Gion no Yashiro and Yasaka no Yashiro.

¹¹⁷ Ponsonby 174.

¹¹⁸ Murray 346. During its restoration, the temple was freed from its Buddhist additions (Papinot 118).

¹¹⁹ "Stadtbild" 662-664; Frois 240-241; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 34; Ponsonby 157-159; Murray 346-347; *Official Guide* 700-701; pictures in Challaye 247.

¹²⁰ "Stadtbild" 666; Ponsonby 151; *Official Guide* 705.

Here was revered a statue of the eleven-headed Kannon which had been carved six hundred years before by the bonze Kūya.¹²¹ Farther west, and halfway up the heights of the wooded Otowayama, was the large Kiyomizu temple, which was also dedicated to the same eleven-headed, thousand-armed goddess. Leading up to it was a steep street lined with merchant stalls for the countless pilgrims who came there. At the end of the street was a series of steps leading up to a two-storied gatehouse guarded by two huge, terrifying figures. Still higher up was a second gate providing an entrance to the main temple, which was six stories high and built of strong beams which stretched out over a yawning abyss, only one edge of the temple proper resting upon the rocks. The temple terrace ranged out into the middle of a ravine, and trees in the woods below, large cedars and Japanese cherries, reached up to the height of the balustrade. The seated statue of the goddess was, however, enclosed in a shrine which was only opened every thirty-three years. To the right and left of it were the statues of her twenty-eight companions and of the four kings of heaven.¹²²

A half an hour south of Kiyomizu, on the lower slope of the mountain, was the large monastery of Tōfuku-ji, one of the five Zen universities of the capital; and within its precincts were numerous temples. The three large and elaborate main buildings were located high up on the slope and were supported by massive wooden piles so large that two men with their extended arms could hardly compass them. In the first of these three temples, the main one, was a giant statue of Shaka seated on a lotus blossom. It was forty-nine feet high and completely gilded. Behind it was a kind of leaf that rose still higher with a thousand small idols, each about a span in length, but forty of which were a bit smaller than a two-year-old child. These were also gilded, and to the right and left of Shaka were two more gilded statues a little smaller than the main figure. Near them were the four guardians of heaven, huge and frightening to behold. The first had a sword, the second a pen for writing, the third a scroll, and the fourth a halberd. On the brick floor of the temple were thirty mats for the bonzes when they prayed in choir. The second structure was a kind of scholastic aula. On the panelled ceiling of the hall was painted a multicolored lizard. This represented the god of wisdom, who was worshiped by the students. In the center of the room was a tall wooden tabernacle. Three steps led up to it. It had a black-lacquered chair and table for the president under a kind of canopy formed by numerous hanging standards. At the foot of the steps was a low table for the candidates who wished to obtain their degree. A tall flight of stairs led up to the third structure, which contained a representation of Shaka preaching in the fastness of the mountain. The statue of the god was gilded, and around it were the statues of his five hundred disciples. Some of these had glass eyes and were so perfectly wrought that they seemed to be alive. Opposite these three temples was a very long and broad house with benches on both sides, where the students had earlier attended lectures. But the monastery had long before lost its revenues, since the warring parties had no interest in studies. The schools had consequently been suspended, and many of the structures had rotted away and collapsed. The monastery had already suffered much when Kyōgoku Takatsugu came in 1534 to Miyako with a large army and set up his camp here.¹²³

¹²¹ *Official Guide* 701; Papinot 336.

¹²² "Stadtbild" 664-667; Frois 236; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 34; Ponsonby 111; Murray 343-344; *Official Guide* 707; pictures in Challaye 102 116.

¹²³ "Stadtbild" 669-671; Frois 235-236; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 33-34 37; Ponsonby 152-154; Murray 337; *Official Guide* 708; Papinot 656; picture in Steinilber-Oberlin 190.

The principal meeting place of the citizens of Miyako was, however, another Kannon temple, the San-jū-san-gen-dō. This temple of the 33,333 idols consisted of a narrow hall 425 feet in length. A large gate opened at its center upon an altar, over which the more-than-life-sized figure of the goddess of the sanctuary could be seen. It was seated, with its hands before its breast, its ears pierced, and its head shorn. Over it was a canopy from which hung many large bells on thick chains, and all was gilded. About this figure were thirty statues, all standing, the size of a large man. These were the thirty companions of the divinity, including the wind god with his filled, leathern bottle on his back, and the storm god with his thunderbolts. To the right and left of the main statue were seven or eight long rows of steps, on each of which were five hundred idols, all the size of a man. They were standing with their hands folded before their breasts. They were all apparently alike and represented Kannon, the goddess of wisdom. Each of these figures had thirty arms and hands, two of which were proportionate to the body; the rest were small, and two were around the hips. Each of the statues had two spears, and on each of their heads was a crown with ten small busts of the same goddess, and behind it was a diadem with many rays. All of these figures were excellently fashioned and gilded and dazzling to behold.¹²⁴

Xavier described the impressions which he had received from the city as follows:

This city of Myako was formerly very large. Because of the wars it is now sadly destroyed. Many say that it formerly had 180,000 homes, and this seems to me to correspond to what it really was, judging by the circumference of the city, which was very large. It is now, however, sadly burned and destroyed. Nevertheless it seems to me that it may still have more than 100,000 homes.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ "Stadtbild" 667-669; Frois 234-235; Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 33 36-37 168-169 (pictures); Ponsonby 113; Murray 338; *Official Guide* 707; picture in Challaye 246. The number comes to 333,333 if all the small figures on the foreheads, hands, and halos of the statues are counted.

¹²⁵ EX II 262. In 1561 Vilela wrote: "This city of Miaco is very large, even if it is not so large as it must once have been. According to what we were told, it was seven [Japanese] leagues in length and three in breadth. It is completely surrounded by very high mountains. At their feet, in every direction, are many very large monasteries and buildings which were erected in former times and provided with many revenues. Nevertheless both they and the city have suffered much from the wars and conflagrations which they have frequently experienced. According to what the people there say, what is now seen is only an illusion of what was earlier there" ("Stadtbild" 638). In 1571, after the city had been again partially burned down in 1562 during the Negoro War, he wrote: "There may be three hundred monasteries in this city. This city was earlier very large and populous and had over three hundred thousand residents (*moradas de casas*). It may now have seventy thousand. War and the tooth of time have reduced this unfortunate city to its present state" (*Cartas* 1598, 319v; "Stadtbild" 640). A month later he wrote: "Miaco formerly had three hundred thousand homes, as it is said, but now it has only sixty thousand. It is a sadly destroyed city" (*ibid.* 642). Rodrigues Tçuzu was well informed about Miyako and the history of the city, as he states: "What we write here about it and the royal palace is certain and has been accurately established. We have read at leisure about its past in their books which deal with it; and we have seen the remains of it which are still extant, and the names of the streets and the quarters and their extent; and we were very well informed about the condition it was in when the blessed Padre Francisco went there in 1550. At the time of the death of Cubō [1565], it was destroyed; and it remained in a miserable condition until the time when the Taycō [Hideyoshi, 1585] ruled the Tenca [Tenka], when the city was greatly enlarged and became similar to what it had earlier been. We saw all the state that it was in and some changes which took place at the time of Daifu [Ieyasu]. Its former size, without counting the suburbs on its four sides, was that of a square, each side

During the ten or eleven days that the priest remained in Miyako, he tried to preach on its streets and squares, but he discovered that the land was not ready for this. The freezing cold, the preparations being made for the coming New Year,¹²⁶ the searching for one's daily bread in the devastated city, and especially the ominous indications of a renewed outbreak of the civil war left no room in the capital of Japanese Buddhism for attention to the words of the foreign preachers. Boys frequently ridiculed them and threw stones and old shoes at them.¹²⁷ The priest had intended to write a detailed account of his visit to the capital of Japan for his brethren, but what he actually wrote was brief:

When we reached Myako, we remained there for some days. We tried earnestly to speak with the king, so that he would grant us the permission to preach the law of God in his kingdom. We were unable to speak with him. When we later learned that his subjects did not obey him, we made no further efforts to obtain this permission to preach in his kingdom. We looked to see if there was any disposition for preaching the law of God in those regions. We discovered that a great war was in the offing and that the land did not have the needed disposition... And when we saw that the land did not have the peace that was needed for preaching there the law of God, we returned to Amanguche.¹²⁸

of which was nearly a league long, in which there were thirty-eight streets running from north to south, and the same number from east to west, which formed 1,444 squares with 5,300 gates" (233-236). He then described the condition of the city after its destruction in 1565: "Of the thirty-eight streets going from north to south, there was only one going from the upper to the lower city; and of the thirty-eight cross streets only a few were left" (240). Under Hideyoshi the empty streets were repopled, the temples and monasteries were rebuilt just inside the city limits; and the city itself became much larger; but, as Rodrigues Tçuzu also noted, "despite all the increase in people and dwellings, the city has not attained its earlier number of homes. In the house of the viceroy Ghenyfōyn [Geni Hōin], the governor of the city at the time, who was our friend, we saw the list of houses, and it contained sixty thousand households or hearths alone of citizens and people obliged to pay taxes, many of which were tenements with numerous occupants which were counted as one; and there were many houses that were exempt from taxes and privileged. In addition to these there were the buildings of the king's palace and of the *kuges* and the Juracu fortress [built by Hideyoshi], which was already a city in itself, 380 palaces of the leading lords, and around the limits of the city, 370 monasteries with their temples, many of which were very large, not counting the many, elaborate monasteries and universities outside the city" (244-245). See also Aoyama 120-125 and Ponsonby 423-425.

¹²⁶ The New Year in 1551 was on February 6. In 1578 it took Frois eight days and much effort to find a ship in Shiwaku to continue his journey. All were occupied with preparations for the New Year (*Cartas* 1598, 405). On this, see Frois 292.

¹²⁷ Teixeira 878.

¹²⁸ EX II 262. In 1566 Vilela wrote briefly about Xavier's visit to Miyako: "A esta terra [Miyako] ho P. Mestre Francisquo tinha ido, que por penuria da lingoa não ouve fruito algum" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 6, 182). In 1584 Frois wrote of Xavier's attempt to speak with the king: "Nosso P. Mestre Francisco de santa memoria quando ali chegou ha cidade do Miaco, deteu-se nella dez ou onze dias para lhe fazer *sanday*, idest visita-lo com seu prezente, mas por ser estrangeiro e não ter adherencia, ho não admitirão. E importa tanto, effectuar-se isto, que nenhuma religião de quantos bonzos ha no Miaco podem ali rezedir nem fazer seus templos, sem o ter primeiro visitado. Depois negociar sua patente, que se chama *rinxi* [rinshi], averá 20 annos quando fui a primeira vez ao Miaco, que pella persuasão dos bonzos... por patente do Daii nos deitarão fora do Miaco" (*JapSin.* 9, 329v). In 1957 Father W. Schiffer told us on the way to Hiei-zan that he had once heard from a Japanese in Tokyo that there was a document in the imperial palace stating that a foreigner had once come to the imperial palace dressed as a beggar and had been turned away.

Shimazu Takahisa had been right in telling Xavier in Kagoshima that he should not go to Miyako, since it was in a state of constant war.¹²⁹ Eleven days after their arrival¹³⁰ Xavier and his two companions took leave of their host and at Toba, a league from the city, boarded a ship which was to take them from there to Sakai. As the boat glided slowly down the river, the priest looked fixedly on the unfortunate city and repeatedly sang the words at the beginning of Psalm 113, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people, Judea was made his sanctuary, Israel his dominion."¹³¹ Some verses farther on the Psalmist continues: "Not to us, O Lord, not to us; but to thy name give glory. For thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake, lest the gentiles should say: 'Where is their God?' But our God is in heaven; he hath done all things whatsoever he would. The idols of the gentiles are silver and gold, the works of the hands of men. They have mouths, and speak not; they have eyes, and see not. They have ears, and hear not; they have noses, and smell not. They have hands, and feel not; they have feet, and walk not; neither do they cry out through their throat. Let them that make them become like unto them, and all such as trust in them. The house of Israel hath hoped in the Lord; he is their helper and their protector."

He now had a new plan before his eyes. There was a prince in Yamaguchi mightier than the king of Japan and mightier than the *shōgun* in the north. He would return to him, but no longer as a poor man of Christ, but with his letters and gifts, for Japan did not understand the poverty of the cross.¹³²

¹²⁹ Torres 54.

¹³⁰ Ten or eleven days (Frois, December 13, 1584). In his history Frois states that Xavier did not remain more than eleven days in Miyako (13). This becomes fifteen days in Lucena (7, 24).

¹³¹ Lucena first describes Xavier's departure from the data of Brother João Fernández: "Embarcouse num fermoso rio, que nelle vem a entrar no mar decendo da serra e lauando os muros, e regando os campos do Miáco. Indo no batel, contava depois o irmam Ioam Fernández, que nam podia o Santo apartar os olhos da soberba cidade cantando e repetindo algúas vezes com o espirito meyo enleuado, aquelle principio do salmo 113: 'Na sahida de Israel do Egypto, da casa de Iacob, d'entre o pouo barbaro, Foy Iudea santificada do Senhor, e feito Israel seu reyno, e imperio.'... E isto era o em que o padre Francisco leuaua os olhos d'alma, quando com os do corpo na cidade nam cessaua de repetir cantando tẽ a perder da vista" (7, 24). *Rodrigues Tçuzu is the first to name the place of departure, Toba: "No lugar chamado Toba aly junto a Cidade se embarcou para o Sacay" (47av; Ajuda 224; Cros Vie II 122). He further states that the Yodogawa was navigable up to Toba and that it was alive with countless row- and sailboats (109-110). Vivero y Velasco said the same in 1609 (20). Toba was the town where one embarked when sailing from Miyako to other places. Vilela boarded ship there in 1562 when he was going from the capital to Yawata (Frois 129), as did Frois in 1565 when he was sailing to Hirakata (*ibid.* 285). In 1591 Valignano landed there on his way to Miyako (Hayus 132).

¹³² Early legends already magnified Xavier's stay in Miyako. In Xavier's process of canonization in Goa in 1556, one of his penitents, Catarina de Chaves, stated four years after she had said good-by to the priest in Goa as he was leaving for China that she had heard from many persons that when Father Master Francis was in Japan, he had suffered many insults and injuries from the natives and had been given many blows, but that he had endured this for the love of God and had continued with his teaching of Christian doctrine. Twice he had been imprisoned and had been brought forth for execution, but both times there rose such a storm that he was released through fear (MX II 198). In Orlandinus this becomes: "Under the viceroy Noronha there was spread a rumor in India that Xavier was being taken away to his death several times before Miaco but was freed by a storm" (I. XI, n. 100). Bartoli writes on the occasion of Xavier's trip to Miyako: "Xavier was several times during the course of it seized by pirates and twice wounded by arrows.... Boys hurled stones at him while he was preaching and cried out in ridicule: 'Dio, Dio!' The bonzes incited the people to kill

him, and we know that he was twice driven away from the gates of two cities by stones hurled at him, and that he would have been slain if God had not unexpectedly let a cluster of clouds appear with threatening thunder and lightning, which so frightened the murderers that they no longer dared to lay hands upon him." He places this before Xavier's arrival in Miyako (*Asia* 3, 18). Chaves probably confused Xavier with Master Gaspar Barzaeus, who, soon after his arrival in Ormuz in 1548, was twice stoned by Mohammedans as he went through the streets of the city calling the children to the lessons in Christian doctrine (DI I 503, and the somewhat altered Italian translation in SIE 77). On these occasions severe and repeated earthquakes with weird threats from the bowels of the earth terrified his enemies (*ibid.* 505 599 645-646 661 671; II 251). Gaspar's companion Alvaro Mendes on his voyage to Ormuz in 1552 was shot with arrows (DI II 451).—Bruley des Varannes, a missionary who visited his confreres in Miyako in 1891, describes his climb up Mount Hiei-zan in his diary; he then adds the following: "There is a legend that St. Francis Xavier climbed up here in order to pick an herb that had the power to cure leprosy (*Le Japon d'aujourd'hui* [Tours, 1893] 330). The missionaries took lepers especially into their hospitals in Miyako, Fushimi, Ōsaka, and Sakai until 1632, when some 130 of those who were thus afflicted were driven from Japan because of their faith and the blind hatred of their adversaries (*abstract from an account of the Franciscan commissary for the chronicler of his order in Rome in ARSI: *JapSin.* 81, 128). According to the Buddhist *Namban-ji Kōhai-ki* (History of the Leaders and of the Fall of the Monastery of the Southern Barbarians), Nobunaga had given the confreres of Padre Urugan [Organtino Gneccchi-Soldi, S.J.] Mount Ibuki in the province of Ōmi so that they might plant medicinal herbs there in a garden for their hospital in Miyako. He then adds that the *hermanos* had possessed the power to heal leprosy in particular, but also other grievous ills (Alfred Millioud, "Histoire du Couvent Catholique de Kyoto," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* XXXI [Paris, 1895] 278-279). In the legend, Xavier is obviously confused with Organtino, who was for a long time superior in Miyako. See also H. Cieslik, S.J., "Nambanji-Romane der Tokugawa-Zeit," *Monumenta Nipponica* 6 (1943) 13-51.

CHAPTER V

STRIFE AND VICTORY IN YAMAGUCHI (JANUARY—SEPTEMBER, 1551)

1. BACK TO YAMAGUCHI (END OF JANUARY—END OF APRIL, 1551)

If Xavier and his two companions had experienced great hardships on their voyage to Miyako because of the bad roads and the lack of conveniences, they suffered still more on their return from Sakai to Hirado. The voyage took as a rule some three weeks¹ when the north wind was blowing. February was the month when cold, snow, ice, and wind assailed travelers the worst, and the ship offered no protection whatever from the bitterness of the weather. The vessel, as usual, anchored off shore in the evening in order to wait out the night. Xavier would buy in the inns some dried fruit, which he would conceal in his breast or in his sleeves; and when he saw children playing on streets, he would share some of these with them and give them his blessing. When men and women asked him on the streets for medicines for their own ills or those of their sick children, he would write a verse from the Gospel and tell them that they should wear it around their neck, and that they would regain their health.²

Father Torres was elated when, in the first half of March, he was able to greet Xavier, Fernández, and Bernardo in Hirado, after what had been more than a four months' absence.³ He had not been idle in the meantime and had baptized around forty persons,⁴ among whom were his host Taniguchi Thomé with his wife, children, and servants.⁵ The Portuguese ship had left Hirado by the time

¹ Luis de Almeida sailed in thirteen days from Sakai to Bungo in the middle of May, 1565, when the north wind was still blowing (*Cartas* 1598, 169-v). The voyage from Ōsaka to Bungo lasted as a rule from twelve to fifteen days, and the nights were always spent on land, as Dom Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco observed. In the midst of the winter of 1609, he had made the voyage in a Japanese junk as Xavier had (21). Xavier wrote that on his trip from Yamaguchi to Miyako and return he had been two months on the way (EX II 261).

² Frois 13.

³ From Hirado to Miyako and back in four and a half months (Torres 46), in more than four (Frois 13), four (Torres 56); back in Hirado around the middle of March (Polanco II 411).

⁴ "Many" (Torres 93 46 56). On the margin in Frois: "forty." With the others whom Torres baptized between March and September, 1551, and the "many" whom Gago baptized at the time of his fifteen-day visit, the number of Christians in Hirado at the end of 1553 amounted to around two hundred, as Alcáçova, who sailed from Hirado in October, 1553, testified (*Cartas* 1598, 27v).

⁵ Frois 13. He is still named in Hirado in 1563 (*ibid.*, 202). Rodrigues Giram maintains that Xavier's host in Hirado in 1550 had been Kimura (see above, p. 137). We must consequently assume that Torres had changed his place of residence after Xavier's departure. According to Frois, Torres baptized his host, Taniguchi Thomé, along with his wife, children, and servants while Xavier was on his trip to Miyako. He then adds: "And after this he baptized his father and some of his relatives and João of Ikitsuki and his father and grandfather. And many persons were also baptized, and among these was Dom Geronimo, the father of Kotedadono Dom Antonio, something which greatly

of Xavier's return.⁶ He consequently did not remain there long. He loaded the gifts which had been destined for the king of Japan and the other objects that were not needed by Torres on board a ship and, taking departure from him and the small Christian community,⁷ he sailed back to Yamaguchi with Fernández, Bernardo, and one of the two Japanese who had been baptized in Goa.⁸ The travelers landed at Ōgori or Mitajiri,⁹ where they loaded their baggage on beasts of burden;¹⁰ and at the end of April¹¹ Master Francis and his companions again entered the capital of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, but this time in better dress.¹²

2. THE SOLEMN AUDIENCE (END OF APRIL, 1551)

Immediately after his arrival, Xavier asked the secretary Naitō to obtain for him another audience.¹³ It was granted, and this time the priest came dressed

pleased P. M. Francisco" (13). It should be noted on this: Torres baptized Thomé's father and João of Ikitsuki probably after Xavier's departure, in April–September, 1551. It is false to say that Xavier was happy over the baptism of Dom Geronimo, as Frois states in his *History*, and that Dom Geronimo (I) and his sons Antonio Koteda [Yasukazu] and João had been Christians from Xavier's time, as he wrote in 1592 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 51, 325v). Dom Geronimo II, the son of Antonio Koteda, his son Thomé, and the latter's brother and their cousin Baltasar were also wrong when they declared in 1599 that their parents and grandparents had been Christians for fifty years, as Valignano wrote on October 10, 1599 (*ibid.* 54, 80-v). The first nobles were baptized in Hirado by Gago in 1553, as Takanobu testified in 1555 (Frois 49 and Q 6091) and Alcáçova in 1554 (*Cartas* 1598, 27v). The nobles were three in number: Dom Antonio Koteda Sayemon, João Koteda, and a third (Frois 311). Their father, Dom Geronimo I, did not receive baptism until 1571 (Frois 59). On the Koteda family, which was related to the ruling princely family, see also Y. Kataoka, "Koteda-ichizoku (The Koteda Family)," *Katorikku kenkyū* 20 (1940) 537–553; Cieslik, *NZM* 15 (1959) 83; and Alvares-Taladriz, *Summario* 94–95.

⁶ The Portuguese ships sailed back to China from Japan in October and November.

⁷ Frois errs in having Xavier sail to Yamaguchi with Torres: "He departed from Hirado amidst the tears of the Christians, who were not a little saddened by the separation, even though he gave them hopes that he would send them someone from India who would console them and increase their number" (13–14).

⁸ According to Frois, Xavier sailed with Torres, Fernández, "and two servants who worked in the house" from Hirado (13–14). According to Torres he sailed with Fernández and two Japanese (Torres 56). One of these was Bernardo, Xavier's "most faithful companion in all his difficulties and travels in Japan," as Luis Gonçalves da Camara, who knew him well, describes him (*MI Scripta* I 166). The second was Antonio or Joane. Bernardo is specifically mentioned by Lucena (7, 24), and therefore also by Rodrigues Tçuzu (50; Ajuda 227; Cros II 138), whose text misled Cros. In both manuscripts is the following: "e dous Japões christãos Bernardo e outro Man- [and then a new line] da pedir audiencia." In the Madrid manuscript "Man-" is faded, but still legible; in the Ajuda manuscript there is: "Ma" (therefore), and in the following line "da." In Cros this becomes: "Bernardo et un autre Japonais chrétien, nommé Mathieu." According to Valignano Xavier sailed with two or three servants (*moços*) (176). He apparently also took the Indian servant Amador with him. Dark brown Indians were a sight to behold in Japan at the time, and even much later, and this was even more true of Negro slaves. People came from fifteen to twenty leagues to see them, as Alvares wrote in 1547 (see Vol. II, p. 69). On this see Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, 126 164).

⁹ These were the only two harbors that could be considered for going on to Yamaguchi.

¹⁰ According to Antonio de San Roman, *Historia General* (Valladolid, 1603) 664.

¹¹ On September 29, 1551, Torres wrote that five or more months had passed since Xavier's arrival in Yamaguchi (56 60). *Rodrigues Tçuzu errs in having Xavier already sail from Hirado to Yamaguchi in February, 1551 (49v; Ajuda 227).

¹² Valignano 176.

¹³ On this second audience and the gifts presented at it, see the sources: Torres in 1551 (93 46 56) and the *Yoshitaka-ki*; Xavier in 1552 (EX II 118 124 262–263 467); Auger in

in silk as the ambassador of the governor of India.¹⁴ He delivered to the prince the two letters of recommendation, from Garcia de Sá and from the bishop of Goa,¹⁵ both of which were written on magnificently illuminated parchments. He also gave him thirteen precious presents¹⁶ which the governor of India¹⁷ and Dom Pedro da Silva, the captain of Malacca,¹⁸ had consigned to him for the king of Japan. Among these were things which had never before been seen in Yama-

1556, from the data of Bernardo (FN III 291); Valignano in 1583 (176-177); Frois in 1586 (14 81); and the *accounts*: Lucena in 1600 (7, 24); A. de San Roman in 1603 (664); *Rodrigues Tçuzu in 1634 (49-50; Ajuda 226v-227; Cros II 138-140); the *Honchō-tsūgan* in 1670 (Zoku-hen, vol. 188, book 7, of the annals of the emperor Go-Yōsei, in Haas called *Nihon-tsūgan*); and, with the help of the Japanese sources already mentioned: Satow in 1878 (141); Haas in 1902 (I 183-184); *Villion II in 1904; Schurhammer in 1947, "Franz Xaver in Japan," (GS III 586-587), and Ebisawa, *Yōgaku-engeki koto hajime* (Beginning of European Music and European Theater) (Tokyo, 1944) 28 ff.; *Cieslik in 1958 and 1965; Aoyama in 1967 (136-137).

¹⁴ "Il se para d'un bel accoutrement de soie" (Auger 291).

¹⁵ Torres 93 46 56; EX II 262; Auger 291; Frois 14.

¹⁶ The number is given as thirteen by Valignano, Frois, Lucena, and Rodrigues Tçuzu. According to Torres the gifts were of little worth but prized by the prince "por ser cosas nunca vistas, aunque de poco precio" (93). But according to Xavier there were "muitas pessos muito ricas" (EX II 118) worth two hundred *cruzados* (*ibid.* 124 467). Auger was of a similar opinion: "force beaux et riches présents" (291). According to Valignano there were "treze peças muy buenas" (176), and according to Frois: "treze peças ricas" (ms. 10, printed edition 14). In 1559 the bonze Shikinai on Hiei-zan had Father Vilela told that he had heard that the priests, when they came the first time to Yamaguchi, had given to the lord of the land, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, very great presents and most unusual gifts (Frois 81). Haas cites the *Yoshitaka-ki*, which states that foreigners who had learned that silver was to be found in the district of Ōta in the province of Iwami had sent ships from India, China, and Korea. Among the gifts which the first of these had brought were a clock which struck twelve times during the day and night, a musical instrument which, without being played, produced harmonious sounds, and two spectacles, with which even old people could see clearly. The historical work *Nihon Tsūgan* further states that a merchant vessel came from Ming to Suwō. Its owner was invited to dine by Yoshitaka and was entertained every night; and during this they all spoke Chinese. The guests gave presents to the prince, whose capital had a more flourishing trade than Miyako because of the lively dealings with merchants from Ming, Korea, and the western lands. The gifts presented were rare. Among these was a clock which during the day and at night accurately struck the hours twelve times; two spectacles, by means of which an old man could see as clearly as a young one. In addition to these there were books, pictures, teacups, and other things besides (I 183-184). In 1904 *Villion gave a short summary from the *Yoshitaka-ki*, whose data "détaillent d'une manière originale les présents offertes par le Saint à Yoshitaka. N'ayant alors pas de nom pour désigner montre ou horloge, ils décrivent le cadran divisé en 12 heures égales. L'instrument musical est bien exprimé. Les miroirs sont désignés avec expressions figurées. Les présents apportés des Indes comprenaient: 'Une boîte désignant en 12 intervalles réguliers le jour et la nuit d'une manière exacte. Un instrument à 13 cordes donnant cinq périodes de 12 sons. Une surface aplanie, où sans le moindre terni se réfléchit le visage fort au clair, tous objets de merveilleux genre.'" According to *Cieslik the text, which describes the greatness and splendor of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, runs as follows: "There also came a multitude of ships from China, Tenjiku, and Korea. Among the manifold gifts of the man from Tenjiku [India] were also the following [the author then describes the clock, the musical clock, the glasses, and the two telescopes, and brings his description to a close]. He is said to have brought five such remarkable treasures."

¹⁷ Auger speaks of the gifts which the viceroy (meant is the governor Garcia de Sá) sent with his letter for the king of Japan (291), Xavier of the gift which the governor sent him with his letter (EX II 262). On this see the illuminated parchment credential which the viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses gave in 1588 to the visitor Valignano as his ambassador to Hideyoshi (photograph in KM 1911/12, p. 124). Xavier's credential may have had a similar appearance.

¹⁸ EX II 118.

guchi, and which were a source of general amazement.¹⁹ Among the objects which the priest and his companions spread out before the astonished eyes of the duke and his court were a clock, whose marvelous mechanism revealed the hours of the day and night in twelve regular divisions;²⁰ a musical clock which, without being touched, gave forth all the thirteen tones of the *koto*, the Japanese stringed instrument;²¹ a richly engraved musket with three barrels;²² a pair of spectacles, with which an old man could see as clearly as a young one;²³ two telescopes, by means of which things at a distance could be clearly recognized;²⁴

¹⁹ Torres 93 46.

²⁰ Torres: "relox" (*Cartas* 1575, 48v), and also Valignano 176. Frois: "hum relógio de horas de grande artificio" (ms. 10, printed 14); San Roman: "un relox destes pequenos de Alemanha que fue lo que más dió e da de admirar a los Japones" (664); *Rodrigues Tçuzu: "hum relógio de rodas" (49; Ajuda 226v; Cros II 139). The *Yoshitaka-ki* has: "Jūni ji wo tsukasadoru ni yoru hiru no chōtan wo chigaezu, kyōshō no koe," which *Cieslik translates as: "A chimes which indicated the twelve hours independently of the length or shortness of day and night."

²¹ Torres: "el monacordio" (*Cartas* 1575, 48; "o cravo" *Cartas* 1598, 17); Valignano: "un clavicordio" (176); San Roman: "algunas vihuelas de arco y clavicordio" (664). Rodrigues Tçuzu translated the *Yoshitaka-ki*: "hum manicordio" (49; Ajuda 226v; Cros II 139: "un manicordio, instrument de musique, à clavier, muni de 70 cordes"); Satow: "harpsichord" (141); Villion: "un instrument à 13 cordes donnant cinq périodes de 12 sons." In 1947, on the basis of this text and the translation of Haas and Villion, we interpreted the text as a musical clock. A. Ebizawa took exception to this in his *Yōgaku-engeki koto hajime* (Tokyo, 1947) 28-31. He declared that it must have reference to a clavicord since the sources cited by us mention a *cravo*, that is, a *clavicordio*. He states that if we interpreted it as a musical clock, we had obviously been led astray by the translation of the *Yoshitaka-ki* in Villion and Haas. According to Ebizawa, the passage of the *Yoshitaka-ki* "without plucking the thirteen strings of the *koto*" does not mean that the gift had thirteen strings, but only "without directly plucking the strings, as is done with the thirteen-stringed Japanese *koto*, that is, with the fingers or the three artificial fingernails, some 2.3 cm. long, made of ivory and fastened to the thumb, index, and middle finger of the right hand." The five or twelve harmonies are, similarly, not to be understood literally: these only mean that the instrument played music in the same way as the Japanese *koto* played the five and the twelve harmonies. The *koto* is the popular Japanese musical instrument. It has thirteen strings made of tightly twisted silken threads impregnated with wax stretched over a long, hollow, wooden sounding box. The text of the *Yoshitaka-ki* reads as follows: "Jūsan no koto no ito hikazaru ni, go-shōshi jūni-chōshi wo gin-zuru." According to Cieslik there are two possible translations to this somewhat obscure text: "an instrument which played the five and twelve harmonies without plucking the thirteen strings of the *koto*," or: "without plucking as in the case of the thirteen-stringed *koto*." With Ebizawa he prefers the first translation. Aoyama gives a like translation: "An instrument which, without using the thirteen strings of the *koto*, gives five or twelve tones" (136). The *manicordio* originally had only one string and was consequently called a *monocordio*. Later it had 39, 49, 50, and 70 strings, but today 49 (Bluteau V 295 559). Among the gifts of the Portuguese ambassador for the Preste in Abyssinia in 1520 were "huns orgãos, e hum craucordio, e hum tangedor par' eles" (Castanheda 5, 28). In the same year the ambassador of Portugal sent to the Hindu emperor of Vijayanagar "huns orgãos" along with other gifts (David Lopes, *Chronica* 92). In the Japanese translation of Xavier's letters by Asai Torahachirō, the phrase cited by Coleridge, "manicordio e relox," (II 294) is erroneously translated by *fūkin* (organ), which Ebizawa rightly rejects. But with respect to Xavier's gift, there is obviously a question of a musical clock and not of a clavicord.

²² "Huma espingarda rica de paderneira de tres canos" (Frois ms. 10, printed edition 14).

²³ Frois speaks of "oculos," thus of spectacles. The *Yoshitaka-ki* states: "Rōgan no azayaka ni miyuru kagami no kage nareba," that is: "a mirror with which even old eyes see clearly" (*Cieslik), "two eyeglasses with which even old people see clearly" (Haas), "une surface aplanie, où sans le moindre terni se réfléchit le visage fort au clair" (*Villion), "the mirror, with which an old man can see clearly" (Aoyama).

²⁴ Frois: "espelhos." The *Yoshitaka-ki* has: "Hodo tōkeredomo kumori naki kagami mo ni men sōraeba," that is, "two mirrors with which even distant things are clearly

and, in addition to these, precious brocades²⁵ and Portuguese textiles,²⁶ beautiful pieces of cut-glass,²⁷ Portuguese wine,²⁸ books, pictures, teacups, and other things as well.²⁹

Ōuchi Yoshitaka was delighted with the letters and the gifts. He offered many things in return, but Xavier refused them all with words of thanks. He asked for only one thing. If the prince wished to grant him a favor, he might give him permission to preach the law of God in his land and let those who wished to receive it do so. Yoshitaka graciously granted this request, and he immediately had placards set up on the streets of the city stating that he was favorable to having the law of God preached in the city and in his lands; and he gave all who wished to receive it his permission to do so. At the same time he forbade any of his subjects to harm the priests who preached the law of God.³⁰ He also gave the priests an empty bonze monastery for their dwelling,³¹ and he declared

seen" (*Cieslik), "two mirrors, with which even a distant object becomes clear" (telescope?) (Aoyama). On July 6, 1958, *Cieslik wrote to us: "In the museum of Yamaguchi is a telescope from the time of the Ōuchi. At least it was in the possession of the Mōri family with the tradition that it came from the Ōuchi. The inscription on the wooden box is of a later time. The director told me that he had it examined by experts on three occasions. It is a three-piece (collapsible) pipe made of hammered lead. According to the opinion of experts, it was certainly fashioned outside the country, since this particular manner of working lead was not known in Japan at the time. The experts also said that the lenses came from abroad. China did not enter the picture. This presents the historical problem. Unfortunately there are no precise written documents with respect to it. But it is certain that among the gifts which Xavier presented to Ōuchi was a telescope. There can of course be no metaphysical certitude that this is the precise telescope which he presented. Since the Ōuchi declined soon after this, it seems to be the only practical solution. I have also thought of another possibility. Ōuchi Yoshinaga came to Yamaguchi as an adopted son. He could thus have brought it with him from Bungo, where the Portuguese frequently landed. Still all the Japanese tell me that an adopted son would hardly have brought such a telescope with him. The supposition that it was given by Xavier consequently remains the more probable."

²⁵ "Borcado" (Frois).

²⁶ Valignano: "algunos paños de Portugal"; San Roman: "algunos vestidos a la Española de hombres e mugeres"; *Rodrigues Tçuzu: "panos de Espanha."

²⁷ Frois: "vidros cristallinos mui fermozos."

²⁸ Valignano: "vino de Portugal"; San Roman: "vino admirable de Europa (with the observation: "the best interpreter that has been found in the whole world, especially when it is of the good kind as that of Spain"); *Rodrigues Tçuzu: "vinho e panos de Espanha."

²⁹ *Nihon Tsūgan*: "books, pictures, teacups, and other things as well" (Haas).

³⁰ EX II 262-263; Torres 93 56-57; Frois 14; Valignano 176-177. Satow's suggestion that Xavier obtained his permission to preach primarily through the intercession of Sue Takafusa, since the Christians obtained the confirmation of their privileges under Yoshitaka's successor, Ōuchi Yoshinaga, who had been favored by Takafusa (141), seems hardly probable to us. We would prefer to think of Naitō instead of him.

³¹ "Juntamente nos deu hum mosteiro à maneira de colegio pera estarmos nele," according to Xavier (EX II 263; and also Torres 93 46 57). The chapter has been fantastically elaborated by *Rodrigues. He completely confuses the chronology, since he places the first street preachings and the first conversions of Xavier's first stay in Yamaguchi in his second, and he gives a wrong date for the delivery of the gifts. According to him, the saint came to the audience with a large company (*com numero de gente*). After the audience the prince first has a good sum of gold and silver sent to the priest as a reward, but Xavier takes none of these. He informs the duke that he thanks him for the favors, but he will not accept them, since the object of his embassy is the salvation of His Highness and of all his vassals. For this he must preach the law of the Creator and Lord of the universe. In order to be able to preach freely, he asks His Highness to grant permission to all those in his capital and in his kingdom who wish to become Christians to do so. The duke and the members of his council are much pleased with the unselfishness of this answer, and they speak with

that he wished to send a bonze or layman as his ambassador back to India with a gift in return.³²

3. PREACHING AND DISPUTATIONS (MAY TO THE MIDDLE OF JULY, 1551)

Their unusual gifts and Yoshitaka's edict immediately placed the foreign preachers in a completely new light. Their new residence was filled from morn-

high praise about the priest and very badly about their bonzes, whom they reproach for their greed and vices. In keeping with Chinese and Japanese custom, the duke grants the requested permission on written tablets; and he forbids his vassals under severe penalties to hinder any of the priests in their preaching the law of God or to cause them any trouble. He further gives the priest a very large field, which had belonged to a bonze monastery but is now uninhabited so that they may build a residence on it and a church for the preaching and spread of their faith. *Rodrigues Tçuzu then continues: "The words of the grant translated from the Japanese language and writing were as follows: 'We, the duke of the kingdom of Suwō, hand over through this deed signed by us the site of the monastery of Daidōji of this city of Yamaguchi of the kingdom of Suwō to the priest who is at the time the superior so that he may build a monastery and temple on it, where the religious who come from the end of the West to Japan can preach and spread their law, since the said superior asked me for it. Given in the twenty-first year of the era Tembun, on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month.'—This deed was composed almost two months after permission had been given to the priest to preach, and since the latter went from Yamaguchi to Bungo, he had not as yet built anything on the site.... After receiving permission to preach the law of God from the duke, the priest and his companions took up temporary residence in the house of a pagan citizen." Rodrigues then describes how Francis and Brother Fernández preached twice a day near a spring on the street Tonono-Cōgi, but without making any conversions until a person spit in the face of the brother while he was preaching. This moved the one who had hitherto been the greatest opponent of Christianity to ask for baptism, the first in Yamaguchi, and his example was soon followed by their host (50-51; Ajuda 227-228; Cros II 139-141).—Cros is here, as frequently, all too free in his translation, since he shortens and distorts Rodrigues' text. Xavier replies as follows to the envoys of the duke who have brought him a return gift: "The goal of my embassy is not to enrich myself, but to work for the everlasting salvation of His Highness and for that of all his subjects." The duke is surprised at this answer and is still further moved to grant all that Francis desires. He gives him a piece of ground on which to build a house and church, and he grants him by word of mouth on the same day that the gifts are presented permission to preach the Gospel. Two months later he has a text with this permission drawn up for Xavier and includes it in the deed of property.—The general permission to preach, which the duke had posted on placards set up in the streets and on the public squares of Yamaguchi, stated in substance: "I am happy to grant permission for the law of *Deos* to be taught and preached in this city and in all my kingdoms and domains."—*The following can be briefly noted on this:* As we saw above, on p. 167, the street preaching, the insult offered to Fernández, and the first conversions, including that of Xavier's host, were all during his first stay in Yamaguchi. After the first audience, during Xavier's second stay in Yamaguchi, Yoshitaka handed over to the priest an abandoned monastery as a residence. The granting of a piece of ground for the building of a college took place after Xavier's departure from Yamaguchi for Bungo, and Torres informed the priest about it on September 29, 1551 (61). The text of the deed is given by Rodrigues as twenty-first of Tembun, eighth month, twenty-eighth day, which corresponds to September 16, 1552, and is that of the confirmation of Yoshitaka's gift by his successor Ōuchi Yoshinaga (see Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 75-80). This document does not speak of the preaching and spreading of the law of *Deos*, but of the spreading of the law of the saint (*buppō*), since Xavier at the time of the audience was still using the Buddhist *Dainichi* as the name of God.—Since Cros has Xavier further say: "Le Roi nous a offert une grosse somme d'argent; nous la lui avons renvoyé" (II 126), he thus translates incorrectly the *falsified* letter, allegedly written in Kagoshima on November 20, 1550, which he changes to "Yamaguchi mai 1551," where it is said: "El Duque nos daua mucho oro y plata; mas nosotros no quisimos aceptar nada" (MX I 662).

³² Frois 14.

ing to evening and deep into the night with curious visitors—nobles, bonzes of all sects, *bikunis*,³³ *yamabushis* ("magicians"), merchants, and others. The house as a consequence frequently lacked space to accommodate them all. Endless questions were asked, and the conferences, which were usually held twice a day, ended with disputations which lasted for a long time.³⁴

Xavier's learning was an object of universal astonishment.³⁵ He was able to give an answer to all their questions—the roundness of the earth, the course of the sun, the changings of the moon, eclipses, comets, thunder and lightning, rain, snow, and hail.³⁶

From his discussion of creatures, he would turn to speak about Dainichi,

³³ Buddhist nuns.

³⁴ EX II 263. Torres wrote on September 29, 1551: "Those who come to these regions must be very learned in order to answer the very deep and difficult questions which they ask from morning till night. They are very insistent in their questions. From the day on which Padre Mestre Francisco came into this city, which is now some five months or more ago, there has never been a day on which there were not priests and laymen here from morning until late at night in order to ask all kinds of questions" (96 52). On this see also Torres 60 47, and EX II 299 348-349.

³⁵ See the opinions expressed by Torres and Fernández in Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 61 66. Bernardo later told Ribadeneyra that he had frequently been present when Father Francis disputed with a large number of bonzes on matters of the faith. He had seen at the time that when they posed different questions to him and presented different arguments against the articles of the Creed, each according to his own intelligence and the doubts which he had, the priest answered all in such a way that all were content with a single answer, and he removed all doubts and scruples; and he did this with as much proof and clarity as if he had answered each one individually (Ribadeneyra 4, 7, in FN IV 656-657). Quadros heard the same Bernardo say in Portugal that Father Master Francis was regarded in Japan as the most learned person of Europe, since he was not like the other priests and companions of the Society, who always answered the pagans individually; and when they had convinced one, they then began to argue with another. But Father Master Francis told all the pagans who came to speak with him to ask what they wished, and though they presented ten or twelve questions, he satisfied all with a single answer. When Quadros told Bernardo that they were probably all questions of the same kind, the latter said that it was not so, and that they were extremely different from each other. And the priest had done this consistently, and it seemed to be a great gift from God (Quadros' letter of December 6, 1555, in DI III 337).

³⁶ After his return from Japan, Xavier wrote: "In the writings of their sects, the Japanese (as was said above) have no knowledge whatever of the creation of the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, heaven, the earth and sea, and so of all other things. . . . They do not know that the earth is round, nor do they know the course of the sun; and they ask about these things and others such as comets, lightning, rain, and snow, and similar things. We answered and explained these to them, and they were very happy and content and regarded us as learned men, which was no little help in their giving credence to our words" (EX II 264-265). The priests who would come for the universities of Japan, he noted, should know something about the spheres, "for the Japanese are much pleased when they learn about the movements of heaven, the eclipses of the sun, the waning and waxing of the moon; how rain, snow and hail, thunder, lightning, comets, and other natural phenomena are produced. The explanation of these matters is a great help for winning the favor of the people" (*ibid.* 373). Frois writes that the bonzes taught that there is, according to the writings of Shaka, a mountain range in the north by the name of Shumisen, which reaches to heaven. It has the shape of a standing clock, and the sun always goes about it like the string of a child's top. The more the sun falls in its daily course, and thus draws nearer to the tip of the pyramid, which is at the center, the more the world is warmed. But when it goes up again and moves farther and farther from it, cold is felt because it is far away (124). Aristotle explains rain, snow, hail, and comets in the first book of his *Meteorologica*; earthquakes, thunder, and lightning in the second. The *Sphaera* of Sacrobosco describes in detail the movements of the heavenly bodies and eclipses of the sun and moon that are caused by these. Both books were obligatory reading at the University of Paris.

the Creator of all things, the Eternal Goal of immortal souls. Both concepts were new and strange to his hearers, since, according to the teachings of Buddhism, everything was in a state of coming and going like foam on the sea. New questions and objections were constantly being raised about God and souls. If the things of this world had a Creator and a beginning, how was it possible that the people in China knew nothing about it, since all laws came from there to Japan? And this Creator, was He good or evil? If He was good, why did He create what was evil: the devil, sorrows, difficult commandments, the weakness of men, and the eternity of hell?³⁷ And if God was merciful, why had He not revealed Himself to the Japanese before the priests came from Tenjiku? And if it was true, as they taught, that those who do not worship God go to hell, God had had no mercy on their ancestors, since He had let them go to hell without granting them a knowledge of Himself.

Xavier answered this last objection by stating that the law of God was the first of all. Before the laws of China came to Japan, the Japanese had known that killing, stealing, bearing false witness, and acting against the other. Ten Commandments were evil, and they had experienced remorse as an indication that they had done ill. For it was written in the hearts of men that they must avoid evil and do good. The pagans thus knew the Commandments of God without their being taught to them by any other than the Creator of all men. And if they had any doubt about this, they should make the following experiment: They should take a man who had grown up on a mountain without knowledge of the laws which came from China and who could neither read nor write. And they should ask this man who had grown up in the forest if killing, stealing, and acting against the Ten Commandments were sins or not, and if their observance was good or evil. From the answer which this man, who was still such a barbarian, and who had not been instructed by any other man, they would be able to see clearly that this man knew the law of God. But who had taught this man good and evil if it were not the God who had created him? And if such a knowledge was found among barbarians, how much more was it found among men of intelligence? Before there was any written law, the law of God had been written in men's hearts. This explanation proved to be very satisfying to all his hearers, and they showed how pleased they were with it.³⁸

But there were sharp discussions on many other matters, especially with the Zen bonzes;³⁹ and Xavier hardly found time to eat and drink, to recite his Office, meditate, and offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which he had been obliged to forego for so long during the course of his entire journey to Miyako.⁴⁰

Two and one-half months had already passed, the warm south wind had begun to blow, and summer had come; but no converts had as yet been made to the faith. Nevertheless, the preaching and discussions finally bore fruit, and the first of those who became Christians in the middle of July were those who had been the keenest adversaries of the priest in his preaching and discussions.⁴¹

But there was also a rise of opposition.

³⁷ EX II 264-265; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 67-80.

³⁸ EX II 266-267; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 80-82.

³⁹ Torres 49-50 58 62.

⁴⁰ EX II 288-289 299-300 347 363.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 263 266.

4. FROM DAINICHI TO DEUSU (JULY—AUGUST, 1551)

The first audience with Yoshitaka was followed by a second.⁴² This time Xavier brought with him a very rich, beautifully illuminated Bible and a new, beautifully decorated *Glossa ordinaria*.⁴³ As he showed them to the prince, he told him that all of their holy law was contained in these books. The duke also wished to see a brocaded vestment which the priest had also brought with him. When Xavier showed it to him, he asked him to put it on. The sight of it pleased him so much that he clapped his hands and said: "This priest actually looks like a living image of our gods!" Present at the audience were some bonzes who never left the side of the prince because of the respect and esteem in which he held them. One of these asked Xavier if the God whom he worshiped had shape or color.⁴⁴ The priest answered that He had neither shape nor color nor any accidents, since He was Pure Substance and separate from all the elements; He was, instead, their Creator. The bonzes then asked where this God had His origins. Xavier replied that He was of Himself, since He was the Principal of all things, infinitely powerful, wise and good, without beginning and without an end.

These bonzes were followers of the Shingon sect,⁴⁵ who worshiped Dainichi as the highest principal and gave him many attributes and titles which are peculiar to the divine nature.⁴⁶ When they heard the replies of the priest, it seemed to them that his God corresponded to their Dainichi. They therefore told him that in words, speech, and dress they were certainly different from each other, but the contents of the law which the priest upheld and their own was one and the same.⁴⁷ The bonzes of their sect were delighted with this and had the priest invited to their monastery.⁴⁸ There they received him with great honor and

⁴² On it, see Frois 14-15.

⁴³ The *Glossa ordinaria* is a commentary on the Vulgate composed by Walafried Strabo, the abbot of the monastery of Reichenau, who died in 849. From the ninth to the sixteenth century, it was the ordinary, and almost only, commentary used by theologians on Sacred Scripture.

⁴⁴ The word "color" in Buddhist terminology means an attribute of the visible world. The bonzes therefore wished to ask if Xavier's God had once been visibly born into this world or had appeared in it (Aoyama 140).

⁴⁵ Yoshitaka especially esteemed the Zen sect, and in particular its Rinzaï branch; but along with these he also esteemed the Tendai and Shingon sects, which were still highly regarded by the court nobility that had come from Miyako (*ibid.* 107).

⁴⁶ Frois 15.

⁴⁷ From Xavier's exposition, who came from Tenjiku, the homeland of Buddha, the Shingon bonzes concluded that his teaching was identical with theirs; and they saw in it a proof that the teaching of their founder actually came from that land. Yoshitaka's adviser, the Rinzaï bonze Gyokudō, therefore told the prince in September, 1551, that only the Shingon teaching was followed in Tenjiku (*Yoshitaka-ki* 425; Aoyama 140).

⁴⁸ Frois 14-15. The Abe map of Yamaguchi has six Shingon temples: the Shinkō-ji, northeast of the palace of Yoshitaka, on the slope of the mountain above the Hachiman shrine; the Yakushi-ji, on the other side of the Furugawa; the Enkyō-ji, south of the palace between Ōtonoōji Street and Great Market Street; the Eikaku-ji and the Tanno-bō, southwest of it; and the Anraku-ji temple, west of the palace between the Kameyama Hill and the Fushino River. In February, 1957, we visited the Shinkō-ji temple. Its married bonze told us that the first temple had been built there 850 years earlier. The present temple was only twenty-seven years old, and it was called Shinfuku-ji. On its broad façade was hanging a red banner between paper lanterns and a bell with a thick rope, which visitors pulled when they came to make an offering. Over its entrance in the center of the façade was a tablet which bore the following inscription in Chinese characters: *Nishi Kōyasan* (West Kōyasan). The building was under the Ninna-ji temple in Kyōto, also known as Omuro Goshō, which was founded by the emperor Kōkō-

hospitality, since they believed that their sect would be further spread through the foreign preachers, and that they would thus gain further profit from the prince and their followers.⁴⁹

Xavier was puzzled. He began to reflect more precisely on this pleasure and happiness of the bonzes and on Dainichi. Could it be that Christian traditions had been preserved here, perhaps from the time of the Apostle Thomas who, according to tradition, had brought the faith to the Thomas Christians of India and also to China? There were so many reminders of Christianity among the Japanese bonzes: rosaries, signs of the cross, incense, vestments, prayers in choir, bells, sacrifices, and ceremonies; and Dainichi, the main god of the Shingon sect, was at times represented with three heads, but without a body, as he had already been told by Paul in Goa.⁵⁰

Tennō in 888. On the center of the high altar was a seated statue of Buddha. To its left was a closed tabernacle painted with gold lacquer. Within this was the red figure of Aizen Myō-ō, the god of love, seated on a lotus blossom, but with a grim countenance and flaming halo, with three eyes and six arms. The bonze told us that Mōri Terumoto, the successor of Ōuchi, had always come here to pray before a war. To the right of the seated Buddha was another, corresponding tabernacle with a seated Yakushi Nyorai, the "saving Buddha," one of the five gods of wisdom with two standing figures of saints. Much food had been placed before the altar as offerings for the divinity. On three subordinate altars were statues of eight Buddhist saints, among which were a seated figure of Kōbō Daishi and a standing Kannon. Before the main altar was a precious, gilded lamp between two tall, gilded pillars, and behind them were two mirrors with Chinese inscriptions, *Hōshu-no-tama* (Jewel), shaped like a conch shell with a flaming tip, and *Mitsu-domoe* (Treasure), shaped like a wheel of life. The roof of the temple was paneled, and a symbol or holy figure was painted in each square. The walls had painted screens; the altars were adorned with *kakemonos* (painted scrolls) and with Shintō *gohei* (paper or cloth offerings to a god mounted on an upright stick). In front of the temple were small seated statues of Buddha, and to the left of it was a small, red Kannon sanctuary.

⁴⁹ In 1590 a world traveler, the Licentiate Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, made an adventurous voyage from Acapulco in Mexico to Macao, where he remained for two months. He then sailed for Japan, where he stayed for five days in Nagasaki. While he was there he confessed three or four times "to a great servant of God of the Society of Jesus." He then had to sail back secretly at night for China on the ship with which he had come. In his travelogue he speaks with some hyperbole about Xavier, and he repeats an anecdote which perhaps had its origins in the priest's visits to the Shingon monasteries of Yamaguchi: "I heard a bonze, one of those whom he converted, say that he had thought upon all the lives of the saints of the Old and New Testaments and had discovered that the priest had gone the way of all of these, and that God had given him the privileges of them all." He then continues: "In order to conclude with his life, I am writing what the bonze told me: When he was still a pagan priest, he happened to be at a meeting of such priests, and there was talk about making Father Francis one of their gods. When this decision was made known to him, he showed the same distress over it that Paul and Barnabas had shown in Lystra; and he told them things of such a nature that he, the bonze, wrote them down and was converted; and those bonzes were astonished at this, and many of them were converted. And he heard others say after Xavier's great reply that their desire to become gods was extinguished, since the most devilish sin of the priests and kings of that land is their desire to become gods. And he also told me that he always heard Xavier say at the end of his hour of prayer: *Domine, ecce adsum, quid me vis facere?* (Lord, here I am, what do you wish me to do?)" (*Viage del Mundo* [Madrid, 1616, 264], in the edition of Serrano y Sanz, *Autobiografias* [1905] 443).

⁵⁰ In 1561 Torres wrote of different Buddhist sects: "Those who worship the sun and moon also worship an idol which they call Denix (Dainichi), whom they paint with three heads; and they say that it is the force of the sun and the moon and the elements. These also worship the devil in his shape, and they bring him many precious offerings, and they often see him appear. These are usually magicians and great enemies of the

He therefore asked the bonzes some days later about the mystery of the Blessed Trinity and the relations that existed between the Divine Persons, and whether they also believed and preached that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity had assumed flesh and had become a man and had died upon the cross in order to redeem mankind.

These matters were completely unknown to the bonzes. They seemed to them to be dreams and fables. Some even laughed at what they heard from the priest.⁵¹

Up to this time Xavier had used the word *Dainichi* for God and had called out in the streets of Yamaguchi: "Dainichi wo ogami are!" ("Pray to Dainichi!"), since he thought that the word *Dainichi*, literally "the Great Sun," meant the true God, Christ, the Sun of Justice. He now became suspicious of the name. Among his new converts were many nobles who were familiar with Chinese writing and the books of their sects. From them he learned that the Dainichi of the Shingon sect was not at all a personal God. The name simply indicated the material beneath things, the *materia prima* of the Scholastics.⁵² It also had, in addition to this, an obscene meaning, since it referred to the center of the human body and its powers of procreation. Xavier now clearly recognized the trick of the devil. He immediately ordered Brother Fernández to cry out upon the streets: "Dainichi na ogami asso!" ("Do not worship Dainichi!")⁵³ and to preach that he

law of God" (*Cartas* 1598, 75). For Christian influences on Shingon teachings, see Schurhammer, "Die Yamabushis" (GS II 724-725).

⁵¹ Frois 15. The Shingon sect, introduced from China into Japan by Kōbō Daishi in 806, placed the worship of Dainichi at the center of its teaching. In the instructions of Kōbō Daishi, Shaka, the historical Buddha, receded entirely into the background. He sank to the level of one of the four Go-chi, or Nyorai (Buddhas of Wisdom), who, as satellites of Dainichi, "the Great Sun," encircle him as the highest Nyorai. Dainichi is, as Sun of the World of Ideas (Kongō-kai, Diamond World, since it is made up of unalterable, everlasting Ideas), the one truth which embraces within itself all others as constitutive elements. Dainichi is in the World of Phenomena (Taizō-kai, World of the Maternal Bosom, because of its fruitfulness in bringing forth visible forms), the Lotus Blossom, from which all phenomena, the Buddhas not excepted, emanate, as from their Principle and First Being. Dainichi is thus All in All, and All in Him. The goal of man is to become one with Dainichi, the Absolute, through knowledge of this truth on the way of moral self-control (Arthur Lloyd, "Developments of Japanese Buddhism," *TASJ* 22 [1894] 388-392).

⁵² Gago had already written in 1562 that Dainichi, according to the opinion of Japanese scholars, was the *materia prima* of Western philosophers (see *Cartas* 1575, 120). Frois wrote the same with respect to the teaching of the Shingon sect: "According to what has been learned about this sect, its Dainichi is the same as what *materia prima* is for our philosophers. But the bonzes call it a most high and infinite God. Those who speak of it consequently fall into a thousand errors, contradictions, and most ridiculous assertions, which are without any foundation" (15). According to Thomas Aquinas, *materia prima* is that "quod est in genere substantiae ut potentia quaedam intellecta praeter omnem speciem et formam et etiam praeter privationem, quae tamen est susceptiva et formarum et privationum" (*De spiritualibus creaturis* I 14), or, as expressed differently by Tillman Pesch, S.J.: "Est entitas realis substantialis, quae neque est substantia completa neque accidens, sed est subiectum, ex quo res corporeae fiunt."

⁵³ On December 25, 1618, Camillo Constantio, who was later martyred, wrote from Macao to the general of the Society that he should order the name for God introduced by Ricci, *Tienchu*, "the Lord of Heaven," to be replaced by a Latin name in books and manuscripts, since it gave rise to too many erroneous interpretations. As proof of this he cites a bonze of Nanking who wrote against the Christian explanation of the Chinese name given by the missionaries and proposed this dilemma to them: "Either this name is taken in the external and political sense of secular rule, and we would then have millions and millions of 'lords of heaven' who have strong bodies, marry, are born and die; or it is taken in the inner and mystical sense; and in this case

should not be honored as God, and that the Shingon sect, like all the others, was a fraudulent law and an invention of the devil.⁵⁴ From then on, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, Xavier used only the Latin word *Deus* for God, which was pronounced by the Japanese as *Deusu*.⁵⁵

5. AT WAR WITH THE BONZES (JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1551)

Friendship with the Shingon bonzes was now, of course, a thing of the past. From now on they refused to see the priest and to let him into their monasteries. Only fear of the prince restrained them from giving free rein to their hatred for the new doctrine and its preaching, and from killing them.⁵⁶

From his new converts, who had been educated in their writings, Xavier now obtained further information about the teachings of the nine Buddhist sects,⁵⁷ of the Zen,⁵⁸ Hokke,⁵⁹ Ikkō,⁶⁰ Jōdo,⁶¹ and Shingon bonzes,⁶² and also about the followers of Shintoism.⁶³ Among the Buddhist sects, the Hokke honored Shaka in particular as their main god or founder; the Ikkō and Jōdo, Amida; and the Shingon, Dainichi. With the exception of the Zen bonzes, who denied heaven and hell and maintained that both human and animal souls were mortal, and that all things came from nothing and returned to nothing, the other sects believed that there was a hell and a paradise; but they did not explain the nature of this paradise and who it was that sent men to hell.⁶⁴ Still, according to their teaching,

'the Lord of Heaven' is the Nothing, from which all things are born, on which they are based, and into which they are finally again reduced" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 34, 235v, original 3a via). The letter was written in three exemplars by the priest and sent on three vias. In all of these he declared that the general must order all the books and manuscripts in China to be corrected, "usando in cose gravi di nomi latini all'uso del Giappone approvato già dopo molti inconvenienti, dei quali solo raccontarei uno: Si racconta nel Giappone del B. P. Francesco Xaverio, che andava le notte per le piazze dicendo: 'Dainichi uo uogami are!' che significa: 'Adorate il gran sole!' o 'il nume del gran sole!' credendo per ventura, che quel nume fosse Christo, sole di giustitia. La gente che sapeva della significatione mistica di quel nome, ch'è l'huomo in quanto dice maschio e femina e il mezzo de loro corpi, che significa 'pudenda,' sbigottita, fecero consapevole il Padre, il quale poi andava, come dicono, per le stesse piazze, dicendo il contrario, cioè: 'Dainichi na uogami asso!' ('Non adorate il nume del gran sole!')" (*ibid.* 223v, la via). In the third via he wrote: "Chiamano i Giapponesi l'ho grande sole, e con questa metafora lo fanno quasi, e senza quasi un dio, già che l'adorano por tale. Il Padre Beato Francesco Xaverio, credendo, che il grande sole fosse por ventura il sole di giustitia, andava le notti per le strade dicendo: 'Adorate, adorate il grande sole!' Ma come poi sapesse l'errore, andava per le piazze dicendo: 'Non adorate, non adorate il grande sole!' Questi e somiglianti inconvenienti furono causa a che un P. Visitatore al Giappone facesse usare dai nostri nomi latini o portughesi in cose gravi come Deus, Angio, Anima rational, etc." (*ibid.* 235v, 3a via).

⁵⁴ According to Frois, Xavier ordered Brother Fernández to preach on the streets that they should not worship Dainichi or look upon him as a god. Rather, they should look upon that sect as a false and deceitful law and an invention of the devil, as were all the other sects of Japan (15).

⁵⁵ Cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 25-33.

⁵⁶ Frois 15-16.

⁵⁷ EX II 255-256 263.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 265-266; Torres 49-50 58 62.

⁵⁹ Torres 48 58 61-62; Fernández 82-83.

⁶⁰ Torres 49 58; Fernández 83.

⁶¹ Torres 49.

⁶² Frois 15.

⁶³ Torres 49 58.

⁶⁴ EX II 256.

hell was not eternal.⁶⁵ The founders of their sects had allegedly done great penance for the redemption of men.

Xavier sought to discover if these founders were philosophers of ancient times. He asked his new converts to write for him a faithful account of their lives, as revealed in their sacred books. He discovered that they had not been men but were pure inventions of the devil, demons and not gods, since according to them Shaka had come eight thousand times into the world; and before he had been born of a woman, he had, according to the sacred writings of the Buddhists, served the people for a thousand years, obtaining for them wood and water and other needful things in order to sanctify himself. Amida, who was represented by some as a man but by others as a woman, had, according to them, done penance for men for one, two, or three thousand years.⁶⁶ According to some they had given Three Hundred, according to others Five Hundred, but according to all Five Commandments in particular: (1) Not to kill, and not to eat living beings. (2) Not to steal. (3) Not to act unchastely. (4) Not to lie. (5) Not to drink any wine. Since only the male and female bonzes could keep the Five Commandments, the laity had only one means of salvation: if houses, incomes, and alms were given to the bonzes and to the *bikunis*, then these, as was taught by the sects, would pray for their benefactors and, through their merits, free all souls from hell.⁶⁷ For this purpose they gave their benefactors a written receipt with which they were usually buried, since the bonzes maintained that the devils in the other world would flee at the sight of it and the gifts of the donors would there be restored ten times over. Women however, who could be redeemed only with greater difficulty because of their monthly purifications, had to give more in alms in order to be saved.⁶⁸

With the help of his new converts, Xavier was now able to make a collection of the teachings of the individual sects from their writings so that he might vanquish them with their own weapons.⁶⁹ Every day during the course of the disputations he posed questions to them about their teachings, and he employed arguments against them which the bonzes, *bikunis*, magicians, and other adversaries were unable to answer;⁷⁰ and he openly declared that the magical receipt sold by the bonzes at a high price, which obtained for them many times over the cost of subsistence, could not free anyone from hell, since hell was eternal.⁷¹

The bonzes prepared their defense. They sent their most quick-witted representatives to trip up the preacher in his arguments, but he brought them all to silence in the disputations. Many bonzes, as a consequence, no longer dared to engage him in debate.⁷² They further vainly sought to prevent conversions to

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 289 ("No saben qué cosa es purgatorio").

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 255 268-269; Torres 48-49 58 62; Fernández 82.

⁶⁷ EX II 257-258.

⁶⁸ On these receipts, called *kuchi-myōkan* and *ofuda*, see EX II 258 270; Torres 50 59; Frois, *Geschichte* 204 301, and his letter of January 20, 1565: "chichimiaquo" (*JapSin.* 5, 198v); Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, cc. 114 210 212: "cuchimiocós"; Dalgado I 327; photographs in Kamio, *Toron* 95. According to him there is here a bowdlerization of *kechimyaku*.

⁶⁹ "Nos declaravão muito fielmente tudo aquilo, que tem os gentios em suas leis... Depois de ter verdadeira noticia de que tem eles em suas leis, buscamos rezões pera provar serem falças" (EX II 263). "Muitos nos descobrem os emganos dos bomzos e das suas ceitas: e se nom fora por eles, nom estiveramos ao cabo das idolatrias de Japão" (*ibid.* 266).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 263.

⁷¹ "Sobre este imfferno forão todas as discordias emtre os bomzos e nos" (*ibid.* 267; cf. 289).

⁷² Torres 61; Fernández 66. On this see the anecdote which *Confalonerius reports

the new teaching. They blamed those who had become Christians for abandoning the teaching received from their ancestors in order to accept that of *Deusu*, unknown in Japan. The new converts and those who were determined to become so replied that they had become Christians or wished to become such because they saw that the law of *Deusu* was more amenable to reason than their teaching; and also because they saw that the priest could answer their questions, but that they, his adversaries, could not answer his questions with respect to their sects.⁷³

The controversies were for the most part centered about hell. This was the focal point of all the sermons of the bonzes, and something which they repeatedly stressed. Even if they had committed many sins and were continuing to do so, the people should firmly believe without any doubts whatever that the bonzes would save their benefactors from hell if they should happen to go there. But they would have to give alms to the bonzes, who would pray for them, since they were holy and kept the Five Commandments. They should therefore honor their bonzes and give alms to them.⁷⁴ In his preaching Xavier spoke out against this and declared that this claim of the bonzes was a lie. Some of the bonzes themselves admitted that they could not free the souls of the departed from hell, but they said that if they did not preach this they would no longer have anything to eat or to wear.⁷⁵

The city was in a turmoil. Formerly people only quarreled with each other over the superiority of individual Buddhist sects, but now they only spoke in their homes about the new faith of *Deusu*.⁷⁶ The alms of the followers of the sects fell off. Need was already being felt in many places. Numerous bonzes returned to the status of laymen and made public revelations about life in the monasteries. In earlier times male and female bonzes who did not keep the Five Commandments of Shaka had been condemned to death by the lord of the land and beheaded. But now the Buddhist monks and nuns often drank wine and

without giving his source: Xavier was once brought to a bonze who was, perhaps, afraid to go to him. The priest met him with a swarm of bonzes who had assembled to assist at his debate with Xavier in order to honor him by their presence. The whole city immediately came together to listen to the confrontation. The famed Buddhist, however, feared the outcome of the debate and was then only persuaded with difficulty to take it up. His fear was not unfounded, since he was reduced to silence by a few arguments. This moved his friends to compassion, but it caused laughter among the Christians who were present. His disciples tried to excuse him: His sudden encounter with Xavier had caused him to become confused, and the contest had not evolved as he had wished. Xavier then broke off the debate and addressed himself directly to the people. He began to implore the bonze, and to encourage him by examples, to accept the known truth. Xavier's words were directed primarily at moving his adversary to honor the true God. By his constant nodding during Xavier's talk, and by the words which he spoke after it, the bonze showed that he agreed with what Xavier had said (96v-97). Chapter 6 of Confalonierus, which contains this anecdote, was written in 1624 and has the title: "Other Private Disputations of Xavier in Several Towns of India." This account, without any indication of sources, is the first of these. It is followed by the conversions of the queen of Ternate and the king of Kandy as the result of Xavier's debates. These incidents are taken from Lucena. Before them are accounts of Xavier's disputations in Yamaguchi (c. 2), his disputations in Bungo (cc. 3-4), and his debate with the Brahmans (c. 5), which are taken from the *Historia* of Orlandinus. Since the anecdote just cited mentions a bonze, it is obviously to be place in Japan. It may have come from one of the lost processes of canonization, all of which were available to him.

⁷³ EX II 264.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 257-258.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 267.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 265.

ate fish and flesh in secret. Truth had been replaced by falsehood. They were lewd and without shame. The monks had boys with whom they sinned, and they openly admitted it by stating that it was not a sin. There were many women in the monasteries of the bonzes, allegedly the wives of the servants who tilled the monastic properties. Moreover, the *bikunis* were often visited by the bonzes at every hour of the day, and they in their turn visited the monasteries of the bonzes. All this caused great scandal among the people. It was commonly said that there was a herb which the female bonzes ate in order to avoid conceiving, and that there was another which they ate to procure an abortion. These revelations brought it about that the bonzes and *bikunis* were more and more losing their reputation in Yamaguchi, and the Christians told Xavier that many of the hundred monasteries of Buddhist monks and nuns of the city would be emptied for the lack of alms.⁷⁷ Shaka and Amida and the other gods had also begun to lose the esteem in which they had been held in Yamaguchi.⁷⁸

The bonzes were enraged. With their rabid attacks they stirred the people up against the foreign preachers who ate human flesh and ensnared the people.⁷⁹ They spoke much evil about the God of the new preachers. This *Deusu* was something new and unheard of. It could only be a great demon, and the foreign preachers were his disciples. The people should be careful not to accept the law which they proclaimed, since Japan would be lost if this *Deusu* was worshiped there. His very name betrayed him. *Deusu* was "*Daiuso*," that is, "the Great Lie." They should therefore have nothing to do with *Deusu*.⁸⁰ The foreign preachers brought disaster. In 1550 a large pine in the garden of the ducal palace had died. It had been a token of misfortune. In 1551 people had repeatedly spoken of the appearance of a ghost in the palace, and there was a rumor going around that in the coming September the land would fall into great confusion and would become as dark as night.⁸¹

6. THE GLAD HARVEST (SEPTEMBER, 1551)

But the more the bonzes became enraged, the more the Christians increased in numbers.⁸² Within two months there were already some five hundred of them, and others were added every day to these,⁸³ chiefly from the people at court and the officials of the prince.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 267-268; Torres 50-51 57 59 61-62.

⁷⁸ EX II 269.

⁷⁹ Fernández 84; Quadros (DI III 342-343); *Yoshitaka-ki* 415.

⁸⁰ EX II 270.

⁸¹ The *Yoshitaka-ki*, which was composed in December, 1551, probably by one of the bonzes of the Ryūfukuji temple, which lay to the south of the palace of Yoshitaka, describes the evil portent of the pine and the ghostly manifestations mentioned above. It then adds somewhat enigmatically; "The *kaseki* (flint), called magic, spoke secret things, and the Tenjikujin (Strangers from India) all said together that in the eighth month [September] the land would fall into great confusion and would become as dark as night" (415). The author also calls muskets, the magical weapons of the people from Tenjiku, *kaseki*. These were first used during the rebellion in Yamaguchi (see also Aoyama 141 and *Villion II).

⁸² EX II 270.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 266. Mendes Pinto invents the number of three thousand baptisms (c. 208). In 1555 Gago gave the number of Christians at the time of Xavier's departure as five hundred. Since he was in Yamaguchi in 1552, he could have known this (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 61). Frois, who heard Xavier give an account of his Japanese voyage in Goa, states that

A great sensation was aroused by the conversion of a man who had studied for many years at the university of Bandu and was held to be the most learned person in Yamaguchi. Before Xavier's arrival in Japan, he had already abandoned his position as a bonze and had married. The reason he gave for his leaving the monastery was that, as he declared, it seemed to him that the religions of Japan were not true. He did not believe in them and always worshiped the God who had created the world. The Christians were consequently overjoyed when this man received baptism.⁸⁵

Another convert was an itinerant bard⁸⁶ of comic appearance and half blind, since he saw nothing with one eye and only a little with the other. He was twenty-five years old⁸⁷ and came from Shiraishi in the province of Hizen on Kyūshū.⁸⁸ Since he was the son of poor parents, he had grown up without any formal education, but he was well versed in the history of the gods of Japan, and of keen intelligence. He gained his livelihood with his *biwa*, the four-stringed, Japanese lute, by playing and singing in the homes of the nobility, telling jokes and making witty remarks and reciting the old tales about the gods. He was a delight to the lords because of his lively spirit, his great knowledge, his powers of comprehension, and his happy memory. When he heard that foreigners were preaching a new law in Yamaguchi, he decided to visit the priest. He told him of his doubts and was pleased with the answers he received, and with each visit he grew in the understanding of the Christian faith. Xavier baptized him after he had been well instructed and gave him the name of Lourenço. The fact that foreigners had come so many thousands of leagues for the sole purpose of preaching their faith and to save souls made such an impression upon him that he decided

the number was six hundred in 1552, where he may have included those baptized by Torres after Xavier's departure for Bungo (DI II 449).

⁸⁴ EX II 263 291; Torres 65.

⁸⁵ EX II 275. Perhaps he is that "other Japanese" about whom Gago wrote from Hirado on September 23, 1555, to his confreres in India and Portugal: "Father Cosme de Torres in Yamaguchi also has a Japanese who likewise preaches, and the priest speaks what is necessary through him; and with one word that is said to him, he knows what to do, since he is very familiar with, and experienced in, the things of God and of the sects of Japan; and he corrects the language in the books so that the writing of Brother João Fernández is understood" (*Cartas* 1598, 39).

⁸⁶ Apart from the manuscript catalogs of the Japanese province in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (*Goa* 24 and *JapSin.* 25), the *main sources* on Brother Lourenço are: his letter from Miyako of June 2, 1560 (*JapSin.* 4, 115-117v; *Cartas* 1598, 69v-71v); Frois' letter of September 20, 1589 (*JapSin.* 51, 103), his necrology of October 1, 1592 (*ibid.* 304v), his list of deceased of January, 1593 (*ibid.* 25, 55), his *Geschichte* 16-17 (and index); and *Rodrigues Tçuzu (51; Ajuda 228; Cros II 141). *Accounts* are to be found in: E. Nieremberg, *Varones Ilustres* 1 (1887) 192-207; Pierre Charles, S.J., "Le Premier Jésuite Japonais," *Xaveriana* 138 (Louvain, 1953) 174-204; Yakichi Kataoka, "Life of Brother Lourenço," *Missionary Bulletin* 3.1 (Tokyo, 1949) 12-25; A. Ebisawa, "Irmão Lourenço," *Monumenta Nipponica* 5.1 (1942) 225-233, and *Keiki Kirishitan Shiwa* (History of the Kirishitan in Middle Japan [Tokyo, 1952]).

⁸⁷ According to Frois, Lourenço was sixty-six years old at the time of his death on February 3, 1592 (*JapSin.* 25, 55). At the time of the revision of the first part of his *Historia*, in 1591, he was over sixty-five (17). He was thus born around 1526.

⁸⁸ "Natural do Reyno de Figen do Estado de Xiraishi" (*Rodrigues Tçuzu 51; Ajuda 228; Cros II 141 omits the name of the town). Ebisawa cites the Japanese *Kirishitan Monogatari*, which appeared in Kyōto in 1639 and gives Hizen as Lourenço's birthplace (226). On the confusion in Guzmán, Ginnaro, Solier, Crasset Charlevoix, and Profillet of Lourenço with the former bonze baptized by Xavier in Yamaguchi, see Charles, as above, in note 86.

to give up his trade and to dedicate himself henceforth solely to the same task—a resolve that filled Xavier with much joy.⁸⁹

Another poor young man who had been born in Yamaguchi and had received the name of Matheus in baptism was distinguished for his humility and ardent faith.⁹⁰ Just as Bernardo had been so attracted by the priest in Kagoshima that he had decided to remain ever with him, so now Matheus shared a similar resolve. Another, who was already an adult, received Xavier's own name of Francisco in baptism. Fifty years later he could relate how he had been for some time in the company of the priest, and how the latter had begun to teach him to write in Portuguese. Master Francis made up for his ignorance of Japanese by receiving all who came to visit him with such charity and joy that it seemed he wished to clasp them all to his heart. For this he learned the words with which guests were greeted when they came and went, such as, for example: "Welcome! How are you?" and similar expressions. He spoke these with such grace and bearing that he rallied all around him.⁹¹ Among those to receive baptism were

⁸⁹ Frois 16-17. In the catalog composed in Goa in December, 1561, Lourenço is already designated as *Irmão* (Goa 24, 136). He worked in Yamaguchi and Bungo from 1551 to 1559, attempted to find an entrance for the Society into Hiei-zan in 1554 and 1559, and was then a companion of Vilela and Organtino in Miyako and Sakai and their environs, where he won over a series of leading nobles to the faith between 1560 and 1564. He then helped to found the mission on the Gotō Islands between 1566 and 1568. In 1569 and later he was in Miyako and Azuchi, in 1588 in Sakai, from where he was sent because of sickness to the south. There he still labored in Arima and Ōmura and died in Nagasaki in 1592. *Frois wrote of him in his obituary: "He was from the time of Father Master Francis, one of the first Christians to receive baptism in Yamaguchi; and, although he was half blind, he obtained such a high regard for our holy law that he decided to remain ever with the priests, a resolve which gave great joy to Father Master Francis. After he had spent many years in the company of the priests with great edification and profit to souls, he deserved to be the first Japanese to be received as a brother into the order, more than thirty years ago. And, though he was a very weak instrument, since he was blind and the son of very poor parents and had no formal European or Japanese education, it pleased our Lord to make him the foundation, as it were, of all the Christianity in the region of Miyako. For through his preaching were converted the main pillars which we have there: Dario and his son Justo Ukondono, Insumi-no-kami [Izumi-no-kami], Ryūsa and Augustino, his son, Sangadono and Ukondono and Ryōkei of Sakai, and many others who are the foundation stones of all the Christianity in those regions.... When he fell ill, he made a general confession and received the most Blessed Sacrament, as he was accustomed to do every eight days. And when he was in conversation with a brother and some other Christians, he asked them to leave and had himself propped up in bed by the servant who was caring for him; and he invoked the most holy name of Jesus and then died so quickly and peacefully that the servant only noticed it after some time, when he no longer made any movement" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 51, 304v; cf. GS IV 311). On his knowledge of Japanese religions, see his letter in Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 39; on the impression which his preaching made, see the report of Sangadono in Frois 327-340.

⁹⁰ On Matheus, who lent the priest thirty-six *pardaus* in Japan and sailed with him to Goa in order to go with Bernardo to Portugal and Rome, but who died from the adverse climate in St. Paul's College a few months after his arrival in India, see Frois, *Geschichte* 17-18, his letter of December 1, 1552 (DI II 452), and those of Gaspar Barzaeus of November 30, 1552, and January 11, 1553 (*ibid.* 441 and 580), and of Xavier of April 8 and 6-14, 1552 (EX II 355-358 and 399).

⁹¹ Matheus de Couros was in Hiroshima for six years, from 1604 to 1610, and during this time he visited Yamaguchi on many different occasions. On January 9, 1623, he wrote in his **Vida e gloriosa morte por Christo do Padre Pero Paulo Navarro da Companhia de Jesu* of the mission which the priest had founded in Dogo, on the island of Shikoku, in 1587, only a year after his arrival in Japan. Though Navarro had only an imperfect knowledge of Japanese, he compensated for this defect by the charity and hospitality with which he received all those who came to him, "avendose nisto e no de-

not only members of the poorer classes and of the middle ranks,⁹² but also others

mais como discipulo verdadeiro de nosso Benaventurado Padre Francisco Xauier, do qual ha mais de vinte annos, que indo-nos a primeira vez a Yamaguchi, nos contava ali hum bom velho, que o Santo bautizara já adulto, pondolhe nome Francisco, estivera algum tempo em sua companhia começandolhe a ensinar a ler nossa letra, que a falta, que tinha da linguagem Japao sopria com agazalhar a todos os que o hião visitar com tanta alegria e affabilidade, que parece os queria meter nas entranhas, tendo aprendido pera isto as palavras que se dizem ao hospede quando entra e quando se despede como são: 'Sejais bem vindo! Como vos vai de saude?' e outros desta sorte, as quais dizia com tanto ar e boa graça que a todos cativava" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 60, 263v; cf. 266, and Cieslik, *Geibi* 3). Bartoli, who used this text, misunderstood and distorted it. He has the old Francisco look up Father Navarro, whom he confuses with Couros, immediately after his arrival; and he tells him this (*Giappone* l. 4, c. 57, p. 78).

⁹² In addition to the Christians mentioned, later missionaries encountered others who according to their own reports were baptized by Xavier in Yamaguchi. Among these was Felipe who emigrated to Miyajima with his wife after the destruction of the city in 1557. Although they were bitterly poor and the only Christians on this island, they had held fast to their faith. They wept for joy when Vilela visited them in 1559, and Cabral in 1574. In this latter year Felipe was eighty-two years old and his wife sixty. They showed Cabral their rosaries, to which a lead cross was affixed, and Felipe told his visitor that he prayed every day for Father Master Francis and the other priests in Japan and for the pope (Frois 74; Cabral on May 31, 1574, in *JapSin.* 7, 215; cf. Cieslik, *Geibi* 13, and GS IV 312, where *Cabral* is to be read instead of *Coelho*).—In Yamaguchi in 1573 Cabral met several Christians who had been baptized by Xavier in that city. The blind Tobias, who had been baptized by the saint (Carrion on December 1, 1579, in *JapSin.* 46, 28v) and had been brought up by the priests from his childhood (Frois, on June 7, 1587, in *JapSin.* 64, 64), journeyed about from land to land after he had grown to manhood as Lourenço had once done, as a wandering bard with his *biwa* on his back, feeling his way with two canes. He entered the homes of prominent individuals, and sang his old songs and told his jokes, but at the same time he acted as an apostle of Christ and fearlessly engaged even the bonzes and *yamabushis* in combat. Cabral met him in Yamaguchi in 1574 (*JapSin.* 7, 212-v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 158-159). In 1579 he instructed the banished *daimyō* of Tosa in Shikoku in the faith (Carrion in *JapSin.* 46, 28v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 281). In 1587 he went from Ōsaka on an apostolic journey to the kingdom of Ōmi, and from there to Bandu in northern Japan (Frois in *JapSin.* 64, 64-65). In 1591 he went to the kingdom of Mino, where he won many for the faith in the midst of the persecution. From there he went 150 leagues further on to visit the visitor Valignano in Nagasaki. On his return voyage he encountered a severe storm, and his ship was thrown upon the coast. He died soon after this in Sakai to the great sorrow of the Christians (Frois, on October 1, 1592, in *JapSin.* 51, 324v-325; Guzmán, *Historia* l. 8, 4 and 8; 11, 13-14). The zealous Maria, who in 1574 was living eleven leagues from Yamaguchi in a completely pagan environment, had also been baptized by Xavier. When she heard that after twenty years a priest (Cabral) had come again to Yamaguchi, she went there to attend the catechetical instructions which she had not yet heard. Twenty days later she returned with the superior of the Ikkō sect and three others whom she had won for the faith so that they might be baptized by the priest (Cabral, on May 31, 1574, in *JapSin.* 7, 210v-211 212v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 151-152 160). Among the Christians who made a pilgrimage with the blind Damião from Yamaguchi to Nagasaki in order to receive the sacraments, there was a woman more than seventy years old who had been baptized by Xavier and was revered by all as a great saint (Frois, on October 12, 1590, in *JapSin.* 50, 119v). In 1606, during the persecution, when a priest came from Hiroshima to visit the Christians in Yamaguchi in secret, among those to come to him for confession was a seventy-year-old woman. She told him that she had been baptized more than fifty years before by Father Master Francis, that up to the present she had never had an opportunity to go to confession, and that she had always lived as a Christian and had held fast to the faith (on her see above, p. 154) (Rodrigues Giram, on February 15, 1607, in *JapSin.* 55, 347-v). The father of the Clara who died as a martyr with her husband Thomé in Hagi in 1618 had also been baptized by Xavier. Clara had herself been baptized by Torres (Christovão Ferreira, on January 30, 1619, in *JapSin.* 59, 128v).—When Cabral was going from Shimonoseki to Yamaguchi in 1573, he met a Christian Jacobo who was going to the silver mines of Iwami. The latter told him that there was a Christian in Izumo whose father had been baptized by Xavier in

from the upper levels of society in Yamaguchi. Among these latter were two noble ladies, daughters of a prominent *fidalgo*, both over forty years old.⁹³ Others

Yamaguchi. This Christian had sent him a son to tell him that if a priest came he should be informed so that his family might be baptized (Cabral, on May 31, 1574, in *JapSin.* 7, 209v-210; Eglauer, *Japan* II 140).—Other Christians were baptized by Xavier or by Torres, who had charge of the community of Yamaguchi until 1556. In 1587 the chief and pillar of the church in Yamaguchi was the excellent, old Gregorio, of whom Frois said: "He was, I believe, baptized by Xavier or Torres and is rich and distinguished. He has been a Christian for around forty years, and he disinherited his son when the latter went over to the Hokke sect" (June 7, 1587, in *JapSin.* 64, 55).—In 1559 Vilela met the physician Paulo Yesan in Sakai, who was at the time more than fifty years old. A native of Yamaguchi, he had been banished from the city on the death of the prince in 1556. He gave to the priest a letter of recommendation for the bonzes of the Kenninji monastery in Miyako (Frois 76). He was living in Shimabara in 1563 and there received Brother Almeida as his guest (*ibid.* 170).—On September 26, 1554, Ambrosio, the brother-in-law of the former administrator of the prince, died in Yamaguchi. At his solemn funeral more than two hundred Christians were present, and his widow gave many alms (Torres, in October, 1554, in *JapSin.* 4, 44v; *Cartas* 1598, 44).—In 1573 Cabral met Catarina, who was eighty at the time and living in the village of Miyano, an hour from Yamaguchi. While he was there she came every day for Mass. Before this she had been accustomed to pray every Sunday at a spot where, according to tradition, there had been a church and cross in Xavier's time (Cabral, on May 31, 1574, in *JapSin.* 7, 210v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 140). According to Cabral she had been baptized by Xavier; but since Duarte da Silva (*JapSin.* 4, 43v) and Frois (45) place the first converts in Miyano in 1554 or 1555, she was probably baptized by Torres.—In 1577 Figueiredo met a distinguished Christian "from olden times" by the name of Kaneko in Shimonoseki. He had been persuaded by his lord to apostatize, but he wished to become a Christian again with his whole family (Frois 488).—In 1570 the leader of the community in Yamaguchi was Joachim, one of the earliest Christians and a man of great faith and great virtue, who strengthened the Christians by his talks to them and by his example (Frois, on December 1, 1570, in *JapSin.* 6, 307). He died in 1582 and the Christians of Yamaguchi sent a letter to the vice-provincial Coelho asking for a priest on the grounds that they were the first Christians of Japan and that most of the old Christians in Yamaguchi had been baptized by Father Master Francis and Torres. The bearer of the request was Matheus (Frois, *Historia* II 293), an itinerant merchant who sold needles and combs from village to village and, as he did so, everywhere proclaimed his Christian faith (Cabral, on May 31, 1574: *JapSin.* 7, 211-v). He also was a Christian from early times (Frois, on October 4, 1586, in *JapSin.* 45, 39v, and Frois, *Historia* II 293).

⁹³ Frois and the vice-provincial sailed from Shimonoseki to Sakai in 1586, and while they were on their way, they anchored before sunset in the harbor of Kaminoseki. About midnight a boat sided up to their ship and the man in charge of it asked for the priests. He was bringing two noble women, relatives of the commandant of the fortress, who wished to speak with them. The priests were awakened and had hardly risen and lit a candle in their cabin when two venerable women, both over eighty years old, entered with their rosaries in their hands. They were accompanied by two female servants almost as old as they were and by an old Christian servant. They threw themselves face down to the floor, and with tears and upraised hands thanked God for having allowed them to see once again a priest before their death. When they were asked who they were, they replied: "We are Christians from Yamaguchi, baptized by that first holy Father, Master Francis, who came to Japan. It is now some thirty-seven years that we have been Christians. Since Ōuchidono, the prince of Yamaguchi, was killed immediately after our baptism, and we were the daughters of prominent nobles, we were banished and forced to endure many difficulties from the pagans and to hear many complaints that we openly professed ourselves to be Christians. But we have never lost our faith, and we have always offered our prayers with these rosaries. Since that time we have never had the opportunity to converse with Christians; and we have found a place to stay here with the captain of this fortress, who is our cousin, though he is a pagan." The priests showed the women a beautiful picture of Christ, which they revered with devotion. They then had them instructed for an hour in the faith by the Japanese brother Damião. Before their departure they gave them an Agnus Dei along with some blessed corals and medals. Consoled with these, they sailed back to

were near to conversion. Among these there were first of all Naitō, the secretary of the prince, and his wife and his two grown sons, who were sincerely attached to Xavier and Fernández, though they were unable as yet to decide upon becoming Christians.⁹⁴

Xavier's heart was filled with joy by the young Christian community of Yamaguchi. Their thirst for knowledge, their care for everything that pertained to the faith, their great love for their missionaries, their zeal to win over the rest of their countrymen for Christ, their happiness in telling the priest of their victories in their arguments with the pagans made him forget all the sacrifices he had made and the hardships he had endured.⁹⁵ They had constantly posed new questions to him and had argued with him for days on end before accepting the new faith. He gave them reasons for believing that the founders of their sects, who were honored as saints, were unable to save themselves. They were instead in hell for having maintained that they were gods and could redeem men. Those who worshiped them and neglected to seek for Him whom they should worship went to hell. The only one who could save them was the One who had created them. Both bonzes and laymen had then acknowledged their defeat and had given up the faith of their fathers in order to accept the new teaching and to be baptized.⁹⁶

After their conversion they had posed new questions about the teachings of Christ with the selfsame zeal. They had listened with great interest to explanations of the mysteries of the faith and about the life and sufferings of Christ; and many had wept when they heard the account of the passion of their Lord.⁹⁷ Previously they had recited the Buddhist rosary, with which they entreated the founders of their sects; but they now learned from the priest how to recite the Christian rosary instead. He also explained to them the meaning of the prayer at its beginning: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," and why at the name of the Father in making the sign of the cross they placed their right hand on their head, at the name of the Son on their breast, and at the name of the Holy Spirit first on their left and then on their right shoulder. They then asked the priest the meaning of the words "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison." After this he taught them to repeat the words "Jesus, Maria" at each bead. In the end he gave them the texts of the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Creed in writing so that they could learn them by heart.⁹⁸

Those of the new converts who were educated collected the teachings and fables of the different sects from their Buddhistic writings in order to help the priest find arguments to refute their false teachings. The disputations in which Xavier reduced his adversaries to silence had strengthened them in their new faith, and they had themselves argued with their countrymen in order to win them over to the new faith and to bring new candidates to him for baptism.⁹⁹ Xavier's converts were Christians in the truest sense of the word, and he was convinced

land (Frois, on October 4, 1586, in *JapSin.* 45, 84v-85; *Cartas* 1598, 173v-174, where instead of "an hour" there is "a half-hour").

⁹⁴ See above, p. 157.

⁹⁵ EX II 263-264 266 269 275-276 278-279 291 358; Nunes Barreto according to Xavier's data in DI III 80-81.

⁹⁶ EX II 263 266; Torres 51 60.

⁹⁷ EX II 275-276.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 276.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 278-279; DI III 80.

that they were ready to endure every calamity and persecution for their faith, and that they would rather die than deny it.¹⁰⁰

His Christians had only one concern. They felt sorry for their deceased parents, wives, children, relatives, and friends; and they asked the priest if those in hell could not be freed from it through prayers and alms, as the bonzes universally taught, and if God could not free them, and why they had to remain there forever. Although Master Francis gave them a satisfying answer for everything, as far as hell was concerned, he had to tell them that no one could be redeemed from it, grieved as he was when he saw his beloved Christians weeping for their dead. On the other hand, he hoped that the thought of the eternity of hell would be an incentive for them not to be negligent about their own salvation, and that they would thus escape the everlasting punishments of their ancestors.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ EX II 266 and Nunes Barreto from Xavier's oral report in Goa in 1552 (DI III 80-81). In 1551 Torres wrote of the Christians of Yamaguchi: "When they have once accepted the faith, there are, from what I have seen and heard, and from what I have experienced from them, no people in the world so tenacious. It seems to me that the majority of those who have become Christians, and of these there are many, are ready to endure any calamity for the love of God" (51).—The tenacity of the Christians of Yamaguchi was placed to a severe test. A few days after Xavier's departure for Bungo, Yoshitaka was overthrown and the city largely burned. Under Yoshitaka's successor, Yoshinaga, Torres was able to baptize two thousand more, but a new rebellion in 1556 forced him to seek refuge in Bungo. The city was burned a second time and Yoshinaga, forced to flee, committed *hara-kiri*. Mōri Motonari, an embittered foe of the Christians, took his place, and the Christians, especially the nobles who had been in the service of the earlier prince, were scattered to the winds. The era of persecution had begun. Until the death of Motonari in 1571, no missionary could enter Yamaguchi. Later, under Terumoto, Cabral was able to remain in the city for three months in 1573-1574, and in 1586 the college and novitiate of Bungo could even be transferred there. But hardly ten months later the missionaries were again banished by the edict of persecution of Hideyoshi. A third settlement, founded in 1599, came to a sudden end in 1602. Terumoto, defeated in the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, became a persecutor of the Christians. Only rarely, and in secret, could the priests from then on visit the abandoned Christians in Yamaguchi. But despite all the persecutions, the Christians under the guidance of their old leaders baptized by Xavier and Torres preserved their faith, even though they were without the sacraments, without Mass, and without priests and brothers. Through letters they had kept in contact with Torres. In 1563 many undertook the fifty-hour-long trip to Yokoseura in order to confess to him. In 1582 the Christians sent a letter to the vice-provincial with the request for a priest, and in 1589 the blind Damião with some companions in the faith made the sixty-hour journey to Ōmura in order to see the visitor and to receive instructions in the faith. In the brief period from 1599 to 1602, Father Navarro was still able to baptize almost two thousand. But then came the era of the martyrs. The Christians, with those from the time of Xavier and Torres in the lead, were prepared for it. In 1605 the head of the brave general Melchior Kumagai Buzen-no-kami fell under the executioner's ax, and more than ten of his family and vassals shared in his fate (cf. H. Cieslik, S.J., "Kumagai Buzen-no-kami Motonao. Leben und Tod eines christlichen Samurai," *Monumenta Nipponica* 8 [1952] 147-192; 9 [1953] 109-154). A few days later the blind Damião was also beheaded. Sancho Kano Hanyemon took his place as the leader of the Christians. In 1608 his brother Justino was condemned to be burned to death and his wife was crucified. In 1618 he too was beheaded, and four others had preceded him in death this same year. In 1619 and 1622 two more Christians from Yamaguchi died for their faith far from their native land. In 1625, when a priest secretly visited the Christians in Yamaguchi for the last time, reverence for Xavier was still alive among the small, abandoned community that had come together (cf. Schurhammer, "Yamaguchi," GS IV 309-318).

¹⁰¹ "Huma descomsolacão tem os cristãos de Japão," Xavier wrote after his return from Japan on January 29, 1552, from Cochín, "e hé, que symtem em grande maneira dizermos que os que vão ao imfferno, nom tem nenhum remedio. Symtem isto por amor de seus pays e mãys, molheres, filhos e os outros mortos passados, avemdo deles piadade. Muytos chorão os mortos, e me perguntão, se podem ter algum remedio per vya de

esmolas e orações. Eu lhes digo que nenhum remedio tem. Simtem eles esta descomsolção; mas a mim nom me pesa, porque nam se descuydem de sy mesmos, e porque não vão a penar com os seus amtepasados. Perguntão-me se Deus os pode tirar do imfferno, e a causa porque sempre hão de estar no imfferno. A tudo lhes respomdo sufficientemente. Eles nam deixão de chorar de verem seus amtepasados sem remedio. Eu tambem recebo algum sentimento por ver meus amigos, tão amados e queridos, chorar coussas que nom tem cura" (EX II 276-277).—Basing themselves on this passage, and obviously not taking into account other passages in the same letter of Xavier on the law of nature written in the heart of every man by the Creator through which all can be saved (EX II 266-267), many authors have attributed to the saint the grave mistake of teaching in Yamaguchi that all who die without becoming Christians during their lifetime are burned forever in hell (see, for example, B. G. Sansom, *Japan, a Cultural History* [1938] 408). In 1959 Friedrich Heiler said in the church of St. John in Munich on the Ninth Evangelical Church Day: "We can no longer look down upon non-Christians as Pariahs like the first missionary to Japan, Francis Xavier, when with harsh and merciless words he told the weeping Japanese that their ancestors were condemned to the everlasting pains of hell, and that there was no means of saving them from it." Statements with respect to Xavier's alleged condemnation of the pagans have become more frequent since the publication of the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* by the Second Vatican Council in 1964, where the widest limits are given for belonging to the invisible Church (c. 2, a. 16). In 1965 there appeared an article entitled "Der tragische Irrtum des heiligen Franz Xaver" in the *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen* 20.32 (August 8, 1965) 7 by an unnamed Jesuit. In the same year another article was published by Father Thomas E. Clarke, S.J., "The World is Already Christic," *America* 162 (1965) 800-805. In this the author contrasted Xavier's doctrine of salvation with that of "modern theology" represented by individuals such as Karl Rahner, S.J., Schillebeeckx, O.P., and others, who maintain that it is possible to be saved even outside the visible Church, whereas "for Xavier, the ancestors of the pagans he evangelized were lost, because only the presence of the baptizing Church made salvation possible." In 1966 Wolfgang Seibel, S.J., wrote in "Die vierte Sitzungsperiode des Konzils," *Stimmen der Zeit* 177 (1966) 57: "Also the fact that it was felt necessary to have a conciliar declaration on the missions shows that the missions in the traditional sense no longer appear self-evident and unproblematic as in earlier centuries when the inner strength of the missionary spirit made a theoretical reflection superfluous, where it was widely held—as the example of St. Francis Xavier indicates—that everyone who was not reached by the missionary activity of the Church was damned forever." Xavier's teaching on the natural law written in the heart of every man in EX II 266-267 and in the letter written by Fernández at Xavier's request on the disputations in Yamaguchi (Fernández 68-69 80-82; see also GS III 649-650; IV 234 236 926 929) should be compared with these contentions. Domenico Grasso, S.J., had already discussed Xavier's teaching on the salvation of pagans before the Second Vatican Council in a good article entitled "Il pensiero di S. Francesco Saverio sulla salvezza degli antichi pagani," *Studia Missionalia* 7 (1953) 109-123.—On the question of the salvation of pagans in general and its historical development before the Second Vatican Council, see Louis Capéran, *Le problème du salut des Infidèles. Essai historique* (Toulouse, 1934?) and *Essai théologique* (Toulouse, 1943). [Xavier's teaching with respect to the salvation of infidels is intimately connected with one of the perennial problems of Christian theology—the reconciliation of the necessity of faith in order to be pleasing to God (Heb. 11:6) and the divine will that all men be saved (I Tim. 2:5). The problem was briefly treated in the Second Vatican Council: "Those also can attain to everlasting salvation who through no fault of their own do not know the gospel of Christ or His Church, yet sincerely seek God and, moved by grace, strive by their deeds to do His will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience. Nor does divine Providence deny the help necessary for salvation to those who, without blame on their part, have not arrived at an explicit knowledge of God, but who strive to live a good life, thanks to His grace" (*Lumen Gentium* 16). The means by which salvation can be obtained by such individuals has been extensively discussed in recent years, particularly by Karl Rahner, S.J., in such essays as "Anonymous Christians," in *Theological Investigations* VI (London, 1969) 390-398; "Anonymous Christianity and the Missionary Task of the Church," *ibid.* XII (1974) 161-178; and "Observations on the Problem of the 'Anonymous Christian,'" *ibid.* XIV (1976) 280-294. The whole question of the salvation of non-Christians has been thoroughly discussed in its historical perspectives by Prudencio Damboriena, S.J., in *La Salvación en las Religiones no Cristianas* (Madrid, 1973). In his exposition of the teaching of Francis Xavier in this regard, Damboriena agrees essentially with the conclusion of Grasso (124-130).—[Translator's note.]

CHAPTER VI

AT THE COURT OF BUNGO (AUGUST—NOVEMBER, 1551)

1. THE CALL OF BUNGO (AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1551)

Xavier had already spent four months in Yamaguchi and the work of conversions was in full swing when, at the end of August,¹ news came² that a Portuguese ship had landed in Bungo on the northeastern coast of Kyūshū. When he learned this, Xavier immediately summoned Father Torres and his companion from Hirado so that for some weeks, during his absence in Bungo, they might take over the care of his newly founded community in Yamaguchi.

On September 10 Torres and his companion reached Yamaguchi;³ and a short time after their arrival⁴ Master Francis received a letter of the *yakata* of Bungo,⁵ Ōtomo Yoshishige,⁶ informing him of the arrival of the Portuguese ship and asking him to come since he wished to speak with him about certain things.⁷ At the same time there arrived a letter from the captain of the ship, Duarte da Gama, the former captain of Quilon and an old acquaintance of Xavier.⁸

¹ A boat could sail from Yamaguchi to Hirado in about a week, and Torres could sail from there to Yamaguchi in the same time.

² According to Mendes Pinto (c. 208), who is followed by *Rodrigues Tçuzu (57; Ajuda 234; Cros II 151), Xavier received the news through Japanese merchants.

³ In 1557 Torres wrote: "De mi estada en Amanguche a viente dias fue muerto el Rey y sus hijos" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 72; cf. *Cartas* 1598, 51v). Ōuchi Yoshitaka died on September 30, 1551. Torres thus remained in Hirado for a year (from the beginning of September, 1550, to the beginning of September, 1551), as he observes in the same letter (*JapSin.* 4, 72v; *Cartas* 1598, 52); cf. Valignano 190.

⁴ "Estando neste mesmo lugar de Amanguche ho Padre Cosmo de Torres e João Fernández e eu," Xavier wrote on January 29, 1552, "hum senhor muyto gramde que hé o duque de Bungo, me escreveo che chegase aomde ele estava, porque hera cheguado huma nao de portugueses e lhe relevava falar comigo certas coussas" (EX II 271). According to Mendes Pinto, Xavier sent Matheus with a letter to the captain and the merchants of the ship as soon as he heard of its arrival. He gives the text of the letter, dated September 1, 1551. But the text is a pure fiction, as is shown by its contents. He has, for example, the priest say that he wants to sail to India this year (c. 208). Xavier did not make this decision until he was in Bungo, as he himself writes: "De Bungo, sem ir a Amanguche, detreminey vir à Imdia" (EX II 273). On this see GS III 182-184 and 596. Pinto has Matheus travel sixty leagues to the harbor of the Portuguese ship (Okino-hama), a league from Fucheo (Fuchū, or Ōita), the capital. According to Pinto, the harbor was on the Finge River (read Ōita River, for the river near Hiji, not to be confused with the Hijigawa near Nagahama in Iyo, Shikoku, is 12½ miles from Ōita). The captain Duarte da Gama and the merchants of his ship send a reply to Xavier from there through six or seven *vias* and much news about India and Malacca. Matheus returns, making the trip in five days, and three days later Xavier sets out from Yamaguchi for Fucheo (c. 208).

⁵ The duke of Bungo had the title of a *yakata*, which the *shōguns* usually gave to governors or commandants of fortresses. With this they made them at the same time members of their families (cf. Alvarez-Taladriz 101).

⁶ On Ōtomo Yoshishige, see the *primary sources*, in *Japanese*: (1) the *Ōtomo-ki*

The priest at once made preparations for his departure. Since Fernández was to remain in Yamaguchi during his own absence, a few days sufficed for introducing Torres to his new field of labor.

A definite method had already been adopted for the giving of instructions. The catechism which had been composed in Kagoshima and which had now been copied off in the Sino-Japanese script by the new converts in Yamaguchi served as the basis for these.⁹ The text of this was first read. This was then

(*Ōtomo Chronicle*), composed around 1640, and the *Kyūshū-chiran-ki* (Account on Wars and Peace in Kyūshū); (2) the *Ōtomo-kō on-ke Oboegaki* (Records on the Ōtomo Family), completed around 1620; (3) the *Ōtomo-kōhai-ki* (Rise and Fall of the Ōtomo), written by Sugitani Mineshige in 1635; and the collections of source materials: (4) *Ōita-ken Shiryō* (Historical Sources for the Province of Ōita), edited by Ōita-ken Shiryō Kan-kōkai, vols. X-XI (Ōita, 1958-1959); (5) N. Kakimoto, *Ōita-ken Kyōdo Shiryō Shūsei* (Collection of Historical Sources for the Native History of the Province of Ōita) (Ōita, 1938); and (6) Manabu Takita, *Ōtomo Shiryō* (Historical Sources on the Ōtomo) (Ōita, 1937-1938); and also (7) the *Kyūshū-ki*, composed at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Ōtake Shunryū; in *European languages*: (8) Frois, *Geschichte Japans* (Leipzig, 1926); *Historia* II (Tóquio, 1938); and (9) very many Jesuit letters (Alvarez-Taladriz gives an important list of these: 104-105).—*Accounts*: (1) Schurhammer, "Ein fürstlicher Gönner des hl. Franz Xaver: Ōtomo Yoshishige, König von Bungo," KM 47 (1918) 25-29 (GS IV 327-334); (2) *Arcadio Schwade, S.J., *Ōtomo Sōrin's Kampf um die Rettung seines Landes Bungo und des Christentums in Südjapan (1578-1587)* (ms. dissertation, Rome, 1961); (3) Giichirō Kutaragi, *Ōtomo Sōrin-kō* [Prince Ōtomo Sōrin] (Ōita, 1936); and (4) the supplementary copy of the *Ōita-ken Chihō-shi* [Native History of the Province of Ōita] 13-16 (1958), which contains eight valuable items under the general title *Ōtomo Sōrin*. Further bibliographical data are contained in Alvarez-Taladriz 104-105, who has the genealogy on pp. 102-103; and in Yoshitomo Okamoto, in his foreword to Frois, *Historia* II, pp. XXVI-XXVIII.

⁷ EX II 271. *Rodrigues Tçuzu gives the text of the duke's letter with the notice that he had found it. He writes as follows: "O duque de Bungo, Yoxixighe, ... sabendo do capitam Duarte-da Gama, como o B. Padre determinava vir a Bungo ver-se com os Portugueses, folgou grandemente. Com esta occasiam escreveo-lhe tambem huma carta, em que lh'o pedia, a qual achamos, cujo theor he o seguinte: 'Polla fama, que de V. R. tive todo este tempo, desejei grandemente ver-me presencialmente sua pessoa; porem por ategora se não offerecer occasiam, se não pode effeituvar meu desejo. Mas agora soube dos portugueses como V. R. determinava vir a este meu Reyno, o que pera mim foi de summo gosto; e asi estou muy alvoroçado esperando por sua vinda, deixando o demais pera quando presencialmente nos virmos. O Duque de Bungo Yoxixighe.' A qual carta concluyo com a mayor cortesia, que a suo modo usam no fim das cartas" (57-v; Ajuda 234-v; Cros II 151).—If this Japanese document, which Rodrigues does not describe in greater detail, is the source from which he takes his account of the departure from Yamaguchi, we must seriously doubt the authenticity of the letter.

⁸ Duarte da Gama knew Xavier from 1544 to 1547, when he was captain of Quilon, then in Cochin and Goa, and he was in Malacca in 1549 when the priest sailed for Japan. Between 1549 and 1556 he engaged in trade in China and Japan. He was always a great benefactor of the missionaries and a zealous Christian, who never failed to take a priest to a harbor where he was engaging in trade with his ship (on him, see Vol. II, pp. 465-467 and Vol. III, pp. 563-565). When he came, for example, to Hirado in 1555, he sent a letter to Bungo in which he asked to be sent a priest so that he could give his men an opportunity to receive the sacraments (*Cartas* 1598, 38v). He was a witness at the processes for Xavier's canonization in Goa in 1556 and in Malacca in 1557. He married in Goa and decided to return to Portugal (MX II 415 261; Q 6088).

⁹ According to Gago there were in Yamaguchi in 1555 "dous livros scritos en sua letra e lingoa: hum trata da vida de Christo, o outro trata dos principios de todalas cousas" (letter to Ignatius from Hirado of January 23, 1552, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 61v). By this is meant Xavier's Japanese catechism, about which he wrote from Cochin on January 29, 1552: "Fyzymos en lengua de Japón un lybro que trataba de la creacyón del mundo y de todos los misterios de la vyda de Chrysto; y después este mesmo lybro escrybimos en letra de la Chyna para quando a la Chyna fuere, para darne a entender hasta saber hablar chyna" (EX II 292).

followed by a discourse and then by a disputation, during the course of which Brother Fernández, who had gained a good command of the language served as the interpreter.¹⁰ With the help of abstracts which the new converts made of the sacred books of the Buddhists, the main doctrines of the individual sects and their traditions about the life of their main gods, Shaka and Amida, had become known. Definite questions were drawn up for each sect, and these were posed to their respective followers when they came to visit the Christian teachers. Arguments were also prepared to refute their errors.¹¹ The term *Dainichi* for the name of God was replaced by the Latin word *Deus* in order to prevent misunderstandings on the part of the Buddhists.¹² Xavier favored extensive adaptations with respect to the customs and practices of Japan, which were so different from those of the West. He advised Torres: "If something is not offensive to God, it seems preferable not to change it unless a change would contribute more to the service of God." And he wished this to be understood with respect to dress, eating, and similar matters which were indifferent in themselves, but whose change could be a source of distress.¹³

After Xavier had advised Torres to write to Europe and India and to forward the letters to him,¹⁴ he left Yamaguchi for Bungo in the middle of September¹⁵

¹⁰ Xavier wrote about Fernández in the same letter: "Sabe muy byen ablar Japón. Habla todo aquello que o Padre Cosme de Torres le dize" (*ibid.* 291). Fernández himself wrote from Yamaguchi on October 20, 1551; "Ovó muchos generos de preguntas. . . . A las quales preguntas rrespondió el Padre Cosme de Torres sirviendo hio de lingua" (Fernández 99).

¹¹ EX II 263 269; Torres 62 82-83.

¹² Cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 25-42. Teixeira wrote in 1580 that young fellows in Miyako had thrown stones at Xavier and had shouted "Deus Deus" to ridicule him, since they had often heard this word in his preaching (878). Lucena writes in a similar vein that on the trip to Miyako the people had many times persecuted Xavier by throwing stones at him and striking him. They had also thrown old shoes at him and cried out in ridicule "Deos, Deos, Deos." And he adds to this: "Porque nam fiando o Padre a noticia, que pretendia dar da soberana Divindade, de nenhum dos termos proprios dos Japões, arreceando nam ficassem fazendo a mesma conta do infinito bem a senhor, que dos seus Camis e Fotoqués, se o ouvissem nomear pelos mesmos vocabulos, nunca mudou a palavra *Deos*, senam que depois de lhes declarar, segundo eram capazes, as divinas perfeições do ser infinito, immenso e terno, . . . dizialhes que como elles té entam o não conhecêram, assi lhe nam deram nome em sua linguagem; mas que os que delle tinham verdadeira fé, o chamaram *Deos* e que assi o aviam de chamar repetindo e inculcando a cada palavra *Deos, Deos, Deos*" (7, 23).—On February 23, 1633, during the heat of battle over the rites controversy, *Rodrigues Tçuzu, an adversary of Ricci, wrote to the general of the order from Macao: "Francis Xavier used only the name *Dios* in Japan, as it is still used there; for he said that he did not trust the terminology of the sects which, just as they had no knowledge of the true God, so also they had no name for Him" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 18, 121; cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 31). He repeats the text of Lucena in his **History* and adds a warning for the missionaries that they should be very prudent in using native words for Christian concepts (45v; Ajuda 221v-222; Cros II 109, abbreviated).

¹³ On November 3, 1571, Vilela wrote a letter to the general of the order from Goa in which he defended the missionary method of Father Torres against the imprudent procedures of Cabral, the new mission superior; and he observed: "Se há terra, em que mais seja neseçario conformar com os costumes a jente, hé Japam. E asi dizia ho Padre Cosme de Tores, que huma das cousas, que lhe encomendou ho P. Mestre Fransisqo, fora esta: Não sendo cousa que fose ofensa do Senhor, parese, que seria de muito proveito não mudar nada, que depois de mudado se ver não ser tanto serviço do Senhor do que era d'antes. Esto disse asi no vistir, comer, e semelhantes cousas, que de si não são nada, e mudadas dão materia de scandalo" (*JapSin.* 7, 88).

¹⁴ In his letter to his confreres in Valencia of September 29, 1551, written in the hiding place of the bonze monastery in Yamaguchi, Torres states that Father Master Francis

to see if the prince was willing to be converted, to give the Portuguese merchants and their Christian slaves on the ship an opportunity to receive the sacraments, and to obtain the mail from India and Europe.¹⁶ He took Joane¹⁷ with him as

had ordered him to write this letter in order to arouse vocations in his native land for the Japanese mission (53). This and the following letter to his confreres in India of the same date went, it seems, because of the revolution, with the letters of October 20 to Bungo.

¹⁵ This provides the chronology for the next events: September 10: arrival of Torres; 15: Xavier goes to Bungo; the bonzes come to Torres confident of victory (Torres 61); 15-23: for eight or ten days many prominent individuals and scholars come to the disputations (*ibid.* 62); 23: talk of war being near, goods are brought to safety (*ibid.* 62-63; Fernández 84, Aoyama 167); 23-25: few come, only merchants and women (Torres 62), 26-27: Yoshitaka's banquet for two ambassadors (Aoyama 167); 28: he flees to the Hōsenji monastery, Torres and Fernández to Naitō's monastery (*ibid.* and Torres 64); 29: Torres writes two letters; Yoshitaka flees at night from the Hōsenji monastery (Aoyama 167, Torres 64); 30: Torres and Fernández to Naitō's house; death of Yoshitaka (Aoyama 167-168, Torres 64).—September 28 to October 6: Yamaguchi given over to fire and sword for eight days (Fernández 84).—October 6: already five days in Naitō's house (Torres 64, first part of the third letter); 20: (*ibid.*, rest of the third letter and Fernández' letter).—Mendes Pinto writes that Xavier remained in Yamaguchi until September 5: the same is said by Lucena (9, 3), who copied this from the manuscript of the *Peregrinação*, still unprinted at the time. If we see in this a scribal error for 15, Pinto has a consistent chronology for his otherwise fantastical description of Xavier's trip to Bungo: Matheus immediately sets off from Yamaguchi with Xavier's letter to the ship's captain dated September 1. His return took five days, and his going probably took the same. Matheus thus reached the Portuguese ship on the sixth. He remained there some days while Gama and his men wrote their letters to Xavier. He returned with them around the ninth, arriving after five days in Yamaguchi on the thirteenth; and three days later, on September 15, Xavier began his trip to Bungo, arriving at the Portuguese ship on a Saturday, September 19 (cc. 208-209).

¹⁶ According to Xavier, "Eu por ver se se queria fazer cristão [o duque de Bungo] e por ver os portugueses, cheguei a Bungo" (EX II 271). He says nothing of the mail which he hoped to find there, since he found none despite all his expectations; and he wrote his letter after his return from Japan in Cochín. After the departure of the Portuguese ship in November, he wished to return to Yamaguchi. He was not as yet thinking of sailing to China or India. When he found no mail in Bungo and decided to sail from there to India, it was his plan to return to Japan the following year (Torres 65, Fernández 66, EX II 273-274), as Pinto also has the priest say at the time of his departure from the duke (c. 211). Xavier only conceived his plan to go to China when he was on Sancian on his way back to India (cf. Schurhammer, "Der Ursprung des Chinaplans des hl. Franz Xaver," GS III 665-679). The claims of later authors are consequently to be corrected.—Teixeira, for example, wrote in 1580 that Xavier had decided to return from Japan for India in order to obtain help for his voyage to China from the viceroy, and he had taken leave of his Christians there with an ambassador of the prince of Yamaguchi. They saw him depart with great sadness and many tears (879). In 1583 Valignano stated that on the basis of the letters which the Portuguese ship brought about the labors of his confreres in India, Xavier decided to return there and then make a visit to China (189-190). In 1586 Frois wrote that the priest had handed over to Torres the care of the Christian community in Yamaguchi and the making of conversions, and that he had sailed from there to Bungo, since he was himself eager to sow the seed of the Gospel in many kingdoms (17). *Rodrigues Tçuzu states that letters from priests had revealed to Xavier the state of the Society in India and the urgent need it had of his presence. He had consequently been obliged to sail to India in order to fulfill his duties there, to send workers to Japan, and to undertake a new, difficult, and dangerous task, that of opening up China to the Gospel. He had therefore summoned Torres from Hirado and handed the Christians in Yamaguchi over to his care, and he had taken leave of his Christians. Rodrigues then continues: "Esta despedida do R. P. Francisco de seus Companheiros e Christãos achamos escrita em lingoa Japoa, a qual por ser mui semelhante à do Apostolo S. Paulo em Mileto, como se lê nos Actos dos Apostolos capit. 20, quando se despedio dos de Epheso, a porei aqui fedelmente traduzida palavra por palavra da lingoa japoa. [He here inserts the Latin text of the Acts of the

his interpreter, and also Matheus and Bernardo, his inseparable companion,¹⁸ both of whom wished to visit India and Europe.¹⁹ Although a few Christians of Ya-

Apostles.] Esta mesma despedida fez este servo de Deos, Apostolo de Japam e de todo este Oriente da Asia. Diz pois a historia assi: 'O sancto P. Francisco Xavier antes de se partir de Yamaguchi chamou e ajuntou os Christãos seus discipulos, *confirmando-os e animando-os a perseverar na fee*, que lhes tinha emsinado, e que na presente vida sempre avia de aver *trabalhos*, perseguições e perigos, e que o caminho mais seguro e *per onde se entra no Reyno de Deos* hera este. E que aly *lhes deixava em seu lugar o P. Cosme de Torres* com o Irmão João Fernández, que os ajudariam, doutrinariam e consolariam; e que toda sua esperanza povessem em Deos, de quem se confiaram. Estas e outras cousas lhe dise *jejuando com elles, e todos juntos* na igreja, pondo-se o B. P. Francisco e os Christãos de joelhos, todos juntos oraram *com suspiros e lagrimas*. E encomendava-os o B. Padre ao Senhor, em que creram e de quem se confiaram. Aca-bando de orar, se despedio com cordial brandeira de seus irmãos e companheiros o P. Cosme de Torres e o Irmão Joam Fernández, detendo-se hum pedaço com os braços sobre o pescoso de cada hum delles, correndo-lhe as lagrimas em fio, e dizendo com os olhos postos no ceo: 'Agora mais particularmente vos entrego e encomendo a Deos e a divina palavra de seu evangelho, que he poderosa pera edificar e dar a herança eterna e bemaventurança a todos os que escolheo e sacrificou pera si. O mesmo Senhor vos ha de dar muitas forças spirituais e vos emparará.' Dizendo isto com grande affeito do intimo de seu coração, como quem mais os não avia de ver nesta vida. Com que se alevantou hum grande choro nos Padres, Irmão e Christãos todos. E así se apartou delles. E querendo-o todos o acompanhar até o caminho, não no consentio por nenhum modo, pello que constrañjidos do B. P. Francisco se deixaram ficar, acompanhando-o em nome de todos até Bungo somente dous Christãos fidalgos de Yamaguchi, que avia dous mezes se tinham bautizado, deixando e perdendo tres mil cruzados de renda, os quaes o Duque lhes tirou por elles tomarem a nossa sancta fee" (58-v; Ajuda 235v-236; Cros II 153-154).—The passages in italics are found verbatim in Lucena (9, 3-4); the words of Paul, which Lucena cites on the margin and puts in Xavier's mouth, are from Acts 14:21 and 20:32; the conclusion on the two fidalgos is taken from Mendes Pinto. Since Xavier intended to go to Bungo for only a few weeks and to return from there to Yamaguchi, the whole touching departure which Rodrigues has coming from a Japanese source is a poetical fiction.

¹⁷ Joane is the only one who comes into question, since Antonio remained in Yamaguchi and did not bring the letters of Torres and Fernández from there to Bungo until October (Torres 63-64), and Bernardo and Matheus knew no Portuguese. Xavier took him with him to India so that he might serve the missionaries traveling to Japan as an interpreter (EX II 482-483).

¹⁸ "Bernardo, natural de Japão, foy hum dos primeyros que o P. Mestre Francisco converteo naquellas ilhas; e depois de convertido o teve sempre por fidelissimo compa-neyro em todos seus trabalhos e peregrinações que por ellas fez," as Gonçalves da Camera wrote, who knew him personally in Rome (FN I 545).

¹⁹ Xavier only writes that Bernardo and Matheus came with him from Japan to India, and that they both wished to go to Portugal (EX II 355 357-358 399). Frois erroneously has Xavier travel from Hirado to Yamaguchi with Torres, Fernández, and two servants (14). In the next chapter he has him leave his two confreres and the two servants whom he had brought with him from India in Yamaguchi. He then has him go accompanied only by some pagans to Bungo, from where he sails with Bernardo and Matheus to India (17). Cros garbles this text of Frois in his citation of it: Xavier summons Torres to Yamaguchi. He then leaves him there with Fernández and the two servants so that he may go from there with Bernardo, Matheus, and some converted pagans to Bungo (II 149). Mendes Pinto has Xavier send Matheus with a letter to the Portuguese ship before his own departure for Bungo. He has Matheus return from there with the letters of the Portuguese. Xavier then goes to Bungo with three Japanese Christians (meant are Joane, Bernardo, and Matheus) and two Japanese fidalgos who had been converted a month earlier, and from whom the king of Yamaguchi had taken incomes valued at 2,000 *taels*, the equivalent of 3,000 *cruzados*, because of their conversion (cc. 208-209). Such a deed is contrary to all we know about Ōuchi Yoshitaka. He supported all religions, even Christianity, with the greatest tolerance; and precisely at this time he gave the missionaries a large piece of land for the building of a college.

*Rodrigues Tçuzu has Xavier travel from Yamaguchi to Bungo with Bernardo, Matheus,

maguchi would have liked to see the Holy Land, where Christ had lived and died, they were deterred from doing so by their fear of the long and difficult voyage.²⁰ Antonio and Amador, the Indian servant,²¹ were thus the only ones to remain with Torres and Fernández.

The trip from Yamaguchi to Bungo usually took from five to seven days.²²

and two Christian *fidalgos* (58v; Ajuda 236, where, however, Bernabé is once named instead of Bernardo; Cros II 154).—When Torres had to leave Yamaguchi in 1556 and go to Bungo, he was accompanied by two Japanese Christians (Torres, on November 7, 1557, in *JapSin.* 4, 72). Haas erroneously gives Brother Laurentius as the companion of Xavier and Bernardo (I 195).

²⁰ EX II 358.

²¹ We still encounter Amador in Bungo in 1555 (Duarte da Silva, on September 10, 1555, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 43). From there he went with Almeida and Fernández to Hirado (*ibid.* 46v; *Cartas* 1598, 46v). When Xavier sailed with Antonio for India, only one servant remained with Torres and Fernández in Yamaguchi, as Cabral wrote on September 5, 1571 (*cum hum só moço: JapSin.* 7, 21), by whom Amador was meant.

²² The duration of the trip: On February 4, 1553, Alcáçova set out from Yamaguchi with Gago and Fernández and arrived at Funai on the tenth; in October, 1552, he had traveled from Funai to Yamaguchi, which was forty [Japanese] leagues away within the interior (*pola terra dentro*), as he wrote from India in 1554 (*Cartas* 1598, 24). The trip thus took some six days. According to Pinto, Matheus made the trip from Funai to Yamaguchi in five days (c. 208). On October 2, 1587, Frois wrote that he had traveled on September 16 of this year from Usuki, fifteen miles east of Funai, to Shimonoseki and had arrived there in five days. From there one went by land to Yamaguchi in a day and a half (ARSI: *JapSin.* 51, 21v; Schütte, *Introductio* 671 and 549). When the Jesuits on December 23, 1586, in the middle of winter, when the north wind was blowing, were forced to transfer their college and novitiate from Bungo to Yamaguchi, they wished to sail from Funai to Shimonoseki in order to go from there by land to Yamaguchi. But high seas and a sharp, opposing wind forced them to the closer Kudamatsu. Half of them went from there by land; the other half, with their main luggage, continued their voyage on the same ship to Shimonoseki and then went by land to Yamaguchi (Frois, on August 5, 1587, in *JapSin.* 51, 94v-95; Schütte, *Introduction* 549 662). A modern Chinese junk can cover 25 to 32 miles a day (see above, p. 34), and thus the distance from Funai to Shimonoseki (106 miles) in four or five days.—Authors differ with respect to Xavier's route from Yamaguchi to Funai. In 1586 Frois wrote that the priest traveled alone, accompanied only by some pagans, to the kingdom of Bungo sixty [Japanese] leagues away. He went by land through rough mountains and on difficult roads (17). Sixty Japanese leagues would equal 150 miles, which is practically the distance of the land route from Yamaguchi to Funai by way of Shimonoseki (146 miles). Frois speaks of the old military road as it was in the Middle Ages and in Xavier's time (see the maps in Nishioka, pp. 82 86 98 144 174), and which is closely followed by the railroad. It goes by way of Moji opposite Shimonoseki, through Kokura, Kutami, Kanda, Yukuhashi, Shindenbaru, Tsuiki, Shiida, Matsue, Unoshima in the province of Buzen, and then, in that of Bungo, by way of Nakatsu along the coast, and then in the interior by way of Yokkaichi and the old Hachiman temple of Usa straight through the hilly country of the Kunisaki peninsula to the southeast by way of Tateishi and Yamaga to Hiji, and then directly south by way of Beppu, famed for its hot springs, and from there east to Funai. Since the mountains along the road through the Kunisaki peninsula are never higher than 2296 feet, the "very rough mountains" of Frois are not to be considered like the Alps. And since he has Xavier only accompanied by some pagans on this trip on foot, this latter is also not certain.—Mendes Pinto, who is followed by Tursellinus (4, 9) and Lucena (9, 4), paints Xavier's trip to Bungo "as an eyewitness" in his usual, romantic manner. Xavier covers the sixty leagues on foot accompanied by three Japanese Christians and two Christian *fidalgos* from Yamaguchi. On a Saturday [September 19], the three Japanese reach the Portuguese ship in the harbor of Finge [Hiji], a league from Fucheo [Funai], and declare that the priest is two leagues away in *Pimlaxau* [a town invented by Pinto], sick and exhausted from his long walk. Pinto then rides out with the other Portuguese to meet him. After a good quarter of an hour, they encounter him with his Mass equipment on his back, which the two *fidalgos* had helped him to carry by taking it in turns. The Portuguese then accompany him on foot, since he refuses the animal they offer him to ride, until they reach the

The large Portuguese vessel²³ lay at anchor in Okinohama, a large town at the mouth of the Ōitagawa, a short half-mile from Funai, the capital of Bungo.²⁴

Finge River, where their ship is lying at anchor (cc. 208-209). —Orlandinus follows Lucena with slight changes (l. 11, n. 114). *Rodrigues Tçuzu takes over Pinto's somewhat enlarged, romantic description of what had been written by Lucena, but he elaborates it, since he did not believe in Xavier's five-day trip on foot because of his own acquaintance with the land. About the middle of September Xavier leaves Yamaguchi with Bernardo, Matheus and two Christian *fidalgos*. As usual, he went on foot carrying a bundle on his back containing his altar stone, chalice, and vestments, since he would not let these be carried by others as being sacred objects, in order to embark for Bungo from a harbor in the province of Suwō. He had already been two days on his way, and his feet were swollen, since he had not made such a long trip for a year, when he encountered some Portuguese who had been sent by Duarte da Gama to the opposite coast of Suō and had ridden half a league inland on their way to get him. When Francis refused the mount that was offered him, they accompanied him on foot to the harbor, where they embarked and sailed to the ship of Duarte da Gama in the harbor of Fige in Bungo. Xavier then dismissed the two Japanese *fidalgos* who had accompanied him on behalf of all the Christians of Yamaguchi (58v; Ajuda 236). Cros gives a French abstract of Rodrigues, which he changes to a certain extent: Xavier walks for two days to a harbor where he obtains a ship for Bungo. Near its coast he is taken on board a ship sent out by Gama and brought with his companions to a spot not far from Funai in the neighborhood of the harbor of Hiji. Informed of their arrival, Duarte da Gama and many other Portuguese ride out to meet them. Since Xavier refuses a horse, they accompany him on foot to the city (II 54-55). Nishioka gives another route: Xavier sailed from the river harbor of Ogōri near Yamaguchi straight across the sea to Hiji and from there to Funai, a distance of eighty-seven miles (map, p. 174). One could also assume that he sailed to Bungo from Mitajiri eighty-one, or from Kudamatsu, one hundred miles. These figures would correspond to the data that Funai was forty Japanese leagues, the equivalent of one hundred miles, from Yamaguchi. In addition to Alcáçova, the distance of forty leagues for the route is given also by Valignano (190) and Orlandinus (l. 11, n. 113), and the censure to his *Historia*, which Jerónimo Rodrigues sent from Macao in 1620 to Rome, which notes that by these forty leagues Japanese leagues are meant (*JapSin.* 47, 144v). According to Gago the distance amounted to forty-five Japanese leagues, the equivalent of 110 miles (letter of September 23, 1555, in *Cartas* 1598, 39). The Japanese league is today 2.42 miles. In 1601 Valignano wrote in his **Libro primero* that the cartographer Ignacio Moreira had discovered in 1590 that two Portuguese leagues (*legoas*) amounted to three Japanese (*ri*) (4; Cros II 42), a measurement which is no longer in use.

²³ "Huma nao muy grande de Duarte da Gama," according to Frois on December 1, 1555 (DI III 318). Haas gives extracts from a series of Japanese works, for the most part very legendary, which give reports on the first arrival of the Portuguese ships in Bungo, for example, from the *Zōho-Ōtomo-kōhai-ki*, a later reworking of the *Ōtomo-kōhai-ki* of Kai Takenori, according to which in the twentieth year of Tembun (1551) a merchant ship arrived in Jingūji-ura (Funai), whose crew belonged entirely to the Tenshukyō (Doctrine of the God of Heaven), and sought to persuade the governor of Bungo, Ōtomo Sōrin, to accept this religion through a Japanese, Tawara Shōnin (I 192).

²⁴ Mendes Pinto contradicts himself in his data on the place where the ship of Duarte da Gama lay at anchor. We cite the edition of 1910 for the page numbers of his *Peregrinação*. In c. 208 he writes that the *nau*, the Portuguese ship, was in Fucheo, the capital of Bungo, when Matheus came there with Xavier's letter (48). In c. 209, however, he states that at the time of Xavier's arrival it was in the harbor of Finge (thus the chapter heading), whereas in the text it is said that when Gama learned that Xavier was two leagues away, he informed the Portuguese who were selling their wares in Fucheo, a league away from the harbor where their ship was anchored. When they learned of his arrival, they all rowed out to meet the priest (48) and to accompany him to the Finge River, where the ship was at anchor. When the king in Fucheo heard the *salvos* with which the ship was receiving Xavier, he was afraid of an attack by pirates (49) until the captain reassured him. The king then wrote a letter in which he greeted Xavier on his arrival in Finge (50). The Portuguese sailed with the priest in the sloop of the ship to the quay for the audience. There the captain of Canafama received them. From there they went on foot through the nine main streets of the city of Fucheo to the palace of the king (52). In c. 211 he describes how the priest exercised

The captain and owner of the ship, Duarte da Gama, was a zealous Christian, who had at heart the welfare of the missionaries²⁵ and the progress of Gospel.²⁶

his apostolate among the pagans for forty-six days in Fucheo (58), converted the chief bonze of Canafama, and conversed intimately with the king (59-61). In c. 212 the Portuguese fled "more quickly than reasonable" to their ship through fear of the mob stirred up by the bonzes. Gama looked for the priest in the poor house where he had withdrawn with eight Christians in order to take him to his ship, but he had to return without him (65-66). In c. 214 the ship then sails with Xavier from Fucheo for China (78).—The following should be observed on this: Hiji was not one but three Portuguese leagues from Funai. It was not the harbor of the capital. This was *Okinohama*, called *Canafama* by Pinto, who constantly distorts Japanese place names in that he writes *Miocó*, *Sicai*, *Omanguche*, *Finge*, *Fucheo*, *Frenojama*, *Miaigima*, and *Canguoxuma* for *Miyako*, *Sakai*, *Yamaguchi*, *Hiji*, *Fuchū* (Funai), *Hienoyama*, *Miyajima*, and *Kagoshima*. On December 28, 1596, Frois wrote from *Okinohama* about the great earthquake of September 4 of that year which afflicted the whole of Japan: "Está un lugar marítimo serca de una legua de Funai [in his *Geschichte* he states more exactly that *Okinohama* was somewhat less than half a league from Funai (73)], escala y puerto de muchos navios, que era una grande villa por nombre *Oquinofama*." From the data provided by Braz, a resident of the town who had been converted by Xavier, he then describes how a typhoon that raised the waters over seven fathoms (one *braça* = 7.216 feet) drove them for half a league inland and swallowed up the whole place with its men, cattle, and houses, and left in their stead a deep sea as if a town had never existed there. The storm continued and devoured four more towns on the same coast: *Fama Ogi* (Hamaoki), *Tçuru* (Tsuru), *Fingi* (Hiji), *Caxiranari* (Kashiranari), and a piece of *Sanganoxequi* (Saganoseki). There had been many ships in these harbors, especially in that of *Okinohama*, not a single one of which was saved (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 242v-243; Hayus 368-369 distorts the place names). Father Mario Marega, S.S., a missionary in Ōita, told us in 1947 that he had discovered a contemporary account of a Shintō priest of the town from the time when a flood devoured a part of it. In this he gives the number of ruined houses and of the dead for whom he brought offerings. Marega further told me that according to a Japanese tradition there had been an island with a Shintō temple in front of the village. It was called *Uriyujima* and it disappeared in the flood. But there is still extant a temple of this name. On *Okinohama* see the important study of Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Sengoku-jidai no Bungo Funai-kō* (The Harbor of Funai in Bungo during the Sengoku Period) (1962). He shows from Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese sources that *Okinohama* at the mouth of the *Dōjirigawa* (today called *Ōitagawa*) was the harbor of Funai. According to the Chinese Cheng Shün-kung, who came to Funai in 1556, the river and its mouth were in a poor condition. Ships consequently anchored at *Okinohama* and visitors had to go upstream from there in boats to the capital. According to Japanese sources, Ōtomo Yoshiharu sailed from *Okinohama* in 1505 with three hundred men. In 1568 six thousand auxiliary troops of Tosa and Sanuki landed there, and after their defeat they withdrew from there again. An account of a Portuguese pilot, who sailed from China to Bungo around 1557, describes the harbor of *Okinohama*. During a spring tide the mouth of the river had a depth of twelve spans, whereas at ebb tide vessels in the river lay dry. Three miles from there was the excellent harbor of *Fingy* (Hiji) (Linschoten V 207-208). For the submersion of *Okinohama* by the tidal wave of 1596, Okamoto gives Braz' account and that of another eyewitness in the Japanese *Shibayama Kambei-ki*.

²⁵ The sources on Duarte da Gama's Japanese voyages are as follows: (1) The letters of: Xavier (EX II 271), Gago (Q 6088-6090), Melchior Nunes Barreto (Q 6099), and Frois of December 1, 1555 (DI III 318), and January 7, 1556 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 94); (2) Frois, *Geschichte* (17 and 20); (3) Frois' two lists of those who came to Japan: Jesuits (list A) and captains (list B, see above, p. 134); (4) the testimony of Duarte da Gama (MX II 261 415-416); and (5) the *Peregrinação* of Mendes Pinto (cc. 208-215). There are also the following accounts: (1) Léon Bourdon, "Luis de Almeida," *Mélanges Le Gentil* (Lisbonne, 1949) 69-85; (2) Boxer, *As Viagens de Japão e os seus Capitães-Mores, 1550-1640* (Macau, 1941) 4-5; and (3) *idem*, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (The Hague, 1948) 29-30.—The first certain voyage of Duarte da Gama to Japan was in 1551. According to Pinto he wintered in Siam on his return in order to repair his ship which had been badly damaged by the typhoon (c. 215). According to list A, he sailed in 1552 [1553?] to Hirado, and on this occasion Luis de Almeida perhaps went from his ship to Yamaguchi to visit Torres (Frois 27). In 1553 he took Brother Alcáçova with him from Hirado to China (list B; "his second voyage to Japan" according to list A; cf. Frois 31 and Gago in *Cartas* 1598,

He was also a special friend and admirer of the saintly priest,²⁷ and he wished to show the Japanese the high regard in which the Portuguese held their priests. When Xavier arrived, he therefore had his ship bedecked with flags and had him greeted with the thunder of his guns.²⁸

27v). In 1555 Gama sailed from Hirado back to China resolved to sail to Portugal (three letters of Gago from Hirado of September 20 and 23, 1555 [Q 6088-6090]; Almeida's letter of September 16, 1555, in *Brotéria* 51 [1950] 189-190; Nunes Barreto's of November 23, 1555 [Ayres, *Subsidios* 89]; and Frois on January 7, 1556 [*ibid.* 93-95]).—On September 20, 1555, Gago wrote of him to the king of Portugal: "Em todo o tempo que Duarte da Gama andou nestas partes, que foi espaço de seis annos, em huma nao sua, o de que se prezou mais neste tempo, e de que teve cargo, foy de nos fazer caridades e esmolas, e prover-nos daquillo que nos era necessario. Quando de ca foy o padre Mestre Francisco, elle o levou, e por outra vez hum Irmão [Alcaçova] e hum homem que o Duque de Bungo mandou á India; e alem disto com a sua prata, e vestidos, e escravos, e cera, e todo o demais de que nos tinhamos falta, de tudo nos proveo em Yamaguchi e Bungo. He já velho, cansado de trabalhos, amigo de Deos, e de boa vida" (*Cartas* 1598, 42). Two days later Gago wrote to Ignatius: "Do anno de 49 para cá não ouve mais recado da Yndia que quando nos vyemos [1552]. Mas por huma nao que aqui andou da costa da China para este Japão fazendo mercadoria, — chama-se o capitão e senhorio dela Duarte da Gama, homem nobre e conhecido — deste capitão depois que eu estou nesta terra nunca nos faltou o necesario e mays do necesario. Porque de sua fazenda como de outras esmolas que ouve, e asy com amor de pay sempre nos proveo. Digo isto para que V. Reverencia e os da Companhia roguem a Deos por elle. Elle detrimina de se ir logo pera Portugal e com os Padres deseya confesar-se e tomar sus concelhos porque he muyto sogeito e amigo dos da Companhia" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 62-v).

²⁶ On his arrival in 1555, Gama wrote to Gago: "pedindo-me muito, que quisesse cá chegar, assi para suas confissoins como para muitos gentios, que se querião fazer christãos, e para os feitos se enformarem melhor das cousas de sua salvação e ouvirem doutrina que avia muito que não tinham," as Gago wrote from Hirado (*Cartas* 1598, 38v). When Gama returned to China from Japan in November of this same year, he and his men were able to describe with such enthusiasm the great advance of the Japanese mission to the Portuguese in the harbor of Lampacau, near Canton, that they all wanted to winter in China so that they might leave for Japan the following May, the usual time for sailing. The provincial, Nunes Barreto, who had been dubious about his voyage to Japan, which had been repeatedly delayed, and had wished to return to Malacca, regained his courage (Nunes Barreto, on November 23, 1555, in Ayres, *Subsidios* 89-90; and Frois, on November 7, 1556, *ibid.* 93-96).

²⁷ Gama testified in the Malacca process in 1556 that he knew that Master Francis had led a very good and virtuous life: He had lived entirely on alms, and he himself had often seen this, both at the time when he was on Cape Comorin, where he had converted many to Christianity, and afterwards in Quilon, where he, the witness, had been captain, and then in Goa and other regions. He knew that wherever he had been, he had spent most of his time converting unbelievers to the holy faith. In his conversation and association with his neighbor, and because of the high esteem in which he was held by all with whom he dealt, he had been greatly loved. Wherever he had gone, he had earnestly endeavored by his preaching and instructions to keep the people from sinning; and he had made many converts to Christianity in Japan. Gama was also able to give an account of the priest's miracles, how he had, enlightened by God, announced from the pulpit of Malacca the victory which the Portuguese fleet had obtained that same hour over the Achinese on the Perlis River eighty leagues away, and how in the Moluccas he had announced the death of a companion. He also added that in his zeal for souls the priest had risked his life by sailing in a Chinese junk from Malacca to Japan outside the time for this (MX II 415-416).

²⁸ Mendes Pinto, who was present for Xavier's reception, later wrote in his *Peregrinação*: "Chegados ao rio de Finge [he here confuses the Hiji with the Ôitagawa], onde a nau estava surta, foi recebido n'ella com todas as mostras de alegria, quantas se lhe puderam fazer, e se lhe disparou a artilharia toda por quatro vezes, em que se tiraram sessenta e tres tiros de berços e fallções, e camellos, e todos, ou os mais com pelouros e rocas, os quaes, por causa das concavidades que havia nas serras, fizeram um grandissimo estrondo" (c. 209). Even though we should not give credence to all the details listed by Pinto, Xavier's solemn reception is also described by Gago in a letter which

2. WITH ÔTOMO YOSHISHIGE, THE DUKE OF BUNGO (SEPTEMBER, 1551)

As soon as the duke learned of Xavier's arrival, he invited him to a visit in his palace.²⁹ Funai, the capital,³⁰ where the prince lived, lay a short distance

he wrote in 1555 to the king about Duarte da Gama: "Com as mostras de sua pessoa, e nao, se tem muito aumentado e edificado esta gente. Porque da festa, com que no porto de Bungo recebeo o padre Mestre Francisco, quando de cá foi para a India, e assi a cadahum dos da Companhia, vem estas gentes, em quanto se estimão os que andam ensinando o caminho da salvação, que estes não julgão mais que polo que vem de fora" (*Cartas* 1598, 42). See also Xavier's reception in Hirado in 1550 (above, p. 134, n. 2) and the procession there in 1557, on which Vilela observed that when they passed the Portuguese ships, all of these were adorned "com bandeiras e estandardes com cruces vermelhas, que lastravão muito [e] derão salva com artilharia grossa" (*ibid.* 59v). Lucena elaborates Xavier's reception to some extent: The Portuguese beflagged their ship, covered it with precious carpets, put on their festive clothes, and fired off their artillery (9, 4). *Rodrigues Tçuzu gives a long introduction to his description of Xavier's reception, and in it he warns the reader of Mendes Pinto's book: "Ante que digamos o que B. P. Francisco passou em Bungo o tempo que ahy se deteve, pareceo necessario advertir ao leytor, como em hum livro intitulado 'Peregrinaçam de Fernam Mendes Pinto' anda hum tratado das cousas do B. P. Francisco, principalmente o que passou em Bungo, e alguns nossos Autores tomaram algumas dellas deste autor, principalmente estas que passarão em Bungo com o Duque, Portugueses, Bonzos e outros. E assi nestas como em outros do B. Padre, de que este Autor tratar, deve aver muita eleiçam e escolha. Nem se deve fazer muito caso, nem fundamento de sua authoridade e verdade no que diz, como claramente veram os que sam praticos destas partes e dellas tem experiencia. Lendo por seu livro, acharam, que seu intento mais foi escrever pera deleitar com artificiosos e maravilhosos fingimentos, que pera referir verdades ou cousa de authoridade e certeza, não somente nesta parte, mas em tudo o demais que diz do Reyno de China, Japam a Tartaria. Nem he nosso intento mostrar aqui neste lugar as varias contradicções, impossibilidades, fingimentos fabulosos, e outras infinitas cousas fora de toda a verdade, como sam achar-se prezente a todos os casos em tam diferentes e distantes nações em lingoas e costumes, e saber e entender as lingoas de todos, lembrar-se tam meudamente das circumstancias das cousas particulares, ditos, sentenças, nomes proprios das lugares e pessoas tam varias, e historias tam varias e inopinadas, descripções geographicas de Reynos, provincias, cidades, lugares, alturas dos polos, rios, lagos, promotorios e outras cousas infinitas que abertamente finge, sendo 13 vezes cativo, e 16 vezes vendido em espaço de 25 annos, que esteve na India, perdendo-se a cada passo. Bem se vê ser tudo isto huma chimera, principalmente escrevendo em Portugal depois de tornar da India, homem toda a vida soldado, que nunca fez profiçam alguma de letras e historias, de que se ajudam os escritores. Mas como digo baste ao leytor ter esta advirtencia geral pera saber a authoridade que deve dar a esse author no que escreve, principalmente no que toca ao B. P. Francisco, de que tratamos, cuias cousas devem ser referidas com toda a verdade e ponderaçam, como se deve a tam grande sancto. Ho que aqui dissemos he o certo, porque oyto annos estivemos em Bungo e tratamos muyto familiarmente com o mesmo Duque antes e depois de christam, e o ouvimos muitas vezes praticar as cousas do B. P. Francisco quando com elle se vira."—Rodrigues then, following Pinto, gives a brief description of how the Portuguese, in keeping with their general custom in such circumstances, and especially in the case of Xavier, whose holiness they held in such high esteem, received him with a great show of joy by firing their guns and decorating their ship with flags. For this he also uses the text of Gago cited above (59v-60).—The Japanese screen of the Musée Guimet in Paris (reproduced in color in Kammerer III 1 [1947] 66, p. XXI) represents the arrival of a Portuguese ship in Japan, but not Xavier's reception by Duarte da Gama in 1551, as José de Figueiredo suggests (*A. Forjaz de Sampaio, Historia da Literatura Portuguesa Ilustrada* I [Liboa, 1929] 353); cf. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East* 22-23.

²⁹ That the duke was informed of Xavier's arrival, and that he set a day for an audience, is to be taken for granted. Pinto's fantastic elaboration of the subsequent events deserves the criticism expressed by *Rodrigues Tçuzu: "Hé certo, que deram grandes mostras e sinais de alegria em sua chegada desparando a nao sua artilharia etc., como tambem em o acompanhar o mesmo capitão em pessoa com todos os mais Portugueses que aly avia na visita que fez a primeira vez ao Duque, e tudo o mais que fosse necessario per a honrra e gloria de Nosso Senhor e decente a pessoa do B. P. Fran-

upstream from Okinohama.³¹ Duarte da Gama and his Portuguese and their

cisco. O Duque sabemos de certo, que pella fama que tinha da virtude e obras do B. Padre, que o tratou com muita humanidade, honrra e cortesia. Porem as cousas em particular, na forma e modo, em que o refere este autor [Pinto] com seu acostumado estilo, praticas, respostas, cartas, recados, cumprimentos, *disputas com os bonzos*, na forma e modo em que o refere, é tudo mui fora do estilo e modo de Japam, posto que o diz com fundamento na cousa; e por isso os não referimos aqui, como fizeram outros autores que não tiveram o conhecimento que nos temos" (60). In the censure to Orlandinus (l. 11, nn. 115-117), apparently composed by Rodrigues Tçuzu, which the visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues sent from Macao to Rome in 1620 (GS II 58-59), all the letters and speeches on the occasion of Xavier's arrival and audience in Bungo are crossed off as unhistorical, even the text of the letter which, according to Pinto, the duke sent to Xavier on his arrival. The censor notes that the letter is false, impossible, ridiculous, and contrary to the style of letters in Japan. He repeats this on the margin and adds: "It seems that it is taken from the book of Fernam Mendes, who invents such purple patches. He is now a source of laughter for the Japanese, and he will be so also in the future, even apart from the fact that he is wrong." The text of the letter in Orlandinus actually goes back to Pinto by way of Lucena (9, 4). It is also given as authentic by Eglauer in 1795 (*Japan* I 28), Burg in 1840 (III 201), and Van Nieuwenhoff in 1895 (518). In 1881 Coleridge still wrote that there was no reason for doubting its essential authenticity, whereas in 1902 Haas correctly rejects it as a free invention of Pinto (I 189).—Aoyama, who attempts to discredit the censor of Orlandinus, would save the letter by maintaining that the text in Pinto is a defective translation of an actual letter of Yoshishige (162). But the Portuguese translations of the authentic letters of Shimazu Takahisa, Matsūra Takanobu, and Ōtomo Yoshishige in *Cartas* 1598, 112 37 and 249-250, are worlds apart from the completely impossible and fantastic text in Mendes Pinto.

³⁰ The capital is today called Ōita; the earlier name of *Funai* or *Fuchū* (*Fucheo* in Pinto) means "Provincial Capital" (cf. Alvarez-Taladriz 114, n. 24).

³¹ It was .93 mile from the quay of Okinohama to that of Funai, and from there to the palace of the duke another .93 mile. The features of the city have been greatly changed, especially after the earthquake and the tidal wave of 1596, which destroyed Okinohama, as is indicated by a comparison of a modern map of the city with the old map from the time of Ōtomo Yoshishige. In 1579 Funai had eight thousand hearths or homes (Carrion, on December 1, 1579; in ARSI: *JapSin.* 46, 36v; Eglauer, *Japan* II 320), and the same number is given for 1582 (Coelho, on September 13, 1582, in *Cartas* 1598 II, 28v). The city was burned down by the enemy in 1587 (Frois on February 20, 1588, in *JapSin.* 45, 106). In 1596 it again had "many rich merchants, many monasteries, and countless temples." It also had five thousand homes, of which only two hundred survived the earthquake of 1596 (Frois, on December 28, 1596, in *JapSin.* 52, 243v; Hayus 369-370). In the Second World War the city was for the most part destroyed again by a bombing raid in 1945. In 1950 it again had 94,455 inhabitants. The old map of the city of the sixteenth century was burned with the town hall in 1934 (Mario Marega, "Memorie Cristiane della regione di Oita," *Annali Lateranensi* 3 [1939] 16). Three later copies of the old city map of Funai are extant. Though they agree on the main elements, they show variants in particulars: The first (map A), which we follow, is in the possession of our confrere Father Schütte, who had it drawn in 1940 by K. Takayama in Ōita. On it is noted the fact that the exemplar of this copy was in the possession of Roeimon Watanabe, a *samurai* of the Funai clan, in the twelfth year of the Bunsei period (1830 A.D.). The second (map C) was also made in Japan in 1940 at the request of Father Schütte. It omits many details of its exemplar. A third copy (map B) was published by Professor Ebizawa Arimichi in an article on the history of the hospital in Funai in *Kirishitan-bunka-kenkyū-kai kaihō* II (1942) 66. He took his picture of the map from Professor Anesaki Masahuru's *Kirishitan dendō no kōhai* (Tōkyō, 1930). Ebizawa attributes the lost original of the city map, from which our copies are directly or indirectly derived, to the time of the Ōtomo, who ruled in Bungo until 1593, that is, before the earthquake of 1596. The same is also indicated by the fact that the Hakuchi castle (today the seat of the Kenchō, the Provincial Administration) is missing from the map, though the Christian church, designated as *Daiusu-dō*, is portrayed upon it. In 1947 Father Marega told us that according to a Japanese tradition there had been in front of Okinohama an island, Uriu-jima, with a Shintō shrine upon it, but that it had disappeared during a tidal wave. This tradition apparently goes back to our old city map, where in the sea in front of the strand of Okinohama is written the following:

slaves, all dressed in costly garments, sailed with the priest and his companions to the quay of the capital.³² They then marched in solemn procession³³ through

"This is called Uri-u-jima." Next to this there is the observation: "There are 263 years until Bunsei." If by this is meant the twelfth year of Bunsei (1830 A.D.), the original of the copy made in 1830 would be dated in 1567. But I was told in Ōita in 1957 that there was indicated on the map a hill in the south of the city designated as *Daijin-zuka* (Small Hill of the Great Minister). In the period of Kan-ei (1624-1644) a storm had uprooted a large tree on this hill and in the hole that had resulted from this was found a stone sarcophagus with the bones of a large man. This discovery gave the hill its name. The original of the map would thus be around 1630. But the name has also been connected with a legendary hero. If this name, as I was told, was not given to the hill until the Kan-ei period, it was perhaps added later to the original or to the copy. But whatever is to be concluded from this, the omission of the Hakuchi palace seems to us to be a sure sign that the original map was sketched before 1599, and that it represents the city as Xavier saw it in 1551.—Map A is the most complete copy and has the Sumiyoshi River, which separates Okinohama from Ōita on the west, and the Ōitagawa with the Uragawa on the east. On the map east of Okinohama is an island with the Shintō shrine of Ōki-no-Myōjin. A tributary which links the Ōitagawa with the Uragawa separates the temple from the village of Ima-Tsuru-mura. This connecting arm is missing on maps B and C. Map A has above, on the left, an addition which again indicates the Kasuga shrine west of Okinohama with its environs. This addition is lacking on the two other copies. The Nishi-Uriu-jinja (West Uriu Temple) west of Okinohama and the large swamp island east of it are also missing on them. But all three copies have the four large main and cross streets of the city. These could be closed off by gates at either ends. They are at right angles to each other and have the Ōtomo palace, the Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, the Daiusu-dō, and the western tributary of the Ōitagawa with a quay furnished with a wall on the first cross street of the city.

³² Pinto describes the way in which Duarte da Gama with his thirty Portuguese and the same number of servants sailed in the ship's sloop and two other boats to the quay of the capital. The men were wearing golden chains about their necks, and the boats were decked with silken canopies and banners, and they were accompanied by the sounds of flutes and trumpets. They were received in *Canafama* by the captain of the city and a large crowd. The captain, as the duke had commanded, offered Xavier a sedan chair, but he refused it. They then accompanied him on foot to the palace (c. 209). Cf. the procession in Hirado in 1557, which accompanied the Portuguese with flutes and trumpets (*Cartas* 1598, 59v). The quay of Funai was located in the northwest of the city.

³³ Pinto describes the procession: "O padre levava uma loba de chameleto preto sem aguas, com uma sobrepeliz em cima e uma estola de veludo verde com seu savastro de brocado. O nosso capitão ia com uma cana na mão, como porteiro mor, e cinco dos mais honrados e ricos e de melhor nome levavam certas peças nas mãos, como creados seus: um levava um livro metido n'um saco de setim branco, outro umas chinelas de veludo preto, que entre nós se acharam, outro uma cana de bengala com um castão de ouro, outro um retabolo de nossa Senhora n'um envoltorio de damasco roxo, outro um sombreiro de pé pequeno; e assim, com esta ordem e com este aparato, passamos pelas principaes nove ruas da cidade, onde havia tanta quantidade de gente, que até por cima dos telhados tudo era cheio" (c. 209). On this see Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius. Ein Leben in Bildern* (Aachen, 1922), picture 23, and its explanation, pp. 91-92. Teixeira writes how he found Xavier's body, when it was brought to Goa, clothed "con su ornamento de sacerdote," and under the vestments "traía vestido una sobrepeliz muy rica, qu'el avia llevado de Goa para hablar al rey de la China vestido con ella... la llevó después el mismo Padre rector Melchior Nuñez, quando fué á Japón, para visitar con ella à los reyes de aquella tierra" (905). Pinto's account of this entrance of the Portuguese into *Canafama* may be compared with other such events, for example, the parades of the Portuguese on Namban-Byōbus (see the description of them in Alvarez-Taladriz 59*-60*), and the solemn entrance of Valignano into Miyako in 1591 (Bartoli, *Giappone* l. 1, nn. 96-97). Van Siebold reports that at his time Dutch ambassadors did not use in their parades the princely insignia of the Japanese *daimyōs*—pikes, bows, arrows, guns, armor, helmets, and so forth—but instead, such objects as a large parasol in a velvet case, a steel dagger, a Spanish pipe with a golden stem, a pair of precious embroidered slippers, a desk, a machine for making tea, and other such items (*Nippon* [Würzburg-Leipzig, 1897] I 54). Could the Dutch have learned this from Mendes Pinto?

the densely crowded streets and the gaping throngs to the palace located at the other end of the city.³⁴ Xavier was received with highest honors by the prince,³⁵ and it made a great impression on his courtiers when the Portuguese spread their precious cloaks on the mat-covered floor so that the priest could sit upon them.³⁶

³⁴ Pinto refers to nine streets. Two routes leading to the ducal palace, marked on the old city map as "Ôtomo Yashiki," must be considered. In going from the quay to the palace, one either went from the landing place straight south, past the Daichiji temple at the end of the second cross street, and then turned left at the third cross street; or one turned left at the first cross street near the quay and then went south along the third street, past the Inari shrine, to the main entrance of the palace. Marega chooses the first route for Xavier's procession to the palace (*Memorie* 16). On the other hand, the mayor, Ueda Tamotsu, who had a great interest in the history of the city and at the time of our visit there in 1957 most kindly showed us the sights with the local historian Kutaragi Giichirō, the author of *Funai (Oita) Kirishitan-shi* (Oita, 1957), held that the second route was more probable.

³⁵ Xavier wrote about this: "Ho duque me fez muito gasalhado, e eu fuy muito consolado com os portugueses que ahy vierão" (EX II 271). J. B. de Monte wrote on October 9, 1564, from Bungo in a similar fashion about the way he was received by Yoshishige: "Algumas vezes fui visitar o rei da terra. Recebeo-me sempre com muito gasalhado... cada vez me recebeo com tanta cortesia amor cual eu nunca cuidei de achar em homem gentio" (*Cartas* 1598, 153-v). In 1571 Cabral wrote that the king of Bungo had spoken with him kneeling with both hands upon the floor, which among the Japanese is the highest form of courtesy (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 23v).

³⁶ On December 23, 1554, Aires Brandão wrote of Mendes Pinto, who was with him at the time in Goa: "Elle hé mui conhecido de todos os reis e senhores de Japão pela continuação que lá tinha com seu tratos passados, e tido em muita conta entre elles; e no tempo que o noso Padre Mestre Francisco lá esteve, se achou elle ahi com outros. E porque os gentios visem quoanta conta elles fazião do Padre, perante o mesmo rei e maiores do regno tiravão as capas dos ombros e lhas estendião no chão pera se o Padre asentar; e iso quando praticava com o mesmo rei, de que en toda aquella gente avia grande espanto. E isto era causa per honde asi o mesmo rei como grandes e pequenos lhe fazião grande acatamento" (DI III 183).—What Pinto reports about the audience with all its speeches and ceremonies in *Peregrinação*, c. 210, is pure fiction; but it passed over into the second edition of Tursellinus and through it to all the subsequent lives of Xavier, for example, that of Lucena, and into the history of the order written by Orlandinus. The censor of Orlandinus in 1620 left in the solemn procession and the encounter with the prince and his bonzes, but he crossed off the greetings expressed by the duke's boy and brother as false, fanciful, and ridiculous. He then noted in general: "The whole conduct of this reception as it stands here is very doubtful and contrary to Japanese custom. It is taken entirely from Fernam Mendez. It is certain that the king showed much honor to the priest and spoke much in his praise at that time and later" (GS II 58-59). *Rodrigues Tçuzu rightly passes over this chapter of Pinto. Brou does the same, noting that it is impossible to distinguish what is true from what is false in Pinto's description (II 228-229).—Brodrick agrees with our rejection of Pinto's account, but he states the following: "According to Pinto, one of the Portuguese anticipated the gesture of Sir Walter Raleigh and spread his magnificent cape over a mat in the Daimyo's reception hall for Francis to squat upon it. This is a typically Pinto touch which the Saint would surely have scorned as an insult to his host" (447-448). But this detail is from Brandão, whereas Pinto does not mention it in his *Peregrinação*!—If we prescind from the speeches and many other impossibilities in Pinto's account, we may accept other particulars: (1) The palace with its verandas and suites of rooms are filled with Japanese nobles, and the Portuguese are present at the audience. See Brandão's account of Xavier's audience in Yamaguchi (Frois 10). (2) Xavier and his companions pass through several rooms to the inner chamber, where he is received by the duke. Yoshishige had the privilege of being obliged to go to the garden only for the reception of an ambassador of the *shōgun*, as Valignano wrote in his *Avvertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão* in 1583 (Schütte, *Il Ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone* [Roma, 1946] 210). (3) Near the duke is his brother Facharandono. Meant is Hachirō, alias Haruhide. He was at the time with his brother in Funai. (4) At the side of the duke was his chief bonze. The same was the case at the audience which Ōuchi Yoshitaka

Ōtomo Yoshishige,³⁷ the duke, was only twenty-two years old.³⁸ In 1544³⁹

afforded Xavier in Yamaguchi in 1551 (Frois 10). (5) The duke bowed three times with his head to the floor in front of Xavier. This was otherwise only done by a son before his father, a vassal before his lord. It is called *gromenare* by Pinto, from *gomen are*, a Japanese form of courtly etiquette (Dalgado I 444). In 1571 Cabral wrote that Yoshishige spoke with him while kneeling with both hands on the floor, the highest form of Japanese court etiquette (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 23). (6) According to Pinto, the duke has the bonze chased from the audience room amidst the ridicule of the nobles because of his unbecoming behavior. Yoshishige laughs six or seven times at their witty remarks. He then invites the priest to eat in the presence of the Portuguese and smilingly offers him the rice as a sign of his affection. On December 10, 1562, Gago wrote of Yoshishige: "Costuma elle, quando vai algum capitão-mor, que são fidalgos, porque andão em veniaga, se vão ao seu porto, e o convidão na nao e lhe fazem festa, os mercadores portugueses estão pegados com elle, e ri e folga com elles, e da-lhes do que come; mas o capitão-mor está em pé com o barrete fora, e não lhe da nenhum vento, e isto por muito espaço de tempo" (*Cartas* 1598, 99).

³⁷ On the different names taken by Yoshishige in the course of his life, as was customary in Japan, see Alvarez-Taladriz 101 104 113* 114* and *Schwade 56*-57*. G. Kutaragi gives ten different names for the prince in the supplement to *Ōita-ken Chihō-shi* 15-16 (Ōita, 1958) 33-35. The best known of these, in missionary accounts, are: Yoshishige, a name which he had from 1540 on. When he later moved to Usuki, he took the religious name of Sōrin, under which he is best known; and, in addition to this, the name of Kyūan, which becomes *Civandono* in Jesuit letters.

³⁸ Yoshishige was born on January 31, 1530 (Alvarez-Taladriz 101), in the third year of the Kyōroku period (Kutaragi 32). According to Japanese reckoning, he was therefore twenty-two at the time of Xavier's visit (*Rodrigues Tçuzu 60v). On October 16, 1578, Frois wrote from Bungo that the king was at the time forty-eight or forty-nine (GS II 533, n. 73). When Melchior Nunes Barreto reported from Lampacau on November 23, 1555, that the king of Bungo had written to him that he was thirty years old (Ayres, *Subsidios* 90), this was not his correct age. On October 16, 1578, Frois reported that the king of Bungo had erected a prominent building in the Murasaki-Zen monastery in Miyako and had given it a large income (*Cartas* 1598, 418v). Meant is the prebend of the Zuikōin, which he founded in the Daitokuji monastery, which preserves a copy of a painting, the original of which is in the National Museum in Kyōto. It represents the prince dressed as a Zen bonze and advanced in age. The painted scroll is published without an inscription in Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 192-193, but with an inscription in the *Ōita-ken Chihō-shi* 13-16 (1958), before p. 1. Yoshishige had wished to have his second son, Chikaiye, who was born in 1561 and baptized in 1575 with the name of Dom Sebastião, brought up in this foundation. The picture was consequently painted for it before 1575. In the collection *Kokushi Shōzō Shūsei* (Historical Portraits from Japanese History), edited by Shiryō Hensansho, the picture is also given with its inscription and an explanation (III: Knights I, picture 76). According to this, the inscription was written in praise of the founder of the prebend, Ōtomo Yoshishige, and equipped with his seal by Iun Sōetsu, the heir of the first holder of the same, whom the prince had brought from the Tenka (the area of Miyako) with a number of persons in 1571. On the Zen bonze whom Yoshishige brought to his court at this time, and who remained there as his spiritual director until 1578, see GS IV 329-330. [The picture was painted four months after the death of Ōtomo. The inscription on the picture by the bonze Iun Sōetsu, is dated Tenshō, fifteenth year, ninth month, that is, October, 1587.—Correction of Fr. H. Cieslik.]

³⁹ There are three contemporary accounts on the first Portuguese to come to Bungo: (1) a short account which Yoshishige gave to Father Cabral in 1577 on the first Portuguese to come there, in Frois' letter of June 6, 1577 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 93v, edited in GS II 533, and in German, *ibid.* 72-73) (account A); (2) an extended account on the first and second ships to come to Bungo with Portuguese which Yoshishige gave to the Japanese Brother Damião in 1578, in Frois' letter of October 16, 1578 (*Cartas* 1598, 422, and GS II 533-534, in German, *ibid.* 73, and IV 330) (account B), with some variants in Frois, *Historia* II 18-20 (account Ba); (3) a shorter account of the first ship with Portuguese in Bungo in the lost Japanese work, *Monogatari*, of Brother Yōhō Paulo, S.J., which Rodrigues Tçuzu cites with the observation that he had heard the same orally from the brother, who was with him in Funai (87-88, and GS II 535; German, *ibid.* 73) (account C). Yōhō-ken, born between 1509 and 1514 in the province of Wakasa, was a physician. He

Chinese had come to Okinohama, the harbor of Funai, in a small junk with six or seven Portuguese merchants under the leadership of a wealthy person by the name of Jorge de Faria.⁴⁰ They had no interpreter, and when they sold their wares, they had to make themselves understood by the natives with their weights and scales.⁴¹ Ōtomo Yoshiaki,⁴² the father of Yoshishige, was ruling at the time in Funai. The Chinese pilot advised him to have the Portuguese murdered. He would, in such an event, hand their wares over to him. Blinded by greed, the duke favored the plan, but Yoshishige, his eldest son, happened to hear of it. He went to his father and told him what a shame it would be throughout the whole of Japan for his kingdom if he permitted innocent strangers, who had come so far to conduct trade under his protection, to be murdered. He further told him that he would never tolerate such an affair, and that he would himself defend them. His bold move saved the merchants,⁴³ and Faria remained for almost three years in Bungo before sailing away in peace. While he was there, Hachirō, Yoshishige's younger brother, had hurt his hand while carelessly playing with an arquebus, but he had then been healed by Faria.⁴⁴

was baptized in Miyako in 1560, served as a catechist, was received into the Society in 1580, worked as a catechist and preacher in Funai and Usuki, and from 1592 on in Nagasaki. As an expert in Japanese, he helped edit different works. He died in 1595 (Frois, *Geschichte* 95-96; Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko* 40-41 95, and Schütte, *Introductio* 335).—On the date of the arrival of the first Portuguese in Bungo in 1544, see GS II 75-78 544-545 576-577. Yoshishige declared that he had been sixteen years old when the first Portuguese came to Bungo. Actually, according to Japanese reckoning he was at the time fifteen. Pinto, who sailed to Bungo with Jorge de Faria in a Chinese junk in 1544, connects this voyage in the *Peregrinação* with the first exploratory voyage of the Portuguese to Tanegashima in 1543 in order to ascribe to himself the honor of being one of the three discoverers of Japan. He then states that he had sailed from that island to Bungo in that same year of 1543. If the *Ōtomo-ki*, composed around 1640, and the later Japanese chronicles derived from it place the arrival of the first Portuguese in Bungo before 1544 (GS II 544-545), this was obviously done in order to transfer the fame of Tanegashima to the house of Ōtomo (*ibid.* 76). They thus contradict themselves when they place the arrival of the Portuguese in the reign of Ōtomo Sōrin.

⁴⁰ According to account B and Ba. Instead of *Faria homem rico*, the editor of Frois, *Historia* II, reads *Faria Riso* by mistake. Nothing further is known to us about Jorge de Faria. Pinto wrote that he had sailed in the junk of a Chinese pirate from China to Tanegashima, and that he had been carried from there to Bungo by an oared boat of the king of Bungo (cc. 132-135).

⁴¹ According to Yōhō Paulo (account C). According to the *Teppō-ki*, the first Portuguese in Tanegashima could only make themselves understood by means of a Chinese fellow voyager who knew Chinese symbols, which could be understood by a Japanese who knew the Chinese script (GS II 536).

⁴² Papinot errs in calling him Yoshinori (500).

⁴³ Accounts B and Ba. Yoshishige later attributed the grace of his conversion to Christianity to this act.

⁴⁴ In account A, without giving a name, Yoshishige states that he had had a Portuguese with him for three years when ships began to sail from China to Bungo. The Portuguese had healed one of his brothers, the future king of Yamaguchi, when he injured himself with an arquebus. Faria thus remained from 1544 to 1546 in Bungo (according to Japanese reckoning two years and a single day are counted as three years). Yoshishige's brother Hachirō, also known as Haruhide, was the second son of Yoshiaki. Pinto calls him Arichandono and attributes his cure to himself, both in his conversation with Maffei in 1582 (GS II 108, n. 53) and in his *Peregrinação* (cc. 136-137). In his report on this interview, Maffei places the cure in Tanegashima in 1541, but this was corrected by his companion Father Gaspar Gonçalves in a marginal note to the manuscript of the *Peregrinação*. After a shipwreck and the death of its captain, Antonio de Faria, on August 5, 1542 (c. 79), and after many adventures in the interior of China and Tartary, Pinto, according to his *Peregrinação*, sailed in 1543 with Zeimoto and Borralho in the junk of a Chinese pirate to *Tanixuma* (Tanegashima) (c. 132). From there he sailed alone

From then on, Yoshishige had remained a staunch friend of the Portuguese. Another Portuguese, Diogo Vaz de Aragão,⁴⁵ had come to Bungo after Faria, and he had remained in Funai for almost five years.⁴⁶ He spoke intelligible Japanese, and in the mornings he prayed from a book, and in the evenings he recited his rosary. One day Yoshishige had asked him if he was praying to the *kamis* and *hotokes* of Japan when he was doing this. Aragão had laughed and had told him that he only prayed to the Creator of heaven and earth and the Redeemer of the world. This had pleased the young prince. It seemed to him that there must be something important about the faith of a merchant and man of the world who did not let himself be deterred by his many occupations from offering due worship to his God and from reciting his daily prayers.⁴⁷ Curious as he was, he had frequently asked his foreign visitor about the rule and administration of Portugal and India, and he had been particularly interested in the status and regime of religious in those countries. Since becoming acquainted with Aragão, he had always been on friendly terms with the Portuguese, and he had ever been concerned about them and their religion.⁴⁸

Yoshishige had only succeeded to the rule of his father a year before.⁴⁹

with an ambassador of the king of Bungo to *Fucheo* (Funai), where the king had him brought. The second son of the king was wounded there twenty days after his arrival on August 4, 1543 (cc. 133-136). Pinto healed him in another twenty days and was highly honored for doing so. He then returned to his two companions in Tanixuma, from where, after a five-and-one-half-months' stay in Japan, he sailed for China (cc. 134 and 137). If Pinto errs, even deliberately, in placing his voyage to Japan back to 1543 in order to share the renown of being a discoverer of Japan, and if he suppresses the name of Jorge de Faria in order to attribute the healing of the prince to himself, he is still mistaken in raising the latter's age from sixteen to seventeen. Even though he claims that he immediately sailed off again, contrary to the data furnished by Yoshishige, and even though he follows his usual practice of weaving everything into a kind of historical novel, it must still be maintained that he sailed with Faria to Tanegashima in 1544, and from there to Bungo. His data on the Nautaquim in Tanegashima, on the harbors on the voyage to Bungo, and on the accident that befell the king's second son are correct. Pinto was, moreover, on closest terms with the Farias. According to his *Peregrinação*, he was four years in the service of Francisco de Faria in Portugal (c. 1). In India he immediately entered the service of Pero de Faria (c. 12), who as captain of Malacca in 1528-1529 reactivated the trade with China (Q 1582); and he sailed with Pero's ambassador, Antonio de Faria, whom we find in his service in Malacca in 1539 (Q 437), to China (cf. GS II 75-78 and 576-577).

⁴⁵ Account B has only the name of Diogo Vaz, account Ba the full name of Diogo Vaz de Aragão. He was probably the son of Diogo Vaz of Setúbal, married to Maria de Aragão, whom we encounter in 1510 and 1512 as a scribe in Cannanore (CA VI 383; V 225), in Goa in 1514 as the rowing master of a *fusta* (*ibid.* VI 84), in Malacca in 1516 as the captain of a *lanchara* (a Malay oared ship) (*ibid.* III 135), and in Ormuz in 1521 as secretary of the factory (Castanheda 5, 56). He died in December, 1542, in Cranganore (*Flaminio II 559v). In 1552 his son Diogo Vaz de Aragão took Xavier into his hut on Sancian until he died. He bought a junk there and wintered with it in Siam (EX II 500 515; MX II 804). He had already sailed many times to Japan when he wintered in Lampacau in 1555-1556 (Frois, on January 7, 1556, in *Goa* 10, 377; Ayres, *Subsidios* 95). In 1556 he sailed again to Hirado (list A). In 1568 he was in Funai and sailed back to China with a letter from Yoshishige to Bishop Carneiro (*Cartas* 1598, 250).

⁴⁶ He thus remained in Bungo from 1546 to 1551.

⁴⁷ Account B.

⁴⁸ Account A.

⁴⁹ The sources for the palace revolt of 1550 are primarily the *Ōtomo-ki*, also called *Kyūshū-chiran-ki*, composed around 1640, and the *Ōtomo-kōhai-ki*, composed in 1638. The other Japanese works such as the *Kyūshū-ki*, written in 1600, the *Ōtomo-kō on-ke Obogaki*, composed about 1620, the *Zōho-Ōtomo-kōhai-ki*, the *Chikuhōran-ki*, the *Ryōhō-ki*, and the *Seirō-sammon* are in agreement with the *Ōtomo-ki*. The main account is that of Kutaragi Giichirō, "Ōtomo Sōrin-den Zakkō," *Ōtomo Sōrin*, a special edition of the

Yoshiaki had always had a strong repugnance for his two eldest sons, and on the advice⁵⁰ of his vassal Nyūta Tango-no-kami⁵¹ and of a concubine, he had wished to make the latter's son Shioichimaru⁵² his successor on the throne.⁵³ He had therefore sent his firstborn son to the hot springs of Hamawaki⁵⁴ near Beppu;⁵⁵ and on February 26, 1550, he had summoned four of his vassals, Saitō Harima-no-kami, Kosai Yamato-no-kami, Tsukumi Mimasaka-no-kami, and Taguchi Kurando-no-suke, and had informed them of his plan. They had spoken against it and asked him for the reason for his decision. Instead of answering, the prince had dismissed them. But on the evening of the same day he had again summoned them. Tsukumi and Taguchi had feigned illness and had not complied with his request. The two others came to the palace, but were slain at the main entrance by order of the prince, who feared a rebellion.⁵⁶

That had sealed his fate. Since Tsukumi and Taguchi were now afraid for their lives, they entered a back door of the palace and pushed their way to the first floor, where Tsukumi slew the bastard Shioichimaru, and Taguchi the mother and two sisters of the prince and a number of female servants. They had then pushed their way into Yoshiaki's room. The latter drew his sword, but he was at once sorely wounded by Tsukumi. Although the two assailants were cut down by the *samurais* present, Yoshiaki died of his wound two days later, on February 28, after he had signed his will.

When Yoshishige received the news of the death of his father in Hamawaki, he had hurriedly set out for Tateishi in the mountains north of Beppu and had ordered two vassals⁵⁷ to march immediately against Nyūta in Funai, since the latter had advised his father to repudiate his eldest son.⁵⁸ Nyūta had at first decided to shut himself up with all his relatives in his castle and defend himself there to the last, but he had finally fled to his son-in-law in Higo. The latter had immediately killed him and sent his head to Yoshishige,⁵⁹ who had marched into Funai on March 8 and, with the will of his father, had taken over the rule.⁶⁰

Oita-ken Chihō-shi, 13-16 (Ōita, 1958) 35-36. This is followed by *Schwade 58*-59*. Aoyama follows the *Ōtomo-ki* (156-157). Haas used the same chronicle and also the *Zōho-Ōtomo-kōhai-ki* (I 65-66 92 202). La Mazielière ascribes, "according to local chronicles," the blame for the murder of his father to Yoshishige (III 29, n. 69). The description in Pinto is completely made up (cc. 200-201). *Rodrigues Tçuzu let himself be influenced by it (60v).

⁵⁰ Because of Yoshishige's impetuous character (Aoyama, *Schwade).

⁵¹ Alias Nyūta Chikazane, in Haas Chikatane.

⁵² Alias Someishi (Haas).

⁵³ According to the *Ōtomo-kōhai-ki*, his father first had Yoshishige corrected by Nyūta, but without success (*Schwade).

⁵⁴ According to *Schwade, Yoshishige was in the hot baths of Hamawaki at the time of his father's of murder.

⁵⁵ Aoyama.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* According to the *Ōtomo-kōhai-ki*, he feared a rebellion.

⁵⁷ Hetsugi Kanetsura and Saitō Shigezane (*Schwade).

⁵⁸ *Schwade.

⁵⁹ Aoyama; see also Haas.

⁶⁰ *Schwade. Pinto, who heard of the palace revolution and murder of the prince in 1551, at the time of his third voyage to Funai, places it during his second trip to Japan in 1546 so that he can speak of it as an "eyewitness." As usual, he makes a novel of it: Fucarandono, a chief vassal of the king of Bungo, wishes to marry his daughter to Axirandono, the young heir to the throne of Arima. But her lover, the son of a Groge Aarum, kidnaps her and conceals her in a convent. Her father looks for her from house to house. While he is doing this, fighting breaks out, and more than twelve thousand people are killed. The king wants to establish peace but has to flee to his palace, where he is slain along with the queen, three daughters, more than five hundred women, and sixteen thousand dependents in all, including twenty-six Portuguese. Fuca-

Before the murder of his father,⁶¹ Yoshishige had married the daughter of the prince Isshiki Yoshikiyo of Tango,⁶² and the *kibe* on the Kunisaki Peninsula had at the time brought her luggage and bridal gifts by sea to Funai.⁶³ After the death of his father, however, Yoshishige had dissolved his marriage, and sent his wife back to Tango, and, for political reasons had taken as his wife⁶⁴ instead of her the daughter of Nata Akimoto, the high priest of the large Hachiman shrine in Nata.⁶⁵ By this he hoped to secure the support of the nobility in the north of his kingdom.⁶⁶ But the marriage had remained childless up to this time.⁶⁷

From his youth the prince had delighted in the use of arms and games of war,⁶⁸ and still during the lifetime of his father he had captured a large portion of the neighboring provinces of Higo and Chikugo.⁶⁹ He was now one of the mightiest *daimyōs* in Kyūshū and had numerous armed subjects.⁷⁰ He had im-

randono also falls in battle. The rebels march to Canafama. The son of the king gathers troops in Usuki, marches with 130,000 men to Fucheo, besieges the rebels in a mountain fortress with 160,000 men. He captures the stronghold after heavy fighting (37,000 dead, including all of the 10,000 rebels) and returns to Fucheo. Pinto then sails with his sixteen Portuguese companions to Yamagawa in the bay of Kagoshima (cc. 200-202).

⁶¹ The exact date of this marriage is not known. It was however between Tembun 13 and 18 (1544-1549).

⁶² Tango was one of the eight provinces of San-in-dō in the northwest of Kyōto.

⁶³ Cf. H. Cieslik, "P. Pedro Kasui (1587-1639). Der letzte japanische Jesuit der Tokugawa-Zeit," *Monumenta Nipponica* 15 (1959/60) 38-39.

⁶⁴ On the involved history of Yoshishige's marriage, see the researchs of Kataoka Chizuko, "Ōtomo Sōrin no konin-mondai (The Marriage Problem of Ōtomo Sōrin)," *Kirishitan-bunka-kenkyūkai kaihō* 11 (1968) 19-35. According to her there are four marriages to be distinguished: The first, Tembun 4 (1535), with a daughter of the Ōuchi Yoshitaka through the intervention of the *shōgun* was a purely political affair and was probably never consummated, since Yoshishige was only five years old at the time. The second was with a daughter of Isshiki, which was dissolved in 1550. The third with a daughter of Nata Akimoto, the later Jezabel of the Portuguese accounts, in 1550. The fourth, after the repudiation of Jezabel, with Julia (erroneously called Justa by Kataoka) in 1578.

⁶⁵ The Hachiman shrine of Nata, on the Kunisaki peninsula, was a suffragan of the famous Hachiman shrine of Usa in the province of Buzen.

⁶⁶ But Jezabel, as she was called by the missionaries, and her brother, the second son of Nata Akimoto, who, as an adopted son of Tawara Chikatsugi, bore the name of Tawara Chikakata, became the driving forces of the anti-Christian party in Bungo.

⁶⁷ On June 6, 1577, Frois wrote from Bungo that Yoshishige had been married with her for almost thirty years and had reproached her before the arrival of the priests for being barren (ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 83 92; Hayus 10 34). Alvarez-Taladriz erroneously places her marriage around 1549 (102). Yoshishige's first son was born in 1558, his second in 1561, his third in 1567, and a daughter in 1564.

⁶⁸ *Schwade 56*-57*, who cites the *Ōtomo-ki*, pp. 63 and 77, and N. Kakimoto, *Ōita-ken Kyōdo Shiryō Shinsei* (Collection of Historical Sources for the History of the Prefecture of Ōita) (Ōita, 1938), for this.

⁶⁹ Murdoch 97. In 1577 he replied to his wife, who was hostile to the Christians, that before the arrival of the priests he had only ruled over the kingdom of Bungo, but that he was now the lord of five kingdoms (Frois on June 6, 1557, in *JapSin.* 8, 83; Hayus 10). On October 16, 1578, Frois wrote that at the beginning Yoshishige had had only one or two kingdoms, but that he now had five or six (*Cartas* 1598, 418). And on October 14, 1564, Almeida wrote from Bungo that when the bonzes asked the prince to banish the priests since they brought ruin everywhere, he replied that before the priests came to his land he had only been lord of three kingdoms; he was now lord of five; he had formerly been poor; but he was now the richest of all the kings of Japan (*Cartas* 1598, 155v).

⁷⁰ Xavier writes of him that he was a "senhor muyto gramde..., tem gemte muy belicosa, e hé senhor de muitas terras" (EX II 271-273). In 1563 the *shōgun* ratified his possession of Chikuzen and Buzen (Murdoch 97). At the time of the greatest extent of his kingdom, he ruled over Chikugo, Higo, and Buzen in addition to Bungo. On October 9, 1564, J. B. de Monte wrote from Bungo: "He is one of the greatest lords of Japan since

mediately understood the importance of the firearms introduced by the Portuguese and had from the outset shown himself to be a great friend of Portuguese merchants.⁷¹

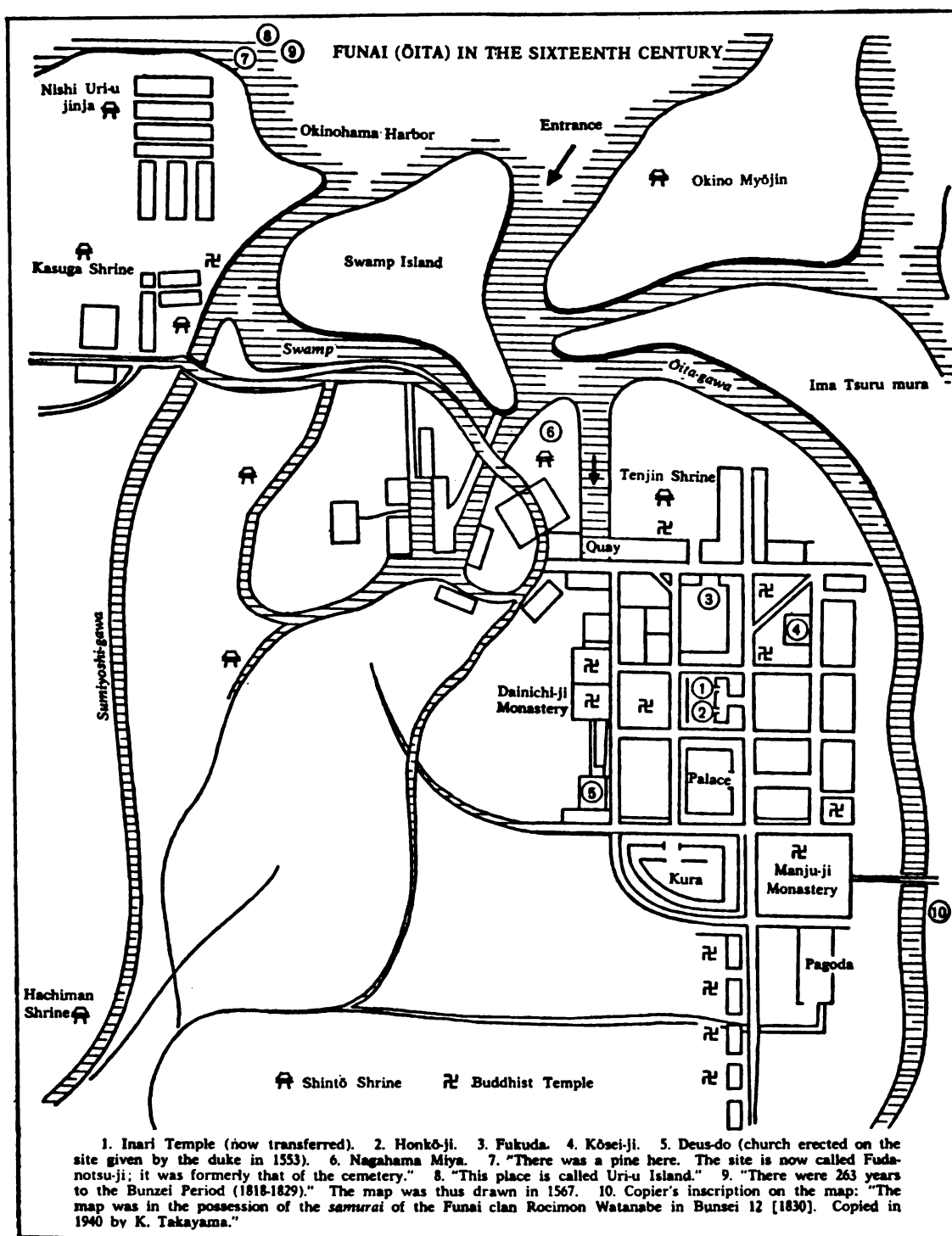
Funai, the capital of his kingdom, lay in a plain on the delta of the Oita River. On the south this plain was bounded by a row of hills with lofty mountains in the background. Next to the city, on the east, was the Oitagawa, and to the west, but farther away was the Sumiyoshigawa, which separated the plain on which Funai was located. The straight streets, which could be closed off by gates, ran from north to south and from east to west, dividing the city up into rectangles. The Ōtomo Palace lay at the southern end of the city in a square surrounded by a wall with its main entrance on the east. South of it, on the far side of the cross street, was the *kura*, which contained the subordinate palace buildings, the storehouses, and treasuries of the prince.⁷² East of this was the large rectangular complex of the Manju-ji monastery, which comprised nearly eighty hectares and took in the whole southeast of the city between the Oita River and the *kura* of the ducal palace.⁷³ The Manju-ji monastery had been built towards the end of

he has five kingdoms and can raise, when he wishes, 120,000 armed men.... Since the coming of the priests to his lands, the Lord has given him children, which he had earlier been very eager to have; and, in addition to this, he has conquered two more kingdoms besides those he earlier had, so that he is the richest man of Japan in gold and silver" (*Cartas* 1598, 153v).

⁷¹ "Hé muito grande amigo dos Portugueses," according to Xavier (EX II 272-273). In one of his usual exaggerations, Mendes Pinto states that when he came again to Fuceo in 1556, there were already more than 30,000 guns in this city; and that some Japanese merchants had told him that there were already 300,000 in the whole of Japan (c. 134, p. 245).

⁷² See the old city map. Nothing is extant of the buildings today.

⁷³ Today rebuilt in different surroundings in the southeast part of the city. The sources for the Manju-ji monastery are the letters of Jesuit missionaries: (1) Vilela, who was in Funai till 1566, and in Japan till 1570, from Goa, of October 6, 1571 (*Cartas* 1598, 327v-328). (2) The letter of the two Japanese lay brothers who were living in Hakata, of 1578 (*ibid.* 411-412). (3) Frois from Usuki, of October 16, 1578 (*ibid.* 424v-425). (4) Coelho from Nagasaki, of February 15, 1582 (*Cartas* 1598 II, 29v-30). (5) Frois from Kuchinotsu, of October 31, 1582 (*JapSin.* 9, 157; *Cartas* 1598 II, 56). (6) Frois from Nagasaki, of August 20, 1585 (British Museum, London: *Addit. Mss.* 9889, 15; *Cartas* 1598 II, 142v-143). (7) Frois from Arima, of February 20, 1588 (*JapSin.* 45, 106; *Cartas* 1598 II, 195v). (8) Frois from Nagasaki, of December 28, 1596 (*JapSin.* 52, 243v; Hayus 369-370). Also Alvarez-Taladriz from the Japanese chronicles, the *Hō-chiku-ran-ki* (Book of the Bungo-Chikugo War) of 1587, the *Ryōhō-ki* (Bungo-Buzen Book), composed in 1765, and the *Kyūshū-ki* (156*, n. 455). When Xavier came to Funai, the old buildings of the monastery were still standing (Vilela). According to the Japanese chronicles, all the buildings were burned down by order of Yoshishige on February 25, 1570, since the monastery offered asylum to a criminal he was seeking. A bonze rescued the head of the famed statue of Buddha; everything else, more than three hundred buildings, were burned down. On July 5, 1578, there was still only one bonze there in a poor hut with a makeshift temple. He was killed and quartered by robbers and the temple plundered. His murderers left an inscription on a bridge: "The prayers to Kannon were of no help to the Manju-ji, nor did they protect the bonzes from being quartered" (Alvarez-Taladriz). This Japanese account contradicts that of the contemporary missionaries. Vilela, who left Japan in the fall of 1570, knows nothing of the fire of 1570. It could be said that by the time of his departure from Japan, news of it had not reached Nagasaki. But according to the letter of the Japanese lay brothers from Hakata, the monastery was still standing in 1578; and in the same year Frois wrote from Usuki that Ōtomo Yoshimune had been ruling for two years in the place of his father Yoshishige. He had begun to take their incomes from the temples and monasteries and to give them to his servants, beginning with those which were most honored and privileged (Frois in 1578); and in 1582 Frois wrote: "Immediately after the departure of the visitor [October, 1581], he set fire to the main monastery in Funai, of which nothing remains." The answer



the thirteenth century by Ōtomo Sadachika, one of Yoshishige's ancestors,⁷⁴ and was the burial place of the ducal family.⁷⁵ With its many-storied pagoda, it was the most ornate, most renowned, and richest monastery of the kingdom.⁷⁶ The main temple contained a large wooden statue of Buddha carved by the famous bonze Gyōgi-Bosatsu,⁷⁷ who had come to Japan from Korea in the seventh century and had there preached the doctrine of the Ryōbu Shintō, according to which the old Shintō divinities were temporal revelations of Shaka.⁷⁸ There were more than three hundred buildings within the monastery walls,⁷⁹ and many splendid gardens with flowers and fruit trees.⁸⁰ The monastery belonged to the Rinzaï branch of the Zen sect⁸¹ and had around 150 bonzes, who preached from the pulpit and prayed in choir. When the superior died, the duke usually appointed one of his relatives as his successor.⁸²

There was also another Zen monastery⁸³ in the city. Though it too was very large, it was smaller than the Manju-ji monastery and had fifty bonzes. It possessed old statues of the divinities.⁸⁴ Its entrance was guarded by two giant, wooden

which Dom Paulo, the newly converted lord of Shiga, gave to the ambassador of Yoshimune has reference to this fire. When the latter had him reproached for the burning of the temple in his territory, he replied: "Tell His Highness that after he lost four kingdoms [after the defeat of the Bungo troops on the Mimitsugawa on December 2, 1578], he [Yoshimune] found himself in great need, since he had no men, and the soldiers had no weapons for war. He therefore provided the following remedy through his cleverness: He had the Manju-ji monastery secretly set on fire and immediately divided up its revenues among his poor *fidalgos* and soldiers. The remedy was so effective that it was enough to put his affairs in good order within a short time" (Frois in 1585). When the troops of Satsuma burned Funai in January, 1587, only two or three temples remained standing. They had been built of bricks and were a little apart from the others (Frois in 1588); but these too were destroyed by the earthquake of 1596 (Frois in 1596).

⁷⁴ Aoyama 155-156. According to Vilela the temple was very rich in its revenues, but not new since it had been built many years before.

⁷⁵ Vilela in 1571.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* and Frois in 1582 and 1585. According to Frois' letter of 1585 the incomes of Manju-ji were sufficient to remedy Yoshimune's need of funds. In 1578 the priest wrote that the same had begun to take the revenues of the monasteries, beginning with the most privileged. From some he had taken 45,000 *cruzados*, from others more or less. In his *Historia* II 6, Frois repeats almost verbatim the passage of this letter, but he gives 3,000 and 4,000 *cruzados* instead of 45,000.

⁷⁷ Alvarez-Taladriz 156*.

⁷⁸ Papinot 134.

⁷⁹ Alvarez-Taladriz 156*.

⁸⁰ Vilela in 1571.

⁸¹ Aoyama 155.

⁸² Vilela, who wrote of the bonzes in 1571: "Por serem favorecidos dos Reis são soberbissimos e usão de toda a maneira de pecado sem escrupulo algum... São de huma ceita chamada Jenzū [Zenshū], que tem e pregão não aver mais que morrer e viver, e por não terem temor do inferno, nem desejo da gloria se governão como bestas. Trão-se limpos e em suas casas o mesmo fazem" (*Cartas* 1598, 327v). The letter of the Japanese lay brothers of 1578 from Hakata tells how a great worshiper of the *kamis* and *hotokes* complained to his second son, a bonze in the Manju-ji monastery in Funai, about the latter's brother, who, after his conversion to Christianity, had burned the gilded idols of his house chapel to warm his bath water. The bonze however laughed at this and was only surprised that those tough timbers of his *hotokes* had lasted so long and that his brother had not burned the whole chapel with them.

⁸³ Vilela on October 6, 1571 (*Cartas* 1598, 327v). Probably meant is the Daichiji (Temple of the Great Wisdom) on the northwestern boundary of the city not far from the landing place for ships. The present temple stands on the old site.

⁸⁴ "Tem este templo algumas cousas antigas de pagodes," according to Vilela in 1571.

statues of fearful aspect, one with an open, the other with a closed mouth.⁸⁵ Within the monastery there were beautiful gardens with all kinds of flowers and fresh greenery. In addition to the Buddhist temples there were also Shintō sanctuaries in Funai, for example, the Inari shrine,⁸⁶ dedicated to the rice god, north of the ducal palace, and south of it the Hachiman shrine. In the north of the city was the Tenjin temple and in Okinohama the Kasuga temple.⁸⁷ Among the many large monasteries were two of Buddhist nuns. One of these was primarily for the daughters of nobles with large revenues. As long as they lived as *bikunis* in the monastery, they had their heads shaven bald like those of the bonzes. If a *fidalgo* wished to marry one of them, she let her hair grow again and married him. They had no cloister like Christian nuns. They could go out when they wished, and when a relative or acquaintance wished to visit them, they could enter the monastery without witnesses. The other convent for women adjoined a temple of the bonzes. On certain feasts the male and female bonzes had their choral prayer together, the men being on one side and the women on the other. After Vespers and Matins, all the bonzes went with the nuns into the temple and concluded their devotions before its altar, crying out the name of their god to the clanging of bronze cymbals. The bonzes then marched back on one side and closed their door, and the nuns did the same on their side; and they thus gave the appearance of leading a chaste life. Still the people did not believe it because of the bodies of many newly born children which were found.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, even though the life of the bonzes did not correspond in everything to the ideal of their state, they were still held in highest regard by both high and low in Funai, and their influence was not opposed by prince or people.

Yoshishige wished to conclude a treaty of friendship with the king of Portugal.⁸⁹ He listened with interest to the priest when he spoke to him of the Christian faith.⁹⁰ He gladly gave him permission to preach in his land, and he had a residence provided for him in Okinohama, where the ship of Duarte da Gama was lying at anchor and the Portuguese were selling their wares.⁹¹ He

⁸⁵ The Niō (Two Kings) for fending off evil spirits usually stand at the outer gate of large Buddhist temples. Vilela describes them: "The one with the open mouth represents birth, for when anyone is born, it weeps; the other with the closed mouth represents death, for when someone dies, it remains motionless and without breath. By these they wish to say that there is nothing else than death and life" (in 1571).

⁸⁶ The Inari temple stands today on its old site.

⁸⁷ Thus on the old city map.

⁸⁸ Vilela in 1571 (*Cartas* 1598, 327v-328).

⁸⁹ He therefore sent an ambassador with Xavier.

⁹⁰ Rodrigues Tçuzu writes: "O Duque sabemos de certo, que pella fama que tinha da virtude e obras do B. Padre, que o tratou com muita humanidade, honrra e cortesia... Muito folgou o Duque de Bungo ver em sua terra o B. P. Francisco, quem por sua grande fama tanto desejava ver e tratar. Em dous mezes que o B. Padre aly se deteve (porque foi lá mais de meado setembro de 1551 e se partio em Novembro do mesmo anno) tratou com elle mui de vagar muitas cousas e tomou com elle tanta amizade, que lhe prometeo, que se emviase aly padres, os receberia muy bem em suas terras e lhes daria licença que podessem pregar a ley de Deos e se podessem fazer christãos os que a quisessem receber, e que os favoreceria em tudo" (60). Alcaçova states that when he and Gago came to Funai in 1552, Torres sent them Brother Fernández as an interpreter so that they might speak with the duke about the report of the viceroy and about the things of God. They went at once to the prince, and Gago visited him again five days later to speak with him about divine things. The duke was very glad to listen to what he had to say, and he gave them full permission to preach the law of God, and his subjects the same to accept it (*Cartas* 1598, 23v-24; cf. EX II 273).

⁹¹ When Gago, Alcaçova, and the Japanese Antonio came to Funai in 1552, the duke immediately assigned them a house in the quarter of the merchants and *fidalgos*, where

showed himself attentive to Xavier in every way and provided him as best he could with everything.⁹² He could not however make up his mind to accept at once the Christian faith and its strict code of morality. There was also the danger that by so doing he would endanger his ever precarious hold upon his throne, since many of his powerful vassals could have taken such a step as an excuse for rising up against him.⁹³

some three hundred homes had been burned down during the havoc of 1553 (*Cartas* 1598, 23v-24v). According to Pinto, the Portuguese ship was anchored at Okinohama. He also states that Xavier's residence was there when Duarte da Gama looked for him during the riot of the bonzes so that he might take him to his ship. He also locates Xavier's missionary activities among the pagans in this same area (cc. 211-212). As a matter of fact, one of the first to be baptized by Xavier during his stay in Bungo was a resident of Okinohama.

⁹² When Gago came with his companions to Funai in 1552, Yoshishige sent them every day "muitas cousas de comer, assi do mar, como da terra" (*Cartas* 1598, 23v).

⁹³ *Rodrigues Tçuzu wrote of Yoshishige: "Era este Duque mancebo mui curioso de saber, principalmente as cousas das seitas, que ha em Japão, e tentear até onde chegavam. E assi ouvio com muita curiosidade o que pregava o B. P. Francisco, tratando sobre isso muitas vezes com varias duvidas que punha, o que o B. Padre satisfazia todas, com que ficou grandemente afeiçoado á ley de Deos, contentando-lhe muito o que nella se dizia, cobrando grande conceito della. Porem assi por não ser ainda chegado o tempo, em que Deos o avia de chamar, por ser mancebo que não estava disposto pera isso *na frol da hydade, na qual era necessario cortar por tudo o que repugna á ley de Deos*, e como elle mesmo contou depois, quando quis receber o sagrado bautismo" (60v-61).—Pinto writes that under Xavier's influence Yoshishige had given up many vices which the bonzes had taught him under the appearance of virtue. The first of these was that he dismissed a boy with whom he engaged in immoral acts. Following Xavier's advice, he had been generous towards the poor and forbade infanticide, which was common in Japan. But near as he was to becoming a Christian, he had not as yet taken this step (c. 211). Yoshishige did not forbid infanticide until 1555, and he did so on the insistence of Luis de Almeida, as Gago wrote on September 20, 1555 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 62, in *Cartas* 1570 and 1598, 42).—Rodrigues Tçuzu follows Pinto when he writes that the duke, even though he had not as yet been baptized, derived much profit from his advice in regard to his person, pagan practices, and affairs of state. And on the whole he largely corrected what was defective in their regard (62).—Valignano wrote of him as follows: "En pocos días que allí se detuvo el Padre, dexó tal rastro de su sanctidad, que aunque el rey entonces era muy moço y gentil, y *dado a los vicios que dixe atrás* traer consigo la gemtilidad [on pp. 138-139 he speaks of pederasty, which was so widely spread in Japan at that time, and on p. 152 of polygamy], todavia quedó tan aficionado al Padre, que de aly adelante fué siempre amigo de la Compañía" (191).—On January 10, 1558, after his return from Japan, Nunes Barreto wrote that he had attempted to obtain an audience with the king [Yoshishige] in 1556, and "alem de darmos os presentes que levavamos, o acometí com muitas rasões a ver se queiria afeitoar-se a nossa sancta fee, mas como elle estivesse em huma serra metido [in Usuki because of the rebellion of some barons] *e tambem em peccado* que elle sabe, que lhe e necessario deixar pera ser christão, e tambem por lhe parecer, que se se converter, o matarão os seus mais azinha e o engeitarão de Rey, e sobretudo com se ter muito entregue ao diabo com ser da seita de huns que tem que a alma morre com o corpo e que não he espirito nem mais que o que se ve [meant is the Zen sect], pelo qual as razões pouca efficacia tinham com elle, estava muy frio de o ser" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105; see also Frois 54).—In his *Historia* II Frois further reports that when Yoshimune was preparing himself for baptism in 1578, he had said when Brother Damião was explaining the Sixth Commandment to him: "Eu, posto que sou ainda mancebo... determino fazer mais conta de minha alma, que do corpo, apartando-me de toda cousa deshonesta, e contentando-me com ter huma molher somente, porque vejo os desgostos e enfadamentos, que meo pay [Yoshishige] acerca disto teve sendo gentio" (43). The Japanese chronicles such as the *Ôtomo-ki* and the *Kyûshû-ki* also mention Yoshishige's moral failings before his baptism (see Frois, *Historia* II 7, n. 1, and Alvarez-Taladriz 113*-115*); but since they were composed after Yoshishige's death by authors hostile to Christianity, their data, like those of Mendes Pinto are not always safe.

3. THE SHIP OF DUARTE DA GAMA (SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER, 1551)

In the meantime Xavier's first care was for the Portuguese on the ship of Duarte da Gama in Okinohama. He offered Mass for them, heard their confessions and those of their Christian slaves and prepared them for the reception of holy Communion.⁹⁴

Fernam Mendes Pinto⁹⁵ had come to know Xavier in Malacca at the end of 1547⁹⁶ and had become a penitent of his. Two of Fernam's brothers, Antonio⁹⁷ and Alvaro Mendes,⁹⁸ were residents in that city. Antonio Mendes had been in the home of João Fernandes de Ilher in 1545 when Francis healed the latter's son by exorcizing the evil spirit which had possessed him.⁹⁹ His brother Fernam had led an adventurous life. He had been born in Montemor-o-Velho in Portugal

⁹⁴ In his *Peregrinação*, Pinto gives the number of Portuguese on Duarte da Gama's ship as around thirty, with an equal number of servants. The Portuguese ship in Hirado had ninety in 1561 (*Cartas* 1598, 87), the ship at Fukuda in 1565 had around eighty Portuguese (Frois 262). According to the later Japanese authors, the first Portuguese ship to come to Bungo had a crew of 280 men (GS II 544-545). In 1610 the annual trading ship from Macao usually had 200 or more merchants on board (Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East* 26).—In the Cochín process in 1616, Domingos Cardoso, who was over seventy at the time, declared that he had heard about the miracle of the sloop from a great many very reliable persons who had been present at that miracle, and who had seen it with their own eyes, when Xavier was sailing from Japan for China (MX II 489). In 1564 the Japanese ship of the *capitão-mor* had more than 400 on board, in 1578 it had 400 (Frois 211 510).

⁹⁵ The sources for the life of Mendes Pinto (see the registers in Q, index, and the texts in Ayres, *Subsidios* 55-121, and *Pontos* 91 102-106, the appendix to volume IV in the edition of the *Peregrinação* by Brito Rebello 139-215, and Schurhammer, GS II 533-537) are as follows: his two letters of December 5, 1554, and November 20, 1555 (Q 6063 6097); Xavier's letters of January 31 and July 16, 1552 (EX II 304-305 and 466-467); Paul of the Holy Faith's (Anjirō's) letter of November 29, 1548 (Q 4057; GS II 553); the letters of Melchior Nunes Barreto of April, 1554 (Q 6051), December 3, 1554 (Q 6059 6060), November 23, 1555 (Q 6099), and January 10, 1558 (Q 6146); of Brandão of December 23, 1554 (Q 6067); of Frois of December 1, 1555 (Q 6100), December 15, 1555 (DI III 359-365), and January 7, 1556 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 94); of Torres of November 7, 1557 (*ibid.* 107); of Vilela of April 24, 1554 (*Cartas* 1598, 30-v), and October 29, 1557 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 110); and C. Soares of February 22, 1569 (GS II 557). Also the list of Jesuits dismissed by Frois in Japan (Ayres, *Pontos* 91), the *alvará* of January 15, 1583 (Brito Rebello I, p. XXXIX), and the testimonies taken at the process for Xavier's canonization in MX II 419-422 (Antonio Mendes), 427 (Fernández de Ilher), and 285-288 (Francisco Garcia, a cousin of Mendes Pinto). The *Peregrinação* and the information based on it which he gave to Maffei at the time of the latter's visit in Almeda in 1582 can only be used with greatest caution in exceptional cases as sources for Pinto's life (GS II 105-109, German 48-55). We have given a critical examination of the life and work of Mendes Pinto in "Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine 'Peregrinação,'" *Asia-Major* 3 (1926) 71-103 194-267 (GS II 23-103), with a critical review of the work that had been done on this up till then. This has been complemented by our researches on the first discovery of Japan (GS II 485-580, on Pinto's claim in particular, 551-577). Francis M. Rogers, Professor of Romance Languages and Literature at Harvard University, is preparing a critical edition of the *Peregrinação* for the series of the Hakluyt Society.

⁹⁶ See Volume III, p. 252, n. 22.

⁹⁷ In 1552 Xavier recommended Mendes Pinto and his two brothers Antonio and Alvaro to King John III (EX II 304-305). In 1557 Antonio was married and living in Malacca and a witness at Xavier's process (MX II 419-422). On his namesakes, see GS III 151.

⁹⁸ Alvaro was in Malacca in 1551 during the siege of the city by the Achinese (EX II 305). In April, 1554, Nunes Barreto wrote that he had been cruelly murdered by the Mohammedans in Bintang for refusing to apostatize from the faith (Q 6052; DI III 88, n. 72). Several namesakes are mentioned in India in Xavier's time (Q 3832 4739 4870 4923).

⁹⁹ See Vol. III, p. 29.

in 1514¹⁰⁰ and had sailed to India in 1537.¹⁰¹ The following year he had joined up with Pero de Faria in Goa. Faria had already been appointed captain of Malacca,¹⁰² but did not take up his office until 1539.¹⁰³ This same year he sent Pinto¹⁰⁴ to the king of Aru in Sumatra,¹⁰⁵ and the following year to Patane¹⁰⁶ and Japan with Antonio de Faria.¹⁰⁷ In 1541 Pero de Faria sent Pinto to Martaban in the kingdom of Pegu,¹⁰⁸ where Tabinshwehti, the king of Burma, after capturing

¹⁰⁰ On December 5, 1556, Pinto wrote that he was forty years old (DI III 142). Nunes Barreto, in agreement with the *Peregrinaçam* (c. 1), gives Montemor-o-Velho as his birthplace (*ibid.* 83; cf. 143).

¹⁰¹ On December 5, 1554, Pinto wrote that he had sailed for India eighteen years before (DI III 143); more exactly, in the *Peregrinaçam*, on March 11, 1537, in a fleet of five ships without an admiral. He also gives the names of the ships with their captains (c. 2). These are also found in Correa III 816-817. According to Figueiredo Falcão the fleet set sail a day later (158).

¹⁰² According to the *Peregrinaçam* (c. 12); also, according to it, we find Pinto from then on in Faria's company in Goa, Diu, and Malacca. The data on Faria are confirmed by the contemporary sources: Correa IV 77, and Q 437 (Brito Rebello IV 139-140). But before this he describes his journey to Abyssinia and his embassy to Arabia, both products of his imagination (cc. 3-7).

¹⁰³ Pero de Faria already had his appointment to a captaincy of Malacca in 1537 (Q 208). He did not arrive there until June, 1539, and he could not take up his office until November 25, 1539 (Q 437; Brito Rebello IV 13; *Peregrinaçam*, cc. 13 and 25).

¹⁰⁴ According to his *Peregrinaçam*, Pinto sailed from Patane to Lugor in the kingdom of Siam (c. 36), and from there to China with Antonio de Faria in 1540 (cc. 39 ff.). This is consistent with the data of his letter of December 5, 1554, in which he wrote that he had sailed sixteen years earlier in the neighborhood of China and Japan, ever busy in gaining earthly goods for himself (DI III 143), and that he had twice visited Siam (*ibid.* 149). In his *Peregrinaçam*, however, he asserts that he was constantly sailing to Siam for purposes of trade between 1540 and 1545, and that he had visited its capital, Ayuthia, for the first time in 1540 (c. 183). As captain of Malacca, Pero de Faria had reopened up trade with China in 1529, and within a year twenty Chinese junks had again come to Malacca (Q 1582). There are still extant porcelain bowls which he ordered to be made in China with his name and the year 1541 upon them (Luis Keil, "Porcelanas chinesas do século XVI com inscrição em português," *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes* 10 [Lisboa, 1942] 18-19).

¹⁰⁵ When Faria arrived in Malacca, the king of Aru, who was threatened by Achin, asked for and received powder (Q 437; Brito Rebello IV 141; *Peregrinaçam*, cc. 21-22). In his *Peregrinaçam*, Pinto inserts a fictional embassy to the king of the Bataks before his trip to Aru (cc. 13-20).

¹⁰⁶ In 1555 Pinto wrote that the king of Patane had welcomed him and Nunes Barreto on their voyage to China, "since he had known me earlier when I once visited him with my ship" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 79). By this he probably meant his voyage at the end of 1539, which he reports in his *Peregrinaçam* (cc. 33-35).

¹⁰⁷ Pero de Faria mentions Antonio de Faria and Galiote Pereira as being among those who served him in the fortress of Malacca in 1539 (Q 437; Brito Rebello IV 151). According to the *Peregrinaçam*, Pero de Faria sent Antonio de Faria as an ambassador to the king of Patane in 1540 (c. 36).

¹⁰⁸ After describing his voyage to Patane, Pinto inserts 107 chapters of complete fiction into his *Peregrinaçam*. These deal with his piratical raids on China, his expedition to plunder the imperial graves of Calemplui, his trip through the interior of China, Tartary, and Tonking, his voyage of discovery to Japan, and his shipwreck off the islands of Ryūkyū. He then continues with chapter 144, describing how, after his return from China, he had been sent by Pero de Faria, towards the end of his period of office, to Martaban in order to conclude a treaty of peace with the lord of that city. He found the city besieged by the king of Burma, who then captured it and forced Pinto and the other Portuguese to serve in his army. He was present at the capture of Prome and was only able to flee to India after two and one-half years of imprisonment. He met Pero de Faria in Goa and arrived in Malacca on the day when Faria's successor, Ruy Vaz Pereira, died (cc. 144-172). He ascribes his two and one-half years of imprisonment in Pegu to the years 1544-1546, but this should rather be 1542-1544, since Prome fell, and Pero de Faria's term of office as captain of Malacca ended, in 1542 (Harvey 157); and

Pegu,¹⁰⁹ forced him and the other Portuguese to serve in his army.¹¹⁰ Pinto was not able to leave Pegu¹¹¹ until 1543, when he sailed with Antonio de Faria to China. After the latter's death,¹¹² he sailed from there in 1544 with Jorge de Faria for Japan,¹¹³ where he landed at Tanegashima¹¹⁴ and went from there, for the first time, to Bungo.¹¹⁵ The following year he was in Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, when its king was murdered.¹¹⁶ In 1546 he joined up with Jorge Alvares, whom Simão de Mello, the new captain of Malacca, was sending to Japan. They landed at Yamagawa, on the bay of Kagoshima, and returned from there to Malacca with Anjirō, Xavier's later convert and companion. When Anjirō learned in Malacca that the saintly priest whom he wished to meet was on the Moluccas, he sailed for Japan; but on the way, he was driven back to China by a storm.

Faria's successor died in the middle of 1544. That Pinto was personally acquainted with Pegu is indicated by his accurate descriptions of the land and of its sanctuaries in a letter which he wrote on December 15, 1554, and in which he states that he had been two or three times in Martaban (DI III 147-148). In this same year Brandão wrote that Pinto had engaged in trade with China and Pegu from Japan for many years (*ibid.* 178).

¹⁰⁹ In his *Peregrinação*, Pinto calls him the *Brama*, that is, the king of Burma, and his description of him is confirmed by contemporary sources. The names of the native lords and of the Portuguese found in Pegu, who are mentioned in the *Peregrinação*, can be documented (see GS II 80-81). In his *Lendas*, Correa wrote as follows: "The whole kingdom of Pegu was captured by the Burmese. They treated us with great tyranny because we were their opponents during the war, but they did not stop our trade because of the gain which they obtained from it" (III 851).

¹¹⁰ In 1547 Diogo Alvares Teles wrote how he had sailed to Pegu in 1539, where the king was keeping Fernão de Ferreira almost as if he were a prisoner (Q 2701). In 1546 Alvaro de Sousa wrote that he had sailed from Pegu without the king's permission, since the latter wished to take him with sixty Portuguese on his war (Q 2606 2824).

¹¹¹ The voyage to the legendary Calaminham and to the sacred island of Mounai, which Pinto describes in his *Peregrinação* before his flight from Pegu, is a piece of fiction (cc. 157-169).

¹¹² According to the *Peregrinação* c. 79, Antonio de Faria died in a shipwreck in the bay of Nanking on August 5, 1542, a Monday. The date is not consistent and is probably an invention like everything else in this chapter. In the contemporary sources he is only mentioned in 1539 in Malacca (Q 437). A namesake of his, a son of Simão Ferreira and Joana de Faria, sailed to India in 1544 (*Emmentia* 425).

¹¹³ Pinto wished to claim a share in the Portuguese discovery of Japan. To do so he unites in his *Peregrinação* a fictional account of his participation in the discovery in 1543 with that of his own first voyage there in 1544 (cc. 132-137). He attributes both of these to 1543, after a fictional voyage to Tongking and before his first voyage to Pegu. On Pinto's first real voyage to Japan in 1544, see GS II 70-78, 571-577.

¹¹⁴ From here, the first place where the Portuguese landed in 1543, they sailed along the eastern coast of Kyūshū to Bungo, as is indicated by the list of harbors which Jorge Alvares named in his description of Japan of 1547. More recent Japanese authors have found in *Nautaquim* or *Nautoquim* (both forms are already found in the first edition of the *Peregrinação* of 1614), the lord of the island of Tanegashima, the Japanese name of Naotoki, which the prince soon after, for some unknown reason, exchanged for his new name of Tokitaka; and they have taken this knowledge of his first name in Mendes Pinto as proof that the latter was actually one of the first discoverers of Japan (cf. Okamoto-Abranches Pinto, "Mendes Pinto e o Descobrimento do Japão," *Relações entre Portugueses e Japoneses* (Toquio, 1929) 78-84. The knowledge of the name only indicates that Pinto came to Tanegashima on his first voyage to Japan (in 1544), but not that he was one of the discoverers of 1543.

¹¹⁵ Cf. GS II 70-78 525-577.

¹¹⁶ In his *Peregrinação*, Pinto states after his fictional campaign to the legendary sea of Chiamai that he had been present at the murder of the king in the capital of Siam in 1545 (cc. 181-185 200), and in his letter of 1554 he affirms that he had been twice in the capital Ayuthia, that he had seen there the white elephant which died in 1551, and that he had been present for an eclipse of the moon (Ayres, *Subsidios* 63-65; cf. GS II 86-88).

In 1547 he sailed back again to Malacca with Alvaro Vaz.¹¹⁷ There he again encountered Jorge Alvares, who was living with Mendes Pinto in the house of his friend Cosme Rodrigues; and Alvares was able to introduce him to the priest whom he had been so anxious to meet.¹¹⁸ Pinto had been already engaged for ten years in trading expeditions to China, Japan, Siam, and Pegu when he arrived for the third time in the Land of the Rising Sun in 1551 on the ship of Duarte da Gama.¹¹⁹ He was thus able to tell Master Francis much about the lands and the people he had visited.

¹¹⁷ Simão de Mello was captain of Malacca from 1545 to 1548. According to the *Peregrinação*, he sent a ship to Japan under Captain Jorge Alvares, whom Pinto joined (c. 201). But in order to be present for the murder of the king of Bungo and for Anjirō's flight and his voyage to Malacca, Pinto transfers the murder to 1546 and unites Anjirō's first voyage to Malacca in the ship of Jorge Alvares with his second voyage in the ship of Alvaro Vaz. He then sails to Malacca with Jorge Alvares and Anjirō in 1547 from the harbor of Yamagawa in Satsuma, where a typhoon had at this time destroyed 1,936 Chinese junks and 26 Portuguese junks in the bay of Kagoshima (c. 202). But the murder of the king of Bungo was, as we have seen above, in 1550. Pinto's data on the harbor of Yamagawa and on the typhoon, if the number of ships lost (sixty Chinese junks and one Portuguese) is reduced, are confirmed by Jorge Alvares' account of Japan. Nevertheless they are contradicted by Anjirō's letter of 1548, in which he states that he had sailed from Japan to Malacca in 1546 with Jorge Alvares but had not encountered Xavier there. He had consequently undertaken the return voyage to his native land, but had been driven back by a storm to China, and had returned from there to Malacca in the ship of Alvaro Vaz in 1547. There he found Jorge Alvares, who introduced him to Xavier (DI I 336-339); cf. GS II 89-91.

¹¹⁸ In his *Peregrinação*, Pinto wrote that he had come to Malacca in 1547 with Anjirō, where Xavier had recently returned from the Moluccas. When the latter learned that Pinto and Jorge Alvares had brought this Japanese back with them, he had gone to see them in the house of Cosme Rodrigues, a married man with whom they were living. Xavier then learned from them that they had brought two Japanese back on their ship, one of whom was well versed in the laws and sects of Japan. When he expressed his desire to see him, they had Anjirō brought from the ship to the hospital where the saint was living (c. 203). Anjirō, however, has a different account of the matter: When he came the second time to Malacca, in 1547, in the ship of Alvaro Vaz, he there met Jorge Alvares, who had brought him to Malacca the first time. Alvares had taken him at once to Xavier in the church of Our Lady of the Mountain, where he was blessing a marriage, and had entrusted him to the priest (DI III 338). That Cosme Rodrigues was a great friend of Pinto, however, is confirmed by Frois in 1555. In this year he was with both of them in Malacca, and he notes that the two together had contributed more than eight hundred *cruzados* in order to fit out the royal caravel with which Cosme Rodrigues as captain of the ship sailed from Malacca to Japan with the provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto (DI III 319-322).

¹¹⁹ We are poorly informed on the years 1548 to 1550 in the *Peregrinação*, especially since their chronology is completely confused. After meeting Xavier in Malacca in December, 1547 (c. 203), Pinto gives a fictional account of the attack of the Achinese fleet on Malacca from an alleged report of Captain Simão de Mello. He next describes the victory at the Perlis River, seen by Xavier through second sight (cc. 203-207). He then tacks on Xavier's voyage to Japan and his encounter with him in Bungo in 1551 (c. 208). In his letter of 1554, he speaks of his experiences in general, of the "hardships, imprisonments, hunger, dangers, and vanities" in which he had spent the forty years of his life. He then adds that he had spent sixteen years in the regions of China and Japan concerned only with obtaining the goods of this earth. It was only in Japan that he had suffered losses whenever he sailed or sent wares there. His only dream had been to return to Montemayor with nine or ten thousand ducats, and he had been of the opinion that if one did not steal a chalice or a monstrance from a church or become a Mohammedan, one had no need to fear hell; it was enough for one to be a Christian, since God's mercy is great (DI III 142-143).—That he had already been more than once in Japan before 1551 is shown by the letters of Nunes Barreto and Aires Brandão of 1554. The former of these wrote that Pinto was very well known by the kings of Japan, since he had been engaging in trade in China and Japan for fourteen years (DI III 84-85 124).

Antonio Dias was another former acquaintance whom Xavier encountered on Duarte da Gama's ship.¹²⁰ He had originally been a goldsmith, but had then become a pilot.¹²¹ In 1544 he had brought Peter Favre, Xavier's fellow student at the University of Paris, and his companions from Flanders to Lisbon. He had then sailed for India. In September, 1546, he had sailed with Garcia de Sousa's ship from Goa to the Banda Islands, and from there, in 1547, to Amboina. From there he had returned with the priest to Malacca and India.¹²²

The latter wrote that he was very well known by all the kings and lords of Japan because of his constant dealings with them in his past trading voyages, and that he was always held in high regard by them (*ibid.* 183). In 1553 he was regarded as one of the wealthiest and most fortunate merchants in Malacca. He had many slaves in his service and wore distinguished clothes and rings with precious stones upon his fingers (*ibid.* 132 180-182).

¹²⁰ In the Goa process of 1557, in which he describes himself as "indici praesidii miles," Antonio Dias stated that he had sailed with Xavier in the ship of Duarte da Gama from Japan to China, had been present at the miracle of the sloop, and had at the time climbed into the lookout on the mast in order to sight the sloop that had disappeared (MX II 259-260). According to the *Peregrinação*, it was the skipper (*mestre*) who climbed with another into the basket on the mast (c. 214). Dias obtained a sad reputation as pilot of the *São Paulo*, which sailed from Lisbon in 1560 and sank near the west coast of Sumatra in 1561. There are two extant accounts of individuals who sailed with him. The first is that of the pharmacist Henrique Dias, "Relação da viagem e naufragio da nao S. Paulo," published in the *Historia Tragico-Maritima* of B. Gomes de Brito 3 (Lisboa, 1904) 1-113 (we cite this edition). A shorter, anonymous draft of this appeared in Lisbon in 1565. An English translation of this shorter text with a valuable introduction and notes is given by Boxer in *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea* (Cambridge: 2nd series: Hakluyt Society, 132, 1968) 56-107. The author of this first account is a sharp critic of Antonio Dias.—The second account is that of Father Manuel Alvares, S.J., preserved in his two letters, the first written from Bahia on September 4, 1560 (DI IV 605-631), the second written in Malacca at the end of 1561, completed in Cochín on January 5, 1562, and illustrated by its author (*ibid.* V 433-478, with references to other works on the subject). Alvares writes in high praise of Antonio Dias (*ibid.* 439 443 446). A namesake of Antonio Dias sailed in the same ship. Like him, he was a great friend of the Jesuits. He was married and a resident of São Thomé (India). A brave *cavalleiro*, he had been the leader of 172 persons who had been shipwrecked on Sumatra and defended them from the attacks of the natives (H. Dias 95-96; DI V 456 461 467-468). He is listed together with the pilot in the index to DI V 780.—Godinho de Eredia in his *Informação do Aureo Chersoneso* gives our pilot the surname of "Samatra" and cites his *roteiros* and diaries (ed. 1807, 104; Mills 240); in his *Declaração de Malaca* in 1613 he calls him the discoverer of the Ilha da cera, so called because wax was found there (54v-55; Mills 67); and in his *Tratado Ophirico* (in his *Informação da Índia Meridional* of 1610) he cites references of the same to an island as large as New Guinea south of Timor on the forty-eighth degree which were found in the ship *São Paulo*. This island had been discovered by the captain of the *São Paulo*, Ruy de Mello de Sampaio, in 1560; and it was later inhabited by the descendants of shipwrecked Portuguese (Mills 264).

¹²¹ According to Henrique Dias 87.

¹²² Manuel Alvares visited the pilot in Lisbon before his departure on his ship in Belem in 1560, "por elle ser homem muito amigo da nossa Companhia, o qual trouxe ao P. Fabro de Flandes e aos outros [1544 cf. *Fabri Monumenta* 467], e a M. Francisco trouxe pollas partes da Índia muytas vezes, de Maluco pera Malaca e pera Japão e pella China, e erão grandes amigos, e assi todos esses Padres da Índia conhece. Chama-se Antonio Diaz, tem grande fama de saber muito da arte de navegar; tem muitos livros spirituaes, gosta muito delles; hé muito quieto e prudente e ao parecer virtuoso" (DI IV 610). If Xavier is not here confused with another Jesuit, the voyage from Maluco to Malacca can only refer to Xavier's voyage from Amboina to Malacca and India in 1547, or to his voyage from Bungo to Sancian in the ship of Duarte da Gama in 1551. It is to be noted that Antonio Dias speaks only of the last voyage in the Goa process of 1557.—Henriques Dias had a different opinion about our pilot. According to him he obtained his position of pilot for the voyage to India of the *São Paulo* from the king simply

Pedro Velho was a third Portuguese whom Master Francis met on Duarte da Gama's ship. He was the nephew of Antonio Correa,¹²³ the factor of Cochin, whom Xavier had come to know in India. Correa had done well with the loading of pepper, and he had accompanied Martim Affonso de Sousa in 1543 on his voyage to Cow Island.¹²⁴ Pedro Velho had sailed to India in 1524 as the captain of a caravel in the fleet of the viceroy Vasco da Gama.¹²⁵ He had fought against the Moors in Malabar as the captain of a ship in the company of the viceroy.¹²⁶ He had already served his king for many years and had become rich through his trade with China when Xavier made his acquaintance in Bungo.¹²⁷

because he had brought much money from Malacca and Maluco to Portugal (62). He was only experienced in the Indian Ocean (12) and had never made a voyage to India as a pilot. He was ignorant (30-32 46 57-58) and refused to listen to anybody, though all were against him (58-59 62-63). He had a Chinese servant who spoke Malay very well (90 99). With respect to his namesake, see Q, index: Antonio Dias.

¹²³ On January 31, 1552, Xavier wrote of him: "Pero Velho, nephew of Antonio Correa, I met in Japan. He is rich and has served much" (EX II 306). In his *Peregrinação*, Pinto mentions him as one of those who sailed with him and Xavier on Duarte da Gama's ship from Bungo to Sancian in 1551 (c. 214). We shall return to him later.

¹²⁴ Our Antonio Correa is to be distinguished from numerous namesakes. Xavier recommended him along with Velho in 1552 to the king because of his many services in the wars and for his care in loading the pepper in Cochin (EX II 306-307). He himself wrote in detail to the king on January 6, 1548, about his past services, especially his efforts in loading the ships with pepper as factor of Cochin and his help with the fleets of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha in 1547 and 1548 (*Gavetas* V 128-132).

¹²⁵ Cf. the ship list of Simão Ferreira Paez, p. 37, Codex 8 of *Manuscripts Portugais* of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, f. 215v, and the *Emmentia* 313. According to Correa, Velho sailed to India in 1524 in a "caravella redonda" (II 816), that is, in a caravel with three or four masts, with a square sail (*redondo*) in front and a three-cornered sail (*latino* or *bastardo*) farther back. Among the ships which were in India in 1525, there was in 1552 a *navio redondo* among the "navios redondos e latinos" which was called the *Santa Cruz*; and it was said of it "que veo do Reyno [1524] com o comde Almyrante [Dom Vasco da Gama], capitão Pero Velho, que foy seu, e hé del Rey" (*Lembranças* 1525, 24).

¹²⁶ Correa II 876 and 912; Castanheda 6, 84, and 92. Our Pero Velho is probably to be distinguished from the Pero Velho, son of João Gonçalves do Adarço of Villa Franca, the brave *cavalleiro* who defended the new bulwark near Thāna with a few companions in 1539 and prevented the entrance of the vastly superior force of the Moors upon the island of Salsette (Castanheda 9, 13 16-17), and to whom the governor D. João de Castro and the captain of Bassein Jerónimo de Noronha leased in 1547 four villages and a piece of land in the territory of Anzor near Thāna (Botelho, *Tombo* 183-185 188). Our Pero Velho is probably also to be distinguished from a second namesake whom we encounter in Malacca in 1586-1587, where he in 1586, as captain of eight *bantims* (brigantines) in the service of the captain of the city, burned a hostile town of the sultan of Johore near the strait of Singapore; but he was then defeated by the enemy's fleet and lost four ships. In 1587 he again sailed as captain major of twelve *bantims* with D. Jerónimo de Azevedo by order of the captain of Malacca to Cape Romenia in order to wait for the ships coming from China (Couto 10, 8, 2, and 14). According to Father Alexander de Rhodes, S.J., who lived in Macao from 1623 to 1645, our Pero Velho was one of the founders of the city, where he remained until his death (*JapSin.* 69, 203).

¹²⁷ EX II 306. João Monteiro may well have been one of the Portuguese on Duarte da Gama's ship. In the Cochin process in 1616, the forty-four-year-old canon Manuel Monteiro declared that he had been his maternal grandfather. He had been a prominent Portuguese who had served in the India fleet and had afterwards married and lived in Goa. He was around eighty years old when he told him, Monteiro, about Xavier; and he had been an eyewitness of everything which he told him about the priest. Among the things which he had heard from him was how the saint had shaken the dust from his shoes at the time of his departure from Malacca, and how he had died on Sancian and was buried and found some months later incorrupt. His father had been present at the arrival of the priest's body in Goa and had kissed his feet there. He had also heard from his grandfather that when Xavier was sailing from Japan for China the

Duarte da Gama gave an excellent example to his men and maintained strict discipline among them. Xavier was greatly consoled by his work among the Portuguese of his ship.¹²⁸ He had hoped to receive mail from Europe and India from Duarte da Gama; but he was deceived in this, as he had been in Hirado in 1550. Since the time of Xavier's landing in Kagoshima on the feast of the Assumption, 1549, no Portuguese ship had sailed with letters from Malacca for China and Japan.¹²⁹ Xavier had instructed all the superiors in Goa, Malacca, and elsewhere to write to him regularly and to forward all letters addressed to him on every possible *via*.¹³⁰ He had also received no word from any of the three confreres whom he had summoned to Japan in 1549.¹³¹ What was the reason for this? What was happening in India and Malacca? As superior of the Indian Mission, Xavier had to clarify the situation, especially since there were many reasons for expecting the worst.¹³² Instead of returning to Yamaguchi in November after the departure of the Portuguese ship, as he had planned,¹³³ he therefore

sloop had been lost in a storm but had returned to the ship at the priest's prayer (MX II 507-509). In 1593 João Monteiro was one of the contractors in Cochin who had to obtain pepper for the annual fleet to Portugal (APO 5, 3, n. 988, p. 1315).—A young Chinese, Antonio Martines, may also have been on Duarte da Gama's ship. As the fifth witness in the second Goa process of 1615, he declared that he was seventy-five years old, that he had known Xavier in India, Japan, and China, and that for ten years, more than sixty years before, he had given an example there of a holy life. He, Martines, had himself been an eyewitness at the miracle of the sloop, when Xavier was sailing in the *Santa Cruz* from Malacca to China (*sic*). But his testimony is to be treated with care, since he also declared that his brother Francisco de Oliveira told him as an eyewitness about the miracle wrought by Xavier in changing sea water into fresh water on his voyage from India to Malacca (*sic*), but Xavier is here confused with a Jesuit of 1564 (cf. **Summarium* of 1618 [Q 6222a, p. 514], ff. 785v 815 821-v 879 893, and Barradas 462).

¹²⁸ "Fuy muito consolado com os portugueses que ahy vierão" (EX II 271), as Xavier wrote.

¹²⁹ See above, p. 123. Although Pérez reported from Malacca on November 24, 1550, that three of the four Japanese who had come from Kagoshima had returned that same year to China (DI II 110), even if they took letters for Xavier with them, he did not receive them. They sailed in a Chinese junk and probably did not reach Kagoshima until 1551, when the priest was already staying in Yamaguchi without any connections with Kagoshima. This also explains the complete silence on the part of Xavier, Torres, and Fernández.

¹³⁰ EX II 106-107 112-114 125-126 217-218.

¹³¹ Xavier summoned them on November 5, 1549 (EX II 214-215; cf. 218 223-224). His letter should have reached Malacca in December, 1549, Cochin in January, 1550, Goa in February, Ormuz in March, where Barzaeus, one of the three summoned, was working. Ships sailed from Ormuz for Goa in September; the three summoned could have sailed in April, 1551, from Goa for Malacca, and from there in June by way of China directly to Japan and have arrived there in the middle of August (EX II 223-224). Xavier did not know that his letter did not reach Malacca until April, 1550, a circumstance that put everything off for a year.

¹³² He was already concerned about the character of Antonio Gomes. In addition to this there was the uncertain status of India, where there was a constant concern about the coming of the Turks, as was manifest from the two sieges of Diu, and of a similar state of affairs in Malacca, where there was a constant fear of an attack from the banished sultan of Johore and of the Achinese.

¹³³ That Xavier did not decide to return to India until he was in Bungo is clear from his own words: "De Bungo, *sem ir a Amanguche*, determiney vir à India" (EX II 273). This is also shown by the letters which Torres and Fernández sent to Bungo at the end of October, 1551. In the two first letters of September 29 (written before the arrival of Xavier's letter in which he informs his two confreres of his new plan) there is no reference to his voyage to India. The passages referring to Xavier's voyage to India in the two letters written after the reception of this information show that it had been new to them (Torres 65-66, Fernández 85-86). The touching scene of Xavier's

decided to sail from Bungo directly to India in order to visit his confreres there, to take any measures that might be needed, to select suitable missionaries, and to sail back to Japan the following year with them and with things that were required on the mission.¹³⁴ If all went well, he could be back again in Yamaguchi in August, 1552.¹³⁵

At the first opportunity he consequently sent a letter to his confreres whom he would have to leave behind. In it he informed them of his decision to sail for India and gave them rules for acting during his absence.¹³⁶ He further ordered Fernández to send him an account of the disputations in Yamaguchi for his confreres in Europe.¹³⁷ Antonio, on the other hand, should accompany him on his voyage to India.¹³⁸

4. FOUR LETTERS FROM YAMAGUCHI (END OF OCTOBER, 1551)

At the end of October Antonio¹ arrived in Bungo with letters from Torres and Fernández and the frightful news that Yamaguchi had been captured by rebels, that Yoshitaka was dead, and that the missionaries had only escaped death as if by a miracle! Xavier obtained further information on all this from the letters of his confreres and from Antonio's own verbal report.

The priest had left Yamaguchi in the middle of September. Before leaving he had ordered Torres to send him letters for his confreres in Europe and India. These would be sent back with Duarte da Gama's ship so that they might arouse an interest in the Japanese mission. Torres' first two letters, both written on September 29, the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, had been composed in fulfillment of this request and had now been given to Xavier by Antonio.

The first letter was addressed to his confreres in Valencia.² In it Torres gave an extensive account of his earlier life, his teaching in Mallorca, Valencia, and Uldecona, and his four-year stay in Mexico. A vague impulse had moved him to embark with the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos, which was sailing from Mexico for the unknown islands of the West. He had met Father Master Francis on the island of Amboina and had felt at the sight of him a call to the Society of

departure from Yamaguchi and Xavier's letter in Pinto, according to which he intended to go to India, are poetic fictions, as we have already shown.

¹³⁴ EX II 273-274.

¹³⁵ Fernández writes expressly: "I am much distressed to be obliged to be deprived of your holy company for a year" (Fernández 66). And Torres wrote: "If the lords here give us no house, I shall live in the house of Thomé until Your Reverence returns from India" (Torres 65). Xavier was thus at the time of his departure from Bungo not as yet thinking about a missionary expedition to China.

¹³⁶ Fernández 65-66.

¹³⁷ We conclude this from the fact that at the time of his departure from Yamaguchi Xavier had ordered Torres to write to his confreres in Valencia in order to rouse their interest in the Japanese mission (Torres 53).

¹³⁸ We conclude this also from the fact that he needed an interpreter for himself and a second to accompany the priests who would be coming later.

¹ Torres 64. The first two letters of September 29, both written by Torres during the height of the fighting, could obviously not have been sent to Bungo until the two others of October 20 were sent there.

² The original of this letter, written in the elegant hand of the former teacher of humanities and contained in *JapSin.* 4, 22-25v, has been published by us in the *Disputationem des P. Cosme de Torres S.J. mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551* (Tokyo, 1929). The original Spanish text is contained on pp. 89-98, in a German translation with a commentary on pp. 39-53. A Japanese translation of this work has been published by Professor Kamio Shōji under the title *Yamaguchi no Tōron* (Tokyo, 1964).

Jesus, which, after a long inner struggle, he had finally accepted in Goa.³ He then gave a brief description of his voyage to Japan and of the first missionary activities of Xavier and his companions in Kagoshima, Hirado, and Yamaguchi. He also described the native qualities of the Japanese, their gods and sects, and the readiness of the people to accept the Christian faith. He wrote of their religion as follows:

There are many kinds of idolatry in this land. There are some who worship an idol called *Xaca* [Shaka]. They say that he had been born eight thousand times before he was born of a woman; and before he was born of his mother, he served the people for a thousand years so that he might sanctify himself by carrying wood, water, and other things necessary for the service of men. This is the most important one whom they worship, for they say that he has explained all the past laws. There are some who worship only him, and they are called *Foquexo* [Hokke-shū]. There are others who worship this one and all the demons.⁴

There are others who worship an idol which they call Amida. Some paint him as a man, some as a woman. They say that when he was very old, he said to himself that the good had no need of him or of anybody else for saving themselves; but for the wicked, no matter how wicked they might ever have been, he revealed to them a very great remedy for their salvation, and this is that whoever in the hour of his death pronounces with a stout heart this word "Amidanbut"⁵ will be saved. There are very many of these, since, because of the great laxity of the sect, all, both good and evil, say that they will be saved. And there are two kinds of them. One of these worship only him, and they are called *Ycoxos* [Ikkō-shū], and the other him and the demons.⁶

There are others who worship the sun and the moon,⁷ saying that the sun and the moon are God, for they create all things, and all the things created by God are God Himself; and they therefore worship all things, even the demon, for they say that the demon is also God, since he is His creature. And among these are very great magicians,⁸ and they earn much money through this. They are very ignorant. It does not take much to refute them because of the many stupidities which they maintain and believe.

There are others who are called *Jenxus* [Zen-shū], and there also two kinds of them.⁹ One group says that there is no soul, and that when a man dies, everything dies, since they say that what has been created out of nothing returns into nothing. These are men of great meditation, and it is difficult to make them understand the law of God. It takes great efforts to refute them.¹⁰

In order to arouse the enthusiasm of his distant confreres for the work on the mission in Japan, Torres gave a description of the journey which Father Master Francis had made to Miyako:

We remained in this first place where we disembarked [Kagoshima] for a year or more, waiting for an embarkation for Miaco; and since it was always in a state of continuous war, the Lord of that land advised us not to go there until the wars were over. Padre Mestre Francisco being then, as always, inflamed with the fire of charity, when he saw that we were producing no fruit, decided that we should go to another place which is a hundred leagues farther on and is called Firando. We were very well received there, since there was at the time in that place a ship of the Portugueses which had been trading there for two months. Padre Mestre Francisco then decided to go

³ Torres 39-43; cf. Vol. III, pp. 115-125 598.

⁴ The Tendai sects; cf. Reischauer 93.

⁵ *Namu, Amida Butsu!* ("Hail, Amida Buddha!").

⁶ The remaining Jōdo sects.

⁷ The Shintō sects.

⁸ The Yamabushi.

⁹ The Sōtō and Rinzai sects.

¹⁰ Torres 48-50.

with a Brother called Juan Fernández to discover the disposition that there was in the land and what places were more disposed for the mustard seed to be sown in them. They thus took their departure from the Portuguese, and you can well imagine how I felt in a strange land separated from the company of those two, considering the enormous dangers and labors they would encounter. They left the place where I was at the end of the month of October, when the great cold had already set in. Padre Mestre Francisco, because of the great fire of charity which he had in the service of God and in the manifestation of His holy Catholic faith, could not be detained, neither by the cold nor by the fear of those unknown people, from undertaking such a perilous journey. Perils on the sea, because of the many pirates who keep watch for ships which come and go through certain straits which they must pass; and they passed them many times hidden under the deck of the ships so as not to be recognized. Many times they ran along as attendants of some *fidalgos*, since they did not know the road to the places where they were going. Many times they arrived at the inns dead from cold and hunger, and soaking wet, without finding any comfort in them. Many times, because of the deep snow and cold, their feet became swollen; and since they carried their luggage on their backs and the roads were extremely rough, they slipped and fell. In the streets and squares of the cities and towns to which they came, they preached and manifested our holy Catholic faith in the midst of snow and rain; and many times they were stoned by boys.

These are, my Fathers and Brothers, ardors and mortifications far different from those which are experienced in the colleges and among Christians. Those who are preparing themselves to come to these parts should therefore consider what foundations have been laid in the land, and the way he has conducted himself whom they must imitate in it, who encourages those who follow him more by his deeds than by his words.... If I were to enumerate the insults in detail and the hunger and cold which they endured, I would never come to an end. Finally, after the passing of four and one-half months, after having traversed the greater part of the land, always on foot and many times barefooted because of the many great rivers which are in this land, since it almost always rains here, and also after having made some Christians in the places through which they passed, Padre Mestre Francisco returned with his companion to the place where I was, where in the meantime many had become Christians.¹¹

He wrote as follows on the readiness of the Japanese to accept the faith:

These Japanese are more ready to be implanted with our holy faith than all the nations of the world. They are as prudent as can be imagined. They are governed by reason as much as, or more than, Spaniards. They are more curious than all the nations that I know. In speaking of the manner in which they may save their souls and serve Him who has created them, there are no men like them in all the known world. They have a very refined manner, which gives the impression that they were all brought up in the palaces of great lords. The courtesies which they show to each other are impossible to describe.... They are men of very keen and lofty understanding, and they let themselves be governed by reason. For if they are given to understand through reason that there is no one who can save their souls except Him who created them, and that their souls have a beginning but will have no end, if you give them to understand this with words that are fair and conformable to reason, at that same hour, even if they came very opposed to us, they forget their idols, which they have adored from their birth, and also their father and mother and become Christians. They are men of very fine manners and of very pious hearts. If I should strive to write all the good qualities and virtues which are found in them, I would run short of paper and ink before material about which to write....¹²

Consider, my Fathers and Brothers in Jesus Christ, for whom I am filled with love,

¹¹ *Ibid.* 44-46.

¹² *Ibid.* 47-48.

the greatness of the land and its very close connection with China, which is a *Mare Magnum* whose abundance exceeds that of Spain and France and Italy; and if I should say all of Greece, I would not lie. It has all the things which can be had in the whole of Christendom. The only thing that is wanting to them is a knowledge that there is a Creator who created and sustains things, and they desire to know this in the grandest manner.

Consider also the disposition of the hearts of men who are so ready to receive our holy Catholic faith, and after they have received it, according to what I see and hear and the understanding which I have of them, there is no nation in the world so constant, so that it seems to me, that the majority of those who have become Christians, and they are many, are ready to endure any adversity for the love of God.

There are only two reasons, humanly speaking, why the Japanese can fail to become Christians, either because priests do not come, or because those who do come are men of little learning and little tried, especially in the virtue of patience. Those who are to come to these regions must be very learned in order to answer the very deep and difficult questions which they pose from morning to night. They are very importune in their questions, so that from the day that Padre Mestre Francisco arrived in this city, which is five or more months ago, there was never a day when from morning to the greater part of the night they failed to have priests and laity to ask all kinds of questions: How God exists and where He is, and why He is not seen, and how souls have a beginning but will not have an end, and other very difficult questions.¹³

Torres brought his letter to a close with an ardent appeal to his conferres in Valencia:

Since Padre Mestre Francisco does not busy his mind with any other thing except the way in which our holy Catholic faith may be manifested to the nations of the world, and since he perceives the great disposition for this to be effected if there were persons for this in these regions, and how few there are disposed to manifest it, moved by the true zeal of a faithful Christian, he ordered me to write this brief letter. Consequently, my Fathers, may all of those who have the talent for this turn their hearts towards these regions, for greater success is to be achieved here than in any part of the whole discovered world. And a priest suitable and sufficient for this will do a greater service to God here than a hundred in Christendom; and this business is posed in such terms that it cannot fail to be achieved except through negligence, which does not affect the priests of this holy Society.¹⁴

Torres' second letter was addressed to his confreres in India. It passed over his earlier life and some other things, but it contained an excerpt from the data of the first letter on their early labors in Japan, Xavier's journey to Miyako, and the native qualities of the Japanese and their readiness to accept the faith.¹⁵ In the first letter he had noted that the ruler of Yamaguchi, "a greater lord in lands and vassals than the king of Castile," had given the priest a monastery so that he might live in it with his companions. But at the end of this second letter, he had added: "The lord of the land gave us a very large piece of property so that we might build a college upon it."¹⁶

¹³ *Ibid.* 51-52.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 53.

¹⁵ On the letter, see Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 23-24 and 111. The Spanish text is lost. The text in *Cartas* 1575 is a reverse translation of the Portuguese. The letter is published in Portuguese in *Cartas* 1570, 48-54, and 1598, 16v-18v, in German in Schurhammer, *Disputationen*, with a commentary, 53-61. Frois gives an excerpt from it (18-19).

¹⁶ The notice added by Torres to the end of his letter, "Agora nos deu o senhor da terra hum campo muito grande para fazer hum Collegio," which simply means a large foundation of the order, seems to refer to a more recent gift, probably conferred after

The revolution had already broken out and its outcome was still uncertain when Torres wrote his two first letters. Since they were destined for Europe

Xavier's departure for Bungo. It thus probably refers to the place where the Daidōji temple once stood. In his grant and permission to preach of September 16, 1552 (probably only a renewal of a gift and permission granted by his predecessor Yoshitaka, as Fukuo also suspects in his biography of Ōuchi Yoshitaka published in 1959), Ōuchi Yoshinaga, the name taken by Haruhide as prince of Yamaguchi, according to the Portuguese interlinear translation, speaks of the Daidōji, "que he hum chão que está dentro de Amanguche," which he is giving to the bonzes coming from the West. Ōuchi Yoshitaka's original deed, like that of Yoshinaga, is lost, as is also the copy which Alcáçova sent to Portugal. The Japanese text in Sino-Japanese script with a Portuguese interlinear version is extant today in the *Codex Conimbricensis* I in the *Arquivo do Ministerio dos Estrangeiros* in Lisbon (ff. 347-348v). The codex was composed for reading at table in the refectory of the College of Coimbra. It contains copies of Jesuit missionary letters from 1544 to 1557 and was completed in 1567. The interlinear version, which is from the same hand, has immediately before it a letter from Mozambique of August 8, 1555, and immediately after it a list of the following letters of 1556. The Sino-Japanese text, written calligraphically, is certainly from a Japanese. The scribe was quite probably Bernardo, who died in the College of Coimbra during the Lent of 1557.—Alcáçova brought a copy of the original document from Japan and at the beginning of 1554 sent it from Cochín to Portugal along with an extensive account of his travels in Japan in 1552-1553. In his account he states: When he came to Bungo in 1552, Yoshishige wished to have bulletins posted in Funai with the permission for preaching that had been requested. Since the brother had, however, to sail to Yamaguchi in October, he asked him to wait until his return. He wanted to have the text of the permission that had already been granted there for preaching to be copied so that the same could be also published in Bungo (*Cartas* 1598, 24). At the end of his letter, he wrote: "Quanto as licenças para pregar em Bungo, sam como estas, que lá vão de Yamanguchi" (*ibid.* 27v). Alcáçova's letter was first published together with the text of the permission in Sino-Japanese script with its Portuguese interlinear version in Coimbra in 1570, and again in *Cartas de Japão* in 1598, but in both instances the edict was not added to Alcáçova's letter but to Vilela's of October 29, 1557, where he mentions a similar edict in Bungo and Hakata. The editor of the *Cartas* makes the following observation: "Alem da renda e campos de que fálão as cartas acima, que deu el Rei de Bungo aos padres, pera no Facata e Bungo fazerem igrejas, lhes deu outro na cidade de Yamanguche. A doação se pos aqui para verem a maneira de suas escrituras, alvaras e letra" (*Cartas* 1598, 61-v). The text published here, erroneously designated by Maffei as the Bungo deed (*Opera omnia* II 317), is that of Ōuchi Yoshinaga of September 16, 1552, granting permission to preach. In it he gave permission to the bonzes who came from the Western Lands to preach the law of the Saint, and he ratified their possession of Daidōji until the end of the world. The more extensive interlinear translation notes on this that the Daidōji is a plot of ground within Yamaguchi, and that it is endowed with the right of asylum so that no one may be slain or imprisoned there. The text sent by Alcáçova to Portugal in 1554 was this text added as an appendix to Vilela's letter in *Cartas* 1570 and 1598, as is indicated by the letter of M. Nunes Barreto of April, 1554, in which he wrote to Ignatius: "The king of Bumgo gave the priests of the Society a piece of ground on which to erect a church and house and orchard and everything they wished 'until the end of the world,' as Your Paternity can see from the provisions of the kings of Bumgo and Amanguche, which came from Japão and were sent this year to Portugal written in Japanese script with a Portuguese explanation. And he gave the land with the privileges that no one could be killed or imprisoned there; and that all who wished might freely accept the law of the Creator. . . . The king of Amanguche, his brother, gave the same privileges for his whole kingdom. The priests in Jipón sent Brother Pedro de Alcáçova here to us with regard to this and to many other things" (DI III 81). On this see Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 75-90; Watanabe 427-435; Aoyama 162-163.—The Daidōji property lay in the northeastern part of the city near the road to Miyano, where the Xavier memorial stands today. On January 29, 1552, Xavier wrote as follows: "A house of the Society will be built in Amanguche" (*EX* II 275); and on April 9, 1552, he wrote of Yamaguchi, "donde ay una casa de la Compañía" (*ibid.* 361). When Alcáçova came to Yamaguchi in 1552, a house and a church had already been built; and since the property was very large, Christians were also buried in a part of it (*Cartas* 1598, 26-v). On December 25, 1554, Pinto wrote that a church and house of the Society had been built in

and India, he did not mention this commotion. In his third letter, which was begun on October 6 and, like that of Fernández, not signed until the twentieth, Torres gave an account of the most recent events: ¹⁷

On the day that Your Reverence departed from here, the native priests showed the great fear which they had of appearing before Your Reverence. With great rage and filled with violence, they began to come through the door of the house where we were. ¹⁸

There were not many difficult questions that day, for the time was spent with their venting ridicule upon us and on what we said, without their being willing to hear anything, with the exception of a priest of those of Shaka. ¹⁹ We asked him why Shaka was born eight hundred times ²⁰ and the rest that is usually asked of those who worship Shaka, and also about their way of life. The priest became very confused by these questions, and all were ashamed; and because of their evil conduct, we had little trouble in gaining the victory over them.

But among them came some shorn nobility, ²¹ whom we could not have defeated without special help from our Lord. For since they are people who are accustomed to practice great meditations, they asked questions to which neither St. Thomas nor Scotus could have given answers that would have satisfied them, since they were men without faith. From this it became clearly evident that it was not we who spoke. And during this same time, which lasted for eight or ten days, there came many prominent and learned individuals; and with the grace of God we were victorious over all of them. In this short time more than fifty became Christians.

Then people began to speak about the war, and few priests and still fewer nobles consequently came. There came some merchants and some women. They said that what they heard was very good, and they returned to their homes without accepting the law of God, and they did so because of their great fear of the war which was so near at hand.

On September 28, after we had taken our possessions to a safe place, I sent Antonio to the house of Naitondono, ²² one of our friends here, so that he might advise us what to do.

Antonio came running back to us from there, since they were urging us to come in all haste. When we were on our way there, we met many troops of men armed to the teeth and ready for war with their bows, arrows, and spears. They called us *Chensicus*, ²³ and they said: "Because they have spoken evilly of the gods, this war is breaking out. May they strike them dead and expel them from this land!" And we went through the midst of them with more fear than shame. And when we came to the house of our said friend, he had a bonze given to us so that he might bring us to his monastery, which he supported with his revenues

Yamaguchi with the money which he had lent (Ayres, *Subsidios* 60). The structures seem to have been erected cheaply and quickly, for in the middle of 1555 the house was already so decrepit that there was fear that with the coming rains it would collapse over the heads of the people living in it, as Duarte da Silva wrote on September 10, 1555 (cf. Schütte, *Introductio* 657-658).

¹⁷ On September 28 Torres wrote that Naitō had them transferred to a bonze monastery where they remained for two days and nights. They had then returned to Naitō's house, and he added: "We have been concealed here for five days" (64). The letter is found translated into Portuguese in *Cartas* 1570, 54-56, and 1598, 18v-19v. A Spanish retranslation is in *Cartas* 1575, 49-50, and a German translation with commentary in Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 61-65 (see also 24-25), and abbreviated in Frois 21-22.

¹⁸ In the abandoned bonze monastery put at their disposal by Yoshitaka.

¹⁹ Hokke-shū bonzes.

²⁰ Frois has "eight thousand times."

²¹ Bonzes of the Zen sect, who were widely spread especially among the warrior class.

²² Frois and the *Cartas* of 1575 omit the name; *Cartas* 1598 have "Catondono" by mistake. Fernández writes correctly: "At the house of the wife of Naitondono," that is, of Naitō Okimori.

The priests of the same refused to receive us under any condition and said that we were devils and that it was because of us that so much evil had come upon that land. Finally, either through fear of the lord [Naitō], or through the prayers of the priest who had brought us there, they gave us a little place in a corner of their church, where we were for two days and two nights with more fear than abundance of the necessities for the preservation of our lives.²⁴ During these two days and two nights, many houses of nobles and many monasteries were burned down.

After the duke had fled from the monastery where he was,²⁵ we returned with the wife of our said friend to his house; and he had a little room²⁶ given to us that measured three steps in breadth and four in length. We have now been here for five days.

Torres had written the letter thus far in Naitō's house on October 6, but because of the war he had not been able to finish it and send it off with the two other letters to Bungo. He therefore added a conclusion to it on October 20:

All the people are seeking to kill us because the ruin which overcame the priests and monasteries here is so great that there was no priest or monastery which was not burned down or plundered; and they say that all this came about through our fault.

Antonio is going to you. He will give Your Reverence a detailed account on what has happened. Matters are very uncertain, and everywhere there are murders and thefts. And when things are finally again tranquil, we shall speak with the lords here.²⁷ If they are willing to confirm the permission granted to us by the king, they must give us a house or place to erect one.²⁸ And if they are unwilling to do this, I have decided to live in the meantime in the house of Thomé²⁹ until there is a king in the land and Your Reverence has returned from India.

And if we do not receive a permission during this time to preach publicly the law of God to them, we shall preach it in secret; for I believe that even thus sheep of Christ will be won over.

I hope within my heart that He will through the prayers of Your Reverence free us from these dangers in which we find ourselves. And if it should please the Divine Majesty that we should succumb to them, we shall then have someone who will pray in a special manner to God for our souls.

I say no more than that Your Reverence might greet all the priests and brothers of India for me. May Christ our Lord unite us all in His glory!

Amen. From Yamaguchi, the twentieth of October, 1551.

It is said that none of the Christians of this city, although most of them are servants of the king (and of these a great number were slain), has died, which gives much reason for praising God. Pray always to God that He may protect them so that they may begin at once to recover, since they have urgent need of this.

Your Reverence's son and servant in the Lord,

Cosme de Torres.

²³ *Tenjiku-jin* (People from the Heavenly Land = Indians).

²⁴ Naitō and his wife had founded many monasteries and had given revenues and support to their bonzes so that they would pray to Amida, whom they greatly revered (EX II 269-270). Torres and Fernández remained there from September 28 to 30, and Torres consequently wrote his first two letters there.

²⁵ Yoshitaka fled to the Hōsenji monastery in the afternoon of September 28. He fled from it during the night of September 29-30.

²⁶ "Huma casinha" (*Cartas* 1598), "un aposento de su casa" (*Cartas* 1575), "un portillo" (Fernández 111).

²⁷ With the leaders of the rebels. Naitō also belonged to these, and it is significant that Fernández constantly speaks of his wife and not of him. She had them brought by a bonze to the bonze monastery, and she brought them from there to her home.

²⁸ The empty bonze monastery which Yoshitaka had given them as a residence was apparently burned down during the uproar like many other monasteries of the city.

²⁹ That of Thomé Uchida, the earlier host of the priests.

In his letter, Brother Fernández also came to speak of the most recent events:³⁰

Padre mio, I have received the letter of Your Reverence, and I have been greatly consoled in mind by the advice which Your Reverence has given me. May it please the mercy of God that, by carrying out what Your Reverence has ordered and advised me, it will be to the great glory of God and to the salvation of my soul for the love of Jesus Christ our Creator and Lord.

May Your Reverence assist me with your holy and acceptable prayers and sacrifices so that I may dispose myself; for, if I am assisted by them, I hope that I shall be enlightened and assisted by the grace of the Holy Spirit so that I may amend my great imperfections.

And though I feel distressed at being absent from your holy company for a year,³¹ I am consoled by the fact that I shall always be in the thoughts of Your Reverence, since I am very weak and so far away that you will always remember me in a very special way in your prayers to the Lord....³²

The priests of this land and many of the laity say many things about us because of the envy which they have for us, since it angers them to be reproached for the sins in which they live.³³ Some of them say that the devil came and spoke through an idol, saying that we were his disciples.³⁴ They also say that a flame of fire fell from heaven upon the house of the king, and that many saw it, and that it came from the devil because of us. Others say that we eat men, and they greatly slander us by this.³⁵

And [we are] also [blamed] for the very great war which broke out here, which, since the king has died, has already subsided, as Your Reverence will be informed by the letter of Padre Cosme de Torres.

We experienced such great danger of being killed, that it was clearly a miracle worked by our Lord that we escaped. For a period of eight days the city was ever given over by day and night to fire and bloodshed and to nothing more than "May the victor live!" Many slew in order to obtain revenge on others, but also to obtain the possessions of others. During all this time they went constantly about in search of us so that they might slay us, some because of the great hatred they had for us, and others to obtain what we possessed.

After the priest had hidden our few possessions, he sent Antonio to the house of the wife of Naetondono to tell her that she should advise us on what to do. She ordered him to tell us that we should come immediately to her house.

As we went along the road, we suddenly encountered squads of armed men. And, as we passed through them, they said: "Since these men are from Chenjiqu, let us slay them! For they are the cause of the coming of so much evil, since they said that saints³⁶ of wood and stone cannot save the people nor even themselves. This is the reason why the people are burning the monasteries and even the saints with their fighting, and since these latter are angry at this, that they are being burned, they have permitted this war." And they say this because many monasteries were burned during

³⁰ The Spanish original of Fernández' letter is lost. A copy which Xavier had made in all haste in Cochín in January, 1552, by four copyists for the confreres in Europe is preserved in *JapSin.* 4, 26-33v. It has been published by us in *Disputationen*, original text (98-111), German with commentary (65-86; see also 25-26).

³¹ Xavier thus wished to return to Japan after a year.

³² This is followed by the protocol of the disputations (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 66-83).

³³ Cf. EX II 267-268.

³⁴ Xavier writes: "They say that our God is a great devil and that we are disciples of the devil" (*ibid.* 270).

³⁵ This accusation was also raised against the missionaries in Bungo and Miyako (see Frois 37 and 92).

³⁶ Fernández uses the word "saint" for the Japanese *hotoke*. Among the Buddhists this meant all those who have reached the state of enlightenment and *Nirvāna*.

this war and many idols were destroyed, and this occurred because all the people had lost their belief both in the idols and in their magical practices when they saw how the king was given over to such idolatries and magical practices, as Your Reverence well knows, and all of which were of no avail to him.

After we had passed through that danger, we arrived at the the house of Naetondono, whose wife sent us with one of her chaplains to a monastery which she supports.³⁷ Since its priests were very great enemies of us, they refused to receive us, saying that we were demons and that they had no place for such evil people, and that if we preached the law of God who is in heaven, why did He not take us at once to heaven and free us from those dangers. In the end, through fear of the *senora* or at the requests of the chaplain, they let us remain in a small corner of the church.

After we had spent two days and two nights there, we went in the company of the *fidalg*a to her house, where she gave us a passageway at the rear of her house through which the women of the house passed a *las necesarias*; and there we remained until the war ended.

God knows the dangers which we encountered, but about which I shall not give Your Reverence a long account lest I be more prolix.

May Your Reverence in your charity recommend me much to the prayers of my Fathers in Christ Jesus—Amtonio Gomez, Micer Paulo, Mestre Gaspar, Baltasar Gago, Domingos Caravallo, Francisco Lopez, Andrea Caravallo, and Father Francisco Peres and Brothers Roque de Olivera and Juan Bravo in Malaca, and to all the others, whose names I do not write to avoid prolixity, though I do not forget them, so that they may all pray to the Lord for me, since this is so necessary for me, helping one who is so ignorant, as they well know, to speak things so profound.

May it please God our Lord that they come here so that they may occupy themselves completely in speaking about things so profound and worthy of being preached by virtuous men and servants of Jesus Christ.

Written in Yamaguchy, the twentieth of October, 1551.

Your Reverence's useless servant,

Juan Fernandez.

5. THE DEATH OF YOSHITAKA (SEPTEMBER 30, 1551)³⁸

Xavier obtained further details about the events reported by Torres and Fernández.³⁹

³⁷ A bonze.

³⁸ On the antecedents of the rebellion: In our critical edition of Xavier's letters, a line was skipped in the letter of January 29, 1552. The text should read: "Estamdo [eu] em Bumgo, o demonio procurou como em Amanguche ouvese guerra; e foy de tal maneira que hum senhor muyto grande [Sue Takafusa], vassalo do duque de Amanguche, se alevantou comtra ele, e lhe fez tamta guerra, que lo fez fugir fora de Amanguche" (EX II 271-272).—On November 27, 1557, Torres wrote: "After our Father Master Francis happily left me in Yamaguchi, since the devil saw the fruit which could be produced with the preaching of the word of God, he prepared an obstacle to it in that he stirred up war and discord between the king and his vassals so that twenty days after my arrival in Yamaguchi they slew the king and his sons" (*Cartas* 1598, 51-v).—Frois is already more precise: "In that time when Father Cosme de Torres was living there [in Yamaguchi] with Brother João Fernandes, one thing followed another in that kingdom, both in the work of making conversions, which made constant progress even though with great difficulties, ignorance, poverty, and need which they suffered there, and also in some revolts and turmoils which occurred in the country. Two of the most prominent lords of Yamaguchi, vassals of the king Ōuchidono [Yoshitaka], had in fact allied themselves with Bungo so that they slew him in secret and wished to set up as lord of the kingdom a younger brother of the king of Bungo, who had the name of Hachirōdono [Haruhide]. And just as they had planned the treachery, so they carried it out twenty days after Father Cosme de Torres arrived there" (26).—The account of *Rodrigues Tçuzu

For eight or ten days after Xavier's departure, large numbers of bonzes and of the nobility had still come to the monastery where Torres and Fernández were living in order to dispute with them. They then ceased to come. On September 23 there was a rumor that Sue Takafusa, the most powerful vassal of the duke, had risen up against him. The city fell into confusion. Some women and merchants still came to the residence of the missionaries, but they too then ceased to come. Moved by their fear of the threatening civil war, the people took their precious possessions to places of safety, and Torres followed their example.⁴⁰

But Yoshitaka, who during this time had given the missionaries a large piece of ground for the building of a house, continued unperturbed with his luxurious way of living. On September 26 and 27 he held an unusually elegant dinner in honor of an ambassador of the *dairi*⁴¹ and of a bonze whom his nephew Ōtomo Yoshishige had sent him, and during the course of the meal a *nō* drama was even presented. It was coming to its end when news arrived that the troops of the rebels were nearing the city. On September 28 the duke then called his two vassals Sugi Shigenori and Naitō to assist him.⁴² But they were already in secret alliance with Sue Takafusa and paid no attention to the summons.

is still more precise: "Ten or fifteen days after the departure of the blessed Father Francis for Bungo . . . the bonzes invented the rumor that they had seen a bolt of lightning fall from heaven upon the dwelling of Yakata Yoshitaka, . . . and the rumor went around for ten days, when of a sudden one of the greatest lords of the kingdom, by the name of Suyedono, unexpectedly rebelled and sent a large throng of warriors against the city with very little reason; and those in the city seized their weapons, without those on the one side and those on the other really knowing what was at stake, and without being able to discern who was a foe and who was on the side of the duke, since everything was confused" (66).—The antecedents to the rebellion are discussed in detail (in addition to *Villion) by Satow 135-136 from the *Yoshitaka-ki*; by Haas I 207-208 from this work and also from the *Chūgoku-chiran-ki*, the *Ōuchi-jitsuroku*, and the *Yamaguchi-ken-Shiryaku*; by Fukuo 154-165; and by Aoyama 107-108; see also above, pp.

³⁹ The sources for the turmoil in Yamaguchi are: EX II 271-273 291; Torres 62-65, and his letter of November 7, 1557 (*JapSin.* 4, 72); Fernández 84-85, and Frois 26. The *Japanese sources* have been used by *Rodrigues Tçuzu (65v-68), *Villion; Satow 142-152, Haas I 207-213, Papinot 603, and Aoyama 166-169. The pertinent *Japanese chronicles* are: (1) the *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, according to the note at its end: "Written in the temple of Ryūfukuji in Yamaguchi in the land of Suō, Tembun 20, the middle of the eleventh month," that is, in December, 1551, probably by one of the bonzes of this temple, which was located near the royal palace. It has been printed from an old copy in the archives of the Ministry in Tokyo in *Gunsho-ruijū* 13 (1959-1960³) 416-427. The variants of a second, later draft of the work are also given here. (2) The *Chūgoku-chiran-ki*, probably composed at the end of the sixteenth century. (3) The *Ōtomo-ki* (alias *Kyūshū-chiran-ki*), completed about 1640. (4) The *Kyūshū-ki* of Ōtake Shunryū, apparently composed in the seventeenth century. (5) The *Intoku Taihei-ki*, a huge source work composed by Kagawa Masanori and his sons, which was completed in 1695 and published in 1915 (not always critical). (6) The *Honchō-tsūgan* (called *Nihon-tsūgan* by Villion), an annalistic work of Hayashi Shunai, completed in 1670, published in 1918-1920. More recent works: (7) The *Nihon-gaishi* of Rai San'yō, completed in 1827, and the work of the local historian Kondō Kiyoshi, who died in 1916. Of particular importance are (8) the *Ōuchi-shi jitsuroku*, a valuable collection of sources, and (9) the *Yamaguchi-ken Shiryaku*, a brief history of the prefecture of Yamaguchi. In addition to these there is the latest account of Fukuo Mōichirō, *Ōuchi Yoshitaka* (Tokyo, 1958) 166-174.

⁴⁰ Torres 62-63; Fernández 84; Aoyama 167.

⁴¹ According to Aoyama he was an ambassador of the emperor (167), according to Satow (163) and Haas (I 208), who follows him here in everything, an ambassador of the *shōgun*. Yoshishige's ambassador, a bonze, had already come to Yamaguchi in the middle of September. In the previous June the rebels had sent a secret embassy to Ōtomo Haruhide in Bungo with the proposal that he should become Yoshitaka's successor after the latter had been overthrown (Aoyama 167).

⁴² His uncle and cousin (Satow 136).

Yoshitaka then assembled his officers in his palace in order to consult with them about the measures to be taken. Some of his counselors advised him to arrest and execute Sugi and Naitō. But the prince refused to believe that they were not faithful to him. Others, who were more courageous, advised an open resistance. But the superiority of his opponents was too great for this; and upon the advice of one of his favorites, Yoshitaka abandoned the city and about midday marched with around three thousand men to the Hōsenji monastery in the mountains northwest of Yamaguchi in order to defend himself there.⁴³ Torres and his companions had, during the meantime, through the mediation of Naitō's wife, found refuge for two days and nights in a bonze monastery which she supported.⁴⁴

On the evening of this same day, September 28, the prince saw himself abandoned by a third of his troops;⁴⁵ and on the morning of the following day, September 29, only a thousand of his men still remained.⁴⁶ About noon the forces of his three rebellious vassals, Sue, Sugi, and Naitō, some five thousand men in all, pushed their way into Yamaguchi. Terrible fighting ensued, and in the general confusion friends and foes could hardly be distinguished. Many merchants and warriors who had remained faithful to the duke were slain.⁴⁷ His palace of Tsukiyama and many Shinto and Buddhist sanctuaries and monasteries, including the Ryūfuku-ji, Jōkō-ji, and Gumon-ji-dō monasteries, went up in flames.⁴⁸ Yoshitaka's troops put up a vain resistance at the Kannon-ji and Gumon-ji-dō monasteries,⁴⁹ and the prince himself vainly sought to deal with the rebels.⁵⁰

⁴³ EX II 271-272; Torres 62-64; Fernández 84-85; Frois 26; *Rodrigues Tçuzu 66; Satow 134-137; Haas I 208 (he places the flight on September 27); *Villion (cites the *Yoshitaka-ki*, *Ihon Yoshitaka-ki*, and *Intoku Taihei-ki*) and Aoyama 167. According to Satow the duke fled to the Hōsenji monastery at the suggestion of a treacherous favorite (137).

⁴⁴ Torres 62-64; Fernández 84-85.

⁴⁵ Aoyama 167.

⁴⁶ Satow 137; Haas I 208.

⁴⁷ Torres 65; Fernández 84; Aoyama 167.

⁴⁸ According to the *Intoku Taihei-ki*, the Tsukiyama palace, the Ryūfuku-ji, Jōkō-ji, and Gumon-ji-dō monasteries, a number of *teras* and *miyas*, and "the whole city" were burned down during the war (*Villion I). According to Rodrigues Tçuzu, most of the city was burned, including the palace of the duke and the palaces of the other lords (which certainly did not happen to the house of Naitō) and most of the monasteries and temples (66). A large amount of the duke's treasures and the unique passes for official trade with China which had been in his possession were also destroyed (Wang, *Official Relations* 81 111; Aoyama 167).

⁴⁹ *Villion II gives here a translation of the enigmatic passage of the *Yoshitaka-ki* which caused him a great many difficulties: "L'homme venu des Indes, appelé *Kaseki*, usant des procédés magiques (*mahō*), annonça hautement que l'année suivante au huitième mois le pays serait dans une confusion de toute obscurité, les gens en frémissaient." And with respect to the battle at the Hōsenji monastery: "Le religieux à sortilèges, nommé *Kaseki*, prévoyant les temps, dit que l'on devait attendre... Les jeunes guerriers lançant d'ici leurs flèches n'ont qu'à souffrir l'attaque des ennemis. De toute façon la victoire est assurée." *Villion I gives an excerpt from the *Yoshitaka-ki*: "Quand Yoshitaka se réfugia à Hōsenji, il avait à sa suite *Kaseki*. Les rebelles vinrent fondre sur Hōsenji, les gardes sortirent pour repousser cette attaque. *Kaseki* augurant du moment peu favorable leur commanda de ne pas commencer la lutte. Mais une fois le combat engagé, ils furent vaincus,—et l'on ne sut jamais où disparut *Kaseki*." Villion observes on this: "Ce nom de *Kaseki* est invérifiable, malgré toutes nos recherches." He suggests that it may be a bowdlerizing of the name *Xauerio*.—*Kaseki* means "firestone," and the expression in the *Yoshitaka-ki*: "*kaseki to ieru mahō*" ("the magic-tool called firestone") obviously means a flintlock. There was one of these among the gifts which Xavier presented to Yoshitaka. The text therefore simply states: "The magic called *kaseki* spoke such mysterious words, whereas the Tenjikujin all said together that disturbances would come in the eighth month, and that it would become dark."

⁵⁰ Satow 137; Haas 202.

In order to escape from the threatened encirclement of the hostile troops, he fled on the night of September 29-30 with his six-year-old son, the chief bonze, and some faithful followers from the Hōsen-ji monastery westwards over the mountains to Iwanaga, and from there north to the bay of Fukawa in order to pass from there to Chikuzen on the island of Kyūshū. Since the south wind prevented him from sailing, he sought a refuge in the Dainei-ji monastery located in the vicinity of Fukawa. His foes had however followed on his heels. When Yoshitaka saw that he was encircled, he had his son slain and then committed *hara-kiri* after he had ordered his followers to burn both of their bodies so that they would not fall into the hands of his adversaries.⁵¹

On the day that the prince committed suicide, Naitō's wife brought Torres and his companions into her own home: they would not have been safe in the bonze monastery during the eight days that the city was plundered. Order had not been fully reestablished when Antonio set out from Yamaguchi for Bungo with the letters of Torres and Fernández.⁵²

Dark as the future of the church in Yamaguchi had seemed to be, it soon was bright again. Under the leadership of Sue Takamitsu Awa-no-kami, an embassy of the victorious rebels entered Bungo and offered Yoshitaka's empty throne to Haruhide, the younger brother of Yoshishige. After some hesitation, the offer was accepted;⁵³ and Haruhide promised to protect and support the missionaries in Yamaguchi.⁵⁴

⁵¹ The distance from Yamaguchi to the bay of Fukawa in a straight line is thirty-one miles, by road thirty-seven. The bonze with whom he fled was the Rinzai monk Gyo-kudō. After he had arrived in the Dainei-ji monastery, Yoshitaka took a bath and then listened to the explanations of the different sects about death which the bonze related to him. When on the afternoon of September 30 his enemies had surrounded the monastery, he had his son slain by one of his vassals and he himself committed *hara-kiri*. This is the account in Aoyama 167-168, taken from the *Yoshitaka-ki* 416-427, the *Chūgoku-chiran-ki* (*Gunsho Ruijū* 394, 437-439), and Fukuo 166-174. According to Satow 137 and Haas I 208-209, the duke killed himself after he had entrusted his two sons to the bonze. Most of his followers also committed *hara-kiri* or died in battle with their swords in their hands. According to one account, the monk escaped with the two sons of the duke, but he was caught. The elder son had himself slain by one of his vassals, who then committed *hara-kiri*. The younger son also encountered death, but it is not reported how. Another version, for example, in the *Nihon-gaishi-ho*, agrees with that of the missionaries. On January 29, 1552, Xavier wrote: "His enemies forced him [the duke] to flee from Yamaguchi. They followed him with many men, and when he saw that there was no more hope for him, he decided to kill himself and also his small son, whom he was taking with him so that he would not fall into the power of his enemy, his vassal. He killed himself with a dagger after he had first had his son slain and had ordered his followers to burn both of their bodies so that there would no longer be any trace of them when their enemies came; and they did so" (EX II 271-272). Torres, on the other hand, wrote in 1557: "Twenty days after my arrival in Amanguche the king and his sons were slain" (*JapSin.* 4, 72). According to *Rodrigues Tçuzu, the king slew his small son and himself and had the temple and the house in which he was turned into ashes by his men (66).

⁵² Torres 64-65.

⁵³ Aoyama (following the account of the *Chūgoku-chiran-ki* 439-440) writes as follows: After the death of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, Sue Takafusa slew the former chancellor Sagara Taketō in Chikuzen and then his ally Sugi Shigenori, when it became known through Sagara that Sugi had repeatedly spoken to the duke about the intrigues of Sue. He then held a funeral for the deceased Ōuchi Yoshitaka and sent the embassy to Bungo (168). The two court chroniclers then give diverging accounts on what subsequently happened. According to the *Ōtomo-ki*, Yoshishige did not wish to send his brother Haruhide to Yamaguchi, since he was convinced that Sue's very powerful rival, Mōri Motonari, would be too strong for him and would probably try to seize the inheritance of the Ōuchi for himself. He therefore at first refused to give his consent. But when his brother was

The bonze monastery which Yoshitaka had offered the missionaries as a dwelling in Yamaguchi had been burned down during the war.⁵⁵ Xavier had told his friend Mendes Pinto much about his travels and labors and of the prospects for the mission in Japan, of his trip to Miyako, about the sacred deer on the island of Miyajima, the large trading center of Sakai with its rich merchants, and the famed university of Bandu in the far north, much larger than that of Paris.⁵⁶ At Xavier's request, Pinto now lent his friend three hundred *cruzados* so that Torres could build a church in Yamaguchi on the large piece of property that had been given to them by the duke.⁵⁷ Before leaving Bungo, Xavier sent the money with a departing letter for his confreres who had been left behind in Yamaguchi.⁵⁸

determined to go, since a refusal of the offer would be taken as an indication of a fear of Mōri, he finally agreed to it. According to the *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki*, Sue had come to an understanding with the king of Bungo from the very beginning. He had promised him much earlier that he would give his brother command over Suō, the province of Yamaguchi. There was, of course, an unspoken reservation that he would keep the rule in his own hands, despite the fact that immediately after the rebellion he had changed his name to Harukata and then assumed that of Zenkyō in order to show that he had withdrawn from politics (Satow 139; Haas I 211-212; Papinot 603-604)—Xavier simply writes: "After the death of the duke the lords of the land [the victorious rebels] discovered that the land could not be ruled or governed without a duke. They therefore sent ambassadors to the duke of Bungo with the request that he might give them one of his brothers to become the duke of Amanguche. And they reached an agreement that a brother of the duke of Bungo should go to be the duke of Amanguche" (EX II 272).—Frois takes the side of the *Yoshitaka-ki* when he writes that the rebels, two of the most prominent lords of Yamaguchi, were allied with Bungo and planned to secretly slay the king [Yoshitaka] and to make Hachirō, the brother of the king of Bungo, lord of the kingdom in Yamaguchi (26). Torres seems to adopt the other interpretation when he states in 1557: "They killed the king and his sons; and since they were without a king, they took as king a brother of the king of Bungo, but there was still discord among the lords of the kingdom, since some wished to receive the new king but others did not" (*Cartas* 1598, 51v).—According to *Rodrigues Tçuzu, the rebels, when their anger had subsided after the death of the duke Yoshitaka, took up the question of the election of a prince to rule over them. There had always been a great friendship and alliance between the house of Bungo and the duke of Yamaguchi, since they were both prominent and powerful. The duke of Yamaguchi had on the island of Kyūshū, whose nine kingdoms belonged to the king of Bungo, a part of Buzen and of Chikuzen, the other parts belonging to the duke of Bungo. Further, half of the city of Hakata belonged to Yamaguchi, and half to Bungo. Each had its own governor and was ruled in peace and harmony on both sides. It therefore seemed good to them [the rebels] to elect as lord a younger brother of the duke of Bungo named Hachirōdono, a young man of very good qualities. But there was discord among the lords of the kingdom of Yamaguchi: some wanted the one from Bungo as their lord but others did not. Since those who were on the side of Bungo were stronger at the time and were those who had brought about the revolution [Sue, Sugi, and Naitō], they had the upper hand and sent their ambassador to Bungo to ask for him [Hachirō] as their lord, while the opposing party [especially the Mōri] remained fixed in their opinion, although they could not carry it through. But five years later they did so by killing the duke [Ōuchi Yoshinaga] (69).

⁵⁴ "This duke of Bungo promised the Portuguese and me that he would see to it that his brother, the duke of Amanguche, would show great good will to Father Cosme de Torres and João Fernandes, and that he would favor them; and his brother promised to do the same when he reached Amanguche" (EX II 273). Haruhide did not go from Funai to Yamaguchi until the third month of the period of Tembun (March to April, 1552). On this occasion he took the name of Ōuchi Yoshinaga (*Villion I, following Kondō Kiyoshi, *Yamaguchi-meishō-kyūseki-zushi*).

⁵⁵ This seems to follow from Torres' third letter 64-65.

⁵⁶ As Pinto wrote on December 5, 1554, from Malacca (Ayres, *Subsidios* 65-66).

⁵⁷ EX II 304-305 467-468; Mendes Pinto in 1554 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 60).

⁵⁸ The letters which Xavier wrote to his confreres (he probably sent the first at

6. THE DISPUTATIONS OF FATHER TORRES IN YAMAGUCHI (SEPTEMBER 15-23, 1551)³⁹

In order to give his confreres in India and Europe an insight into the spiritual climate of Japan and of the demands which would be made upon those who

the end of September or beginning of October; the second in the middle of November, 1551, before his departure from Bungo; the third, from Malacca, probably through Alcáçova and Gago on June 6, 1552) are lost. It seems that they were kept as precious relics by their recipients, and that when Torres and Fernández were forced to leave Yamaguchi in 1556 because of the revolt of Mōri Motonari they were left behind with the Christians. It was not until 1574 that Cabral was able to visit the abandoned Christians of the city on his way to Miyako. In Okayama (Kawachi) in 1577 there was a great benefactor of the mission, Jorge Yūki Yaheiji, who collected the signatures of the missionaries in a book. He looked a long time for one of Father Master Francis and finally succeeded, but not without difficulty, in obtaining three or four letters of his signature from an old letter which was owned and held in great reverence by a Christian in Yamaguchi (Frois 333). On September 9, 1577, Frois wrote in greater detail about this in his letter from Usuki: "Mandou [Jorge Yūki Yaheiji] huma vez no Miaco, averá hum anno, fazer hum livrozinho todo iluminado d'ouro, muyto galante e bem feito, e depois veo-se a mim que lhe desse todos os sinais das cartas que tinha dos Padres e Irmãos que vierão de Europa a estas partes. E [meteu] em cada folha pequena hum só, e abaixo do sinal escrito em letras da China por hum singular escrivão: tal pessoa veo da India em tal era, esteve tanto tempo em Japão. E porque não pode achar sinal do P. Mestre Francisco, lá descobriu duas sós letras de sua mão, que em Yamaguchi achou de hum pedaço de huma carta velha" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 156v). There is thus no question of two letters, as we wrote in GS III 83 and IV 362). The letter of Xavier mentioned here is probably the same that was in the possession of a Christian in Yamaguchi in 1586. Father Cristovam Moreira, who went there after Cabral's visit in 1586 and remained until 1587, obtained it from him. Father Pedro Morejón obtained it in turn from him and took it with him on his voyage to Europe in 1614. In 1630, in Manila, he gave it to the Philippine province of the Society, which had done so much for the Japanese mission. The letter is now lost. It was written entirely in Xavier's hand, as Morejón testified in the still extant document of authenticity. It was probably one of the two which the saint wrote to Yamaguchi from Bungo, for he had enough scribes in Malacca, from where the third letter was sent, to dictate it, as he usually did (cf. EX II 232-234).

³⁹ We have published the original Spanish text of the protocol of Brother Fernández in *Disputationen* 99-109, and a German translation and commentary of it on pp. 66-83. In the same work we also give a survey of the use made of the protocol (together with the fictional disputations of Mendes Pinto in Bungo) in later authors such as Bartoli, Guzmán, Lucena, Sousa, and Crasset (29-36). Lucena seems to have given his eighth book, on these disputations, at the last moment to the press, which would explain the complete confusion of the pagination. Book 7 ends on page 578. This is followed by Book 8 with the page numbers as follows: 569-570 581-583 585 584 586-587 577 579-582 593-652 546 655-669 669v 670-670v 671-671v 672-672v.—On Torres, see in addition to the bibliography given in Vol. III, p. 115, F. Mateos, S.J., in *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 124-147, and Diego Pacheco, S.J., *ibid.* 24 (1967) 167-227; on Fernández, see in addition to the bibliography cited in Vol. III, p. 503, Mateos, *ibid.* 9 (1952) 124-147, and Pacheco, *Saisho no Iruhan Juan Fernández* (The First Brother, Juan Fernández) (Nagasaki, 1967). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 15 (1910-1911¹¹) 225-226 on these disputations: "No language lends itself with greater difficulty than Japanese to the discussion of theological questions. The terms necessary for such a purpose are not current among laymen, and only by special study, which, it need scarcely be said, must be preluded by an accurate acquaintance with the tongue itself, can a man hope to become duly equipped for the task of exposition and dissertation. It is open to grave doubt whether any foreigner has ever attained the requisite proficiency. Leaving Anjiro in Kagoshima to care for the converts made there, Xavier pushed on to Hirado, where he baptized a hundred Japanese in a few days. Now we have it on the authority of Xavier himself [where?] that in this Hirado campaign 'none of us knew Japanese.' How did they proceed? 'By reciting a semi-Japanese volume' (a translation made by Anjiro of a treatise from Xavier's pen) 'and by delivering sermons, we brought several over to the Christian cult.' Sermons preached in Portuguese or Latin to a Japanese audience on the island of Hirado in the year 1550 can scarcely have attracted intelligent interest. On his first visit to Yamaguchi, Xavier's means of access to the understanding of his hearers was confined to the

would preach the faith among such a highly cultured people, Fernández, at Xavier's request, included in his letter of October 20 the protocol of the disputations which had taken place after Xavier's departure from Yamaguchi and before the outbreak of the civil war. In this he gave a Spanish translation of the questions and answers which he had written at the time in Japanese at the request of Father Torres. The protocol ran as follows:

After Your Reverence departed from here, many questions were posed by the Japanese, who came much changed after they saw that Your Reverence had gone. They were so many that they filled the house from morning to night, since it seemed to

rudimentary knowledge of Japanese which Fernández had been able to acquire in 14 months, a period of study which, in modern times, with all the aids procurable, would not suffice to carry a student beyond the margin of the colloquial. No converts were won. The people of Yamaguchi probably admired the splendid faith and devotion of these over-sea philosophers, but as for their doctrine, it was unintelligible. . . . But when the Jesuits returned to Yamaguchi in the early autumn of 1551, they baptized 500 persons, including several members of the military class. Still Fernández with his broken Japanese was the only medium for communicating the profound doctrines of Christianity. It must be concluded that *the teachings of the missionaries produced much less effect than the attitude of the local chieftain.* Without wishing to insist that Fernández spoke classical Japanese or was even a master of the terminology of the Buddhist schools, we still believe that the mutual understanding was somewhat more than the above passage seems to accept.—The passage cited by the author from Xavier on Fernández' knowledge of the language goes back by way of Coleridge II 296 to the Latin edition of Xavier's letters made by Tursellinus, which translated Xavier's text: "A este tempo já hum de nós sabia falar japão" (EX II 260) in an exactly contrary sense: "Nemo tamen nostrum Japonice sciebat." On Fernández' knowledge of the language, see Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 9-13. According to Xavier the philosophical and theological knowledge of his two confreres in Yamaguchi was not enough for disputations at the great universities of Japan (EX II 290-291). Valignano described Torres in 1601 in his *Libro primero del principio* as a "hombre de pocas letras; aunque sabia algo más que los otros, era muy poco" (c. 13). But he had no direct knowledge of him. Lancilotto, on the other hand, who knew him personally, wrote of him in 1550 that he was "huomo grande literato et de grande abelidà" (DI II 17). Xavier himself wrote of him and Fernández on March 22, 1552: "They have a good knowledge of the language [of Japan] and therefore produce very great fruit" (EX II 326). Xavier also wrote after his return from Japan to Ignatius about Fernández: "Johán Fernández sabe muy byen ablar japon. Habla todo aquello que o Padre Cosme de Torres le dize" (*ibid.* 291). And Nunes Barreto, who got to know the brother in Japan in 1556, wrote to the general of the order in 1560: "Joam Fernández is the leading preacher of the law of God in Japão, since . . . the Japanese find a certain charm in his language which they call *muxaree*, and they are greatly pleased to hear him. He preaches effectively to them with all the gestures and ceremonies of the Japanese, who are the most ceremonious people I have seen. Although he has no higher education, still, because of his exercise in disputations and spiritual endeavors and in giving reasons for the things of faith which are asked of him, and also because of his constant prayer and reading of sacred books, he has obtained such a light in the knowledge of the things of God that I believe that there are many theologians who have not penetrated these matters or have experienced them so thoroughly so as to explain them as well as he. . . . Cosme de Torres told me that he could do little in Japão if Joam Fernandez were to die" (DI IV 511-512). In 1555 Gago, who had already made use of him as an interpreter, wrote to his confreres from Hirado that a Japanese in Yamaguchi corrected the language of the books so that what Fernández wrote could be understood. He nevertheless added: "But despite this, the Japanese are delighted to hear Brother João Fernández, for it is a new thing for them and they are astonished at how he speaks their language. When his words flow there is no one in Japan who speaks better and more eloquently than he" (*Cartas* 1598, 39). He wrote to Ignatius with the same post: "He speaks Japanese better than his own mother tongue" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 61v). In 1559 Cabral wrote: "From what I heard from everyone who was there, Joam Fernández has such experience in the language of Japam that he speaks it much better than many of the natives; and they take great pleasure in the instructions in Christian doctrine which he gives them in their language" (DI IV 447).

them that there was no one here who could refute them with the grace and favor of the Holy Spirit. Father Cosmo de Tores answered their questions, and I served as an interpreter. And since the priest ordered me to write down in Japanese what they asked and what he replied to them, I shall here give Your Reverence an account of what I wrote.

First came many *Jenxus* [Zenshū], priests and laymen. We asked them what they were doing to become Saints. They laughed and replied that there are no Saints,⁶⁰ and that there is consequently no need to look for one's way; since that which was nothing has come into being,⁶¹ it cannot help being reduced again into nothing.

We asked them many things in order to make it clear to them that there is a principle which gives beginning to all things.⁶²

They agree that this is so by saying that there is a principle from which all things proceed: men, animals, plants, and every created thing has this principle within it; and when a man or animal dies, it is changed into the four elements, into that which it was; and this principle returns into that which it is. They say that this principle is neither good nor bad, that it has neither beatitude nor sorrow, that it does not die nor does it live, so that it is a no.⁶³

We asked them if there was a difference between men and beasts. They replied that in their being born and dying they are alike. But in one respect beasts are better, for they live their lives without anxiety, without remorse, and without grief as men do.

We asked them what it was in which men were different from beasts in being sad, concerned, and remorseful.

They replied that there are many kinds of animals, and that they have different characteristics, and that it is thus that men are different from them.

We told them that even though there are many insects and animals which are of different shapes, they are still all, whether large or small, of the same kind in that they do not know good or evil. But man is far different from all of them in this and is himself unique.

They replied that even if this were so, in being born and dying and in soul men and animals are one.

We told them that this was not the case. For even a child, if after its birth, it is placed among animals without seeing anyone, just as soon as it has obtained physical strength it will speak by itself and will know what is good and what is evil; and if it does something against reason, it will experience remorse;⁶⁴ and they [our adversaries] should tell us what it was that caused the child to feel remorse.

⁶⁰ Fernández probably translated the Japanese *hotoke* in this way. The aim of the Buddhist was to become a *hotoke*, that is, a Buddha, or to become one with Buddha, or with the Absolute, to enter into *Nehan* (*Nirvana*). This is also indicated by the proverb on the Hokke bonzes: "Hokke ga hotoke ni nareba, ushi no kuso ga miso ni naru" ("When a Hokke becomes Buddha, cow dung becomes bean purée"). See Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 60 67-69.

⁶¹ *Nehan* = *Nirvana*.

⁶² The Spanish *principio* means both principle (reason for being, cause of being) and beginning.

⁶³ The *Shinnyo* of the Hossō sect, indicated as the Primal Source in the *Kishin-ron*, from which all things flow (cf. Coates 359), the Basic Principle, the Sole Constant in the everlasting cycle of coming and going, the Absolute which is identical with Buddha and dwells within all beings. Since it is here designated as "Nothing," and mention is later made of the *Kū*, we should probably think here of the *Daiichigi-Kū* (the First Principle of Emptiness) (*ibid.* 359). According to Xavier, "the Japanese have no knowledge whatever in the books of their sects about the creation of the world. They are of the opinion that it has no beginning (*principio*). What made the greatest impression upon them was that we said that souls had a Creator (*Criador*) who created them. All were universally astonished at this.... They asked us many things about this principle (*principio*) which created all things, whether it was good or bad, and whether there is one principle of all things both good and bad" (EX II 264). "None of their nine sects speak of a creation of the world or of souls" (EX II 256).

⁶⁴ This familiar scholastic example occurs twice again further on, and it is also used by Xavier (EX II 267).

They answered that since man has that principle in himself, he therefore has these anxieties and regrets; but they say that in this principle there is nothing good nor evil, nor does it live nor die.

We told them: "That which neither lives nor dies, nor feels, how can it know what is good and what is evil, and how can it have remorse?"

They replied: "We have intelligence, and with intelligence one can learn to live well. But during one's lifetime one cannot learn or understand with one's intelligence what will happen to us after our death."

We told them: "A man who lives well can never die an evil death. For he who does all things with reason during his lifetime lives without remorse and in consolation; and a man who lives always with a clean heart, when he dies, he dies without remorse and in consolation. This is a clear sign that he cannot come to a bad end."

They admitted that we were right.

Others came and said: "Simple men have regrets and cares because they are concerned about beatitude and hell, but if they were wise, they would pay no attention even if they had committed the most serious sins, since when one dies, one rids oneself of all these physical passions; and just as the four elements return to what they were, so the soul returns to what it was before it animated that body."

We gave them many reasons for understanding how even if the body so wishes when a man commits a sin, if it is not so determined by the soul, he cannot commit that sin. This was something which they could not deny.

Afterwards we told them: "Since a soul has been born to walk along the Sacred Way, it knows good and evil; and if it, knowing good and evil, makes good use of this knowledge for going along the Sacred Way, when it rids itself of its body, it returns to the Truly Holy who created it. However, when the soul decides to act against reason, it discards the Sacred Way and, by attaching itself to what is evil, becomes itself evil. And in this condition, after it has made itself evil, when it is separated from the body, it cannot enter the Sacred Place, which it has rejected when it made itself evil. And it thus remains fixed in evil, and the place where the wicked are detained is Hell."⁶⁵

They replied that we were right.

Others said that Hell is for the wicked, and that it is not in the other life but in this, for they are punished precisely here by Justice and other means for the evil they have done.

We replied to them: "There are many sins which are not here punished by Justice. Some steal and kill, but since they are not discovered, they are not punished here. But these cannot escape punishment. And also those who are here punished by Justice, can only be physically punished. The soul, however, cannot be punished by Justice in this world for that which it desired and determined, and its punishment is reserved for Hell.

They replied that there is no Hell after a man's death,⁶⁶ and that Hell is in this world, and that after death, when we shall have cast off these physical miseries arising from this Hell, we shall be at peace.

We told them that if this were so, why is it that men, despite all the poverty and

⁶⁵ To the Sacred Way (*Shōdōmon*) of the Buddhists, the missionaries here oppose the Sacred Way of the Christians, to the Saint (*Buddha*) the True Saint, God, to the Pure Land (*Jōdo*) of Amida the Holy Place of Heaven. Cf. Hōnen's *Senchakushū*: First is the Sacred Way (*Shōdō*); second is the Pure Land (*Jōdo*). It is difficult for men of these days to understand the Sacred Way, first because we are so far from the Great and Holy (*Buddha*), and second, because his teachings are too difficult for our poor understanding (see Coates 340).

⁶⁶ Xavier states on the other hand: "All [nine sects] say that there is a hell and a paradise" (EX II 256), but he immediately corrects this with the observation: "Among the nine sects there is one which maintains that the souls of men are mortal like those of beasts.... The followers of this sect [Zen-shū] are evil. They were impatient when they heard us say that there is a hell" (*ibid.* 265-266). On the Buddhist hell (*jigoku*), see Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 73-75.

all the toils in which they live, are so grieved and afraid to rise from this Hell in the hour of death?

They replied that the soul has that fear and grief since it is despoiled of this body which it loved so much, with which it conversed, and with which it realized its desires in this world.

We told them that this was not so, since a man's soul does not fulfill its desires in this world and by being in this body. The reason for this is that all the things of this world, each of them, desires that goal for which it was created; and when it attains and possesses it, it has no further desires. Animals, for example, are not created for anything more than to live in this world. Therefore, after they have eaten what they want for the preservation of their life, they have no further desires. But the soul of a man, since it was not created in order to have its end in this world but for beatitude, even if it should have many treasures in this life, it would never be content with them as long as it does not attain its goal, which is the beatitude for which it was created. The grief and fear, however, which it has come from another source, namely, that it was created by God in this little body and in the womb of its mother. And although He created it to walk along the Sacred Way to beatitude, He gave it intelligence so that it might know and avoid the Evil Way and recognize and take the Good Way. It, however, by obeying the devil and abandoning the Good Way, becomes evil; and its fear and diffidence increase so that it does not attain the goal for which it was created, since it took the wrong path. And just as an evil servant fears to approach his Lord, so it fears to go to give an account to Him who has created it, since it fears the punishment of Hell.

They replied that they well knew the material of the body, that it consisted of four elements; but of what material did God create the soul?⁶⁷

We replied to them that when God created the world in order to make the elements, sun, moon, and the rest, He did not need to look for material to create it, but He created them anew by His word and will alone; and thus in the same way, without any material but only by His word and will, He created souls.

They asked what was the color and manner of presence of the soul.

We replied to them that it has neither color nor body since it is only the elements, the heavens, sun, moon, and stars that have body.

They replied that if it has neither color nor body, then it was nothing at all.

We asked them if there was wind in the world.

They said that there was.

We asked them if the wind had presence and color.

They replied that it did not.

We then asked them: "Therefore air being a physical thing exists, although it does not have presence or color; what about the soul which has no corporal element in itself but which is a living thing although it has no body?"

They replied that we were right.

Others came who asked: "What is God?"⁶⁸

We replied to them that we know that there is a beginning for all things which exist, but we know well that they did not have their origins in themselves, and that there is consequently a principle which gave a beginning to all things, which had no beginning and which will not have an end; and this is called in our language *Dios*.

⁶⁷ On the Buddhist teachings about the soul (*tamashii*), see *ibid.* 69-73. Common to all the sects is the denial of a soul in the Christian sense of the word. They postulate instead a group of five phenomena that disintegrate at death: corporeity, affectivity, perceptivity, sensible discernment, and consciousness. On the Chinese teaching on the soul, see also F. E. A. Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo. Die Religionen und Philosophischen Systeme Ostasiens* (München, 1924) 48-49 213-219 552, n. 283.

⁶⁸ The Latin *Deus* (pronounced as *Deusu* in Japanese), which Xavier used for God instead of *Dainichi*, which he had used first in Yamaguchi. This name, which was new to the Japanese, did not fail to arouse their curiosity and ridicule (cf. Schurhammer, *Sprachproblem* 36-38).

They asked if it had a body or could be seen.

We replied to them that those things which have a body and are visible in this world are composed of elements, and that God created the elements, and consequently He cannot have a body composed of elements. For if He had a body of elements, He could not be the Creator.

They asked if the soul of a good man sees God by rising from the body.

We replied to them that a good man as soon as his body dies sees God.

They asked that if this were so why does not a good soul see Him while it is in the body in this world.

We answered them that a precious stone, however resplendent it may be, is without brilliance and blind when it is buried in mud. So also the soul, as long as it is detained in this dirty body cannot use its clarity and sight; and this is the reason why it does not see God in this world, since it is detained in this body.

They told us that this was so, and that the souls of men are God, since they do not have a body and, because of this, they are neither born nor obliged to die.⁶⁹

We replied to this by asking them if among men there were those who were good and those who were evil.

They replied that there were.

We said: "Then the Saint who created and rules the world and all such beautiful things never thought or committed evil, but is most holy and all good. It is thus immediately clear that the souls of evil and miserable men are not God but creatures of God."

Others came and said that a man in no way has more than the four elements and the form which they called *Qu*,⁷⁰ and that when the body dies, the elements revert to what they were and the *Qu* is dissolved.

We answered them that all thing which are made up solely of these elements become less as they grow old, as for example, plants, trees, and animals; and men also, since they are physically composed of these elements, when they grow old, their strength and health and five senses diminish. But they have a soul, and if it together with the body should fail as the physical senses are diminished, it would be diminished. But since the soul does not die, when it becomes old, even though the physical senses fail, the soul does not fail, but it recognizes good and evil even more and gives counsel to the young.

They replied that the soul is diminished by age, since memory fades, which is a potency of the soul, when it declines with age.

We told them that the failure of the memory is not the result of a failure of the soul but of the physical instruments, and that the soul cannot make as much use of the body as is necessary because it is weak. For even an infant is equal to a man as

⁶⁹ Pantheistic Buddhism actually knew only one Being. The world, the *ego* with all its changes, is only a wave in the sea of the Absolute. When ignorance disappears, the "enlightened" recognizes his unity with Buddha, the Absolute Being.

⁷⁰ Our copy has *qu*, also *ku*; Lucena and Sousa have *cum*, which implies that in the original *qu*, there was also the nasal *kum*, and that the copier of our text forgot to place the tilde over the *u*. Should the Chinese *kuei*, Sino-Japanese *kon*, Japanese *ta-mashii*, be here understood, which corresponds somewhat to our concept of "spirit"? According to de la Mazelière, Chinese philosophy distinguishes two souls in men: the immaterial *shin*, which is revealed during one's life by his breath (*kon* or *hwun*) and becomes after death a luminous spirit (*mei*), and the material *ki*, the power of life, which returns to the earth in death (*Le Japon* I 378). Or should we think of *Ka* (Non-being, Emptiness)? A biographer said of Hōnen Shōnin that in his study of the Tendai teachings he excelled all others in the main meditation of the sect, the *Isshin Sangan*. On this a commentator has observed: "In this meditation there is a simultaneous recognition of the aspects of reality; Being (*U*), Non-Being (*Ka*) and the unity (*Chū*) of both, in a momentary act of consciousness. It is maintained by the Tendai, that if one really comprehends the full meaning of this, he has attained enlightenment" (Coates 140; cf. 681-682). In this case the *kum* of our text would represent the Chinese reading *k'ung* for this sign. For the Chinese symbols, see Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 73.

far as the soul is concerned, but in so far as it is lacking all its physical powers, it does not speak, it does not remember, it does not know anything, but it nevertheless has a rational soul; and if it were placed among beasts where there are no people when it was born, as soon as it obtained its physical powers, the soul would make use of reason, availing itself of its body and speaking.

They said that there is here neither a Saint⁷¹ nor a God, since all things are by nature without a beginning in the world and without something that began it.

We replied that nothing which is not alive can move itself if it is not moved by another, and that the sun and the moon, since they are things which do not live, they cannot move themselves. Who then moved them and moves them from one side to the other?

They were not able to answer this.

Others asked where God is.

We replied that God is over all that He has created,⁷² and that from there He rules and gives being to all things, and that nothing can exist or cease to be without His will.

They asked: "What is the demon?"

We told them how Lucifer and many other angels had been cast out of Paradise for being proud and wishing to be equal to their Creator.

They asked why the demon tempts men and does evil to them.

We replied that it was because men were created for beatitude, which he lost through his pride. He envies them and strives to trick them so that they will lose it.

They objected that if God is merciful and created men for entering into beatitude, why does he allow the demon to do them so much evil?⁷³

We replied that the demon has no more power over a man than simply to suggest to him that he do evil, and that men have a knowledge of good and evil, and freedom to do what they wish, and that it is their fault when they do evil, since they know that they are acting against reason, and that they must be punished for this.

They asked how it was that, if God created men through mercy so that they might be good and be given beatitude, He created them in such a way that they always do and desire evil.

We replied that God created all things good, and that He created man good and with a clear knowledge to avoid evil things and to keep them away from himself; but when men do wrong, they make themselves evil, doing the opposite to what they perceive with their intelligence and reason, which they have received from God.

They asked why God, if He is merciful and creates us so that we may attain beatitude, made the road so difficult for its attainment. Why are we always resisting with our flesh and appetites the things of virtue and of the road which God commands us to travel in order to obtain beatitude?

We replied that if a man makes good use of the weaknesses of his flesh, the Commandments of God are very easy for him; and if he fulfills the Commandments, he will live in greater tranquillity. For if he says that he is inclined to eat and to sleep and to rest, God does not command him to suppress his hunger or to work miracles, but only to adore Him who made and redeemed him, and to love his neighbor, which is not difficult. If he says that he cannot give up engaging in sensual pleasures, God does not oblige him to be a virgin, but that he should have only one wife⁷⁴ and do His will. But if he seeks to take the wife of another, her husband will seek to kill him; and he will have enemies; and he thus seeks more pains than pleasures for himself.

⁷¹ In the Buddhist sense, that is, those who are already on one of the four steps of the way of the four saints. On the different lower steps of holiness on this way, see Reischauer 206.

⁷² Lucena 8, 14: "Fernández answered with the words of Scripture: 'And he set him above all the stars and beyond the highest heaven.'" The citations from the Fathers of the Church, Hilary, Basil, Cyprian, Tertullian, and Augustine, which Lucena places after this, are of course missing in Fernández.

⁷³ On the following, cf. EX II 261-262.

⁷⁴ This is greatly abbreviated in *Cartas* 1598, and even more in Frois.

If he steals what belongs to another, he seeks pains and dangers for himself, and not pleasures and repose, since they at times cut off the head of such a one, or he is dishonored and is regarded as evil, whether he flees from his country or remains in it. Similarly, one who swears falsely, or bears false witness against another, is dishonored and is considered to be a liar; and he has enemies for what he has said against them. Similarly, if one does not honor his father and his mother, he lives disliked and dishonored by others for not acknowledging what great good he has received from them. And also, if one seeks to kill another, he is seeking peril for himself, since at times he is killed by others before he himself can kill; and he thus lives in rancour and anxieties. There are also the Ninth and Tenth [Commandments]: Who orders him to weary himself in longing for what he cannot acquire, such as the goods or wife of another?

They said that it would be a sin to take another's wife, who has a husband, but that it would not be a sin with an unmarried woman.

We replied that if a man has many wives, he never lives himself in peace, nor his wives, nor his children; and, in addition to this, we are bound by nature not to do to another what we would not wish to be done to us. And just as it would be very grievous to me if another man took my wife, so, if I take another's wife as my own, I do to him that which I would not want to be done to me. And further, even if that woman does not have a husband, she always has brothers or relatives; and just as I am affronted when another fornicates with my sister or relative, so, if I take an unmarried woman, I affront her relatives.

They said that this might be so with respect to women, but it would not be so with respect to boys, since there is no consequent shame to their relatives, and still less to the boy, when one commits sodomy with him, since he has no virginity to lose, and sodomy is not a sin.⁷⁵

We replied that when God created all things He created a male and female of each thing, and this for the increase of the species; and that that sin is against nature and beasts do not commit it or desire to do so; and a man who does so is worse than a beast and sins most grievously.

They said that if God created all things so that they would multiply and increase, then it is no sin for one who has a wife from whom he has no children to take another from whom he can have them without sinning.⁷⁶

We replied that a man from his own forces alone, if God does not give them, cannot have children, and that if it is God's will to give them, he will give them with one woman; and if God does not will to give them, he will not have them even though he takes many wives.

They asked why God, if He is merciful, does not give children to some persons who desire them?

We replied that He does this to show men that there is a Creator who creates men, and that they of their own forces do not have children. For if he gave them to them according to their desire, men, who are ungrateful and forgetful, would come to say that there is no Creator.

They said that we were right.

Others came and asked: "If God created all things good, when Lucifer sinned through pride in Paradise, who, if it was not God, created this proud and evil spirit?"

We replied: "When God created the angels, He created them good and with a clear intelligence so that they might avoid evil things, and with a free will so that they might easily choose what they desired; for if God had created them so that they could not commit evil, they would not have deserved to obtain the reward of beatitude. And thus many angels who chose the good received the reward of eternal beatitude. And Lucifer and the others were also created to choose the good and to obtain beatitude,

⁷⁵ Letters of the missionaries frequently mention this vice, which was widespread in Japan at the time (cf. EX II 261 268; Frois 9-10).

⁷⁶ The prohibition against polygyny also provoked hostility against the missionaries (EX II 261).

but their only desire was to choose pride and wickedness, saying that they also wished to be adored as God; and they thus made themselves evil, and it was not because God created them evil."

They asked how it was that, if God created Hell, which is at the center of the earth, so that the devil would be punished in it, he comes into this world to tempt and deceive men.

We replied that God created Hell as a place of punishment for the devils, and when they come into this world to tempt men, they do not come in order to have peace, but they bring the same torment which they have in Hell with them when they come into the world. And since this is so, God does not prevent them from coming into the world, since they always bring their punishment with them.

They asked why God, if He is merciful and powerful, does not impede them since so much evil follows from the wiles which they prepare for men.

We replied that God does this, because He is merciful, for the benefit of men. For while the devil strives to bring men into dangers in this world and to take them off to Hell after their death, it follows that men obtain a fear of Hell and of the dangers of this world and are thus induced to humble themselves. And knowing that they cannot be saved through their own strength, they seek and humbly ask the True Saint,⁷⁷ who created them, to save and free them. And by praying in this manner, they receive grace from God to be freed from the devil in this world, and everlasting glory in the next. And if there were no devils here to tempt them, men would have no fear of the dangers of this world or of Hell; all would become proud and ungrateful, without wishing to pray to, or to adore, Him who created them. But if they do not worship or pray to him, they would not deserve to receive the reward of everlasting glory.

God acts in this way also because He is just and wills to give to each one a reward in keeping with his works, not only in the next world, but also in this, so that He is praised by men and angels for what He is. For just as gold, when it is tried in fire, appears more fine, so a good man, tried in temptations and contradictions, is more praised and recognized as good by men and angels; and he receives a greater glory from the Lord. For if men were not tempted by the devil, their virtues would not be known, and the good would not be known among the bad.

They asked: "If the devils, although they are not in Hell, have the same torment in this world, why was Hell created in the center of the world to punish the evil?"

We replied "Though the souls of the saints and the angels see God wherever He wills them to be, and are in glory, God still wishes that there be a fixed place for them to receive their reward, which is Paradise. Similarly, even though the devils and evil men carry with them the curse and torments of God wherever they may be, He still, just as He created Paradise as a reward for the good, so He created Hell to punish the wicked."

They asked how the devil, being under the earth and in Hell, comes into this world and goes from it, and by what road.

We replied that just as the souls of the wicked go to Hell when they die, so the devil comes and goes from here to there. Moreover, just as water with its weak body passes from a high mountain into an abyss, since, though water is something physical, there are not lacking fissures in the earth through which it passes, why should there not be a way for the devil and the soul, which has no body, to return to Hell?

They asked if souls, since the devils come from Hell into the world, also come into this world. They have, as Your Reverence knows, many ceremonies in this regard. They say that souls come every seven days to eat,⁷⁸ and they provide a very good meal for them; and in August, for fifteen days in a row, they place food upon their graves with much festivity and say that they come.⁷⁹ To free them from these errors, we

⁷⁷ God.

⁷⁸ In keeping with an old custom, the Buddhists of Japan held ceremonies every seven days after the death of an individual until the forty-ninth day had been reached (Nobushige Hozumi in A. Stead, *Unser Vaterland Japan* [Leipzig, 1904²] 269).

⁷⁹ Meant is the Bon festival, the great All Souls' Day of the Japanese. In the

answered them by saying that evil men offend God when they follow the counsels of the devil, making themselves his servants; and since the devil has them under his dominion and wishes them ill, he detains them in the torments of Hell.

Others came and asked why God, if He is the Creator and Saviour of the whole world, did not ordain that from the beginning His law was preached and manifested in these parts instead of waiting till the present.

We replied that the law of God was proclaimed in the intelligence of men from the beginning of the world in all its parts up until now, and even if a man grows up on a mountain without seeing other men, he still knows with his conscience good and evil; that what he would not wish another to do to him, if he does it to another, is a sin; and in this way we explained to them the Commandments, and that it was not necessary to learn from preachers what was taught by Him who created them. Therefore the First Commandment: Every man who has intelligence and uses it, will immediately know that there is a Creator who created his soul. For if a father and mother with their own forces produced children, they would have them by desiring them. But many wish to have children without having them, and many do not wish to have them and have many. If one who does not do to another that which he would not wish to be done to him, and he adores the One who created him, even though he has never heard the preaching of the law of God, he will be saved.

They said that there are many who are so simple that they do not raise their understanding to Him, nor know who has created them. What will happen to them?

We replied that these simple ones, if they use well the little which they know, that is, if they avoid all which they know is bad, and they do that which they know is good, then God is merciful and sees everything, and seeing how they make good use of the grace which they have received, He will then give them to understand within their hearts what they must do to be saved, and that they do not adore objects of wood and stone, since this is so much against reason, but rather that they desire to worship, and do worship, that True Saint, who can save men, and thus living faithfully and in accordance with nature, through the mercy of God, He will give them the grace to be saved. For those who are damned, the fault is entirely their own, for they knowingly do things contrary to reason in that they commit many sins and worship wood and stones and devils and men, although they know that these have not created them and that they cannot redeem them; and it is not for the lack of the grace of God [that they are damned]."

There then came others who worship *Xaque* (Shaka).⁸⁰

When we asked them why they worshiped him, they replied that *Xaquá* always was and will be; and from the beginning of the world to the time that he was born of a woman, which is now some two thousand five hundred years, he was born eight thousand times.

We asked them from whom he was born those eight thousand times, and why he was born, and when he was born.

They replied that they knew no more than that *Xaquá*, after he had been born a man, at the age of seven years lifted up a dear hand to heaven and placed the other upon the earth and said: "I am alone in heaven and on earth."⁸¹ And after this he preached many lives of former Saints, for example, the life of Amida so that those who

beginning of the eighteenth century, a law was passed which limited the duration of the festivities to three or four days (*ibid.* 271-272).

⁸⁰ On the following, see Von Siebold, *Nippon* II (Würzburg, 1897) 129. On the five divisions of the life of Buddha in Chikai's attempt at harmonization, see Reischauer 171. Xavier writes: "I sought to learn if this Ameda and Xaca (Shaka) were men and had once lived as philosophers. I asked the Christians to write out a faithful account of their lives. From what is written in their books, I discovered that they were not men, since they write that they had lived for a thousand and two thousand years, and that Xaca had been born eight thousand times, and many other impossible things. They were thus not men but pure inventions of the demons" (EX II 269).

⁸¹ See L. Wiegier, S.J., *Les Vies Chinoises du Buddha* (Buddhisme II: T'ou-sè-wè, Shanghai, 1913) 15.

worshiped these former Saints might be saved. And he also wrote books so that they might worship him and be saved. And then, at the age of forty-nine, as the fruit of his reflections, he said that the time past had been without knowledge, and this was why he had written so many things. But now he said that one who wished to be saved should learn by reflecting upon himself what was his end; and that one who did not know this would be condemned, since he had now learned this through his reflections.

We asked them what would have been the end of *Xaquá* if he had died before that hour when he learned through his reflections what was his end. Would he have been condemned?

They replied that he would not, since he was always a Saint, but during his life he wrote those books so that simple people, who did not know to reflect, could be saved by worshipping him and the other Saints.

We asked them if all those who worship *Xaquá* and the other Saints, even though they were prudent, would be saved.

They replied that they would.

We asked them why, if this was so, *Xaquá* said when he was forty-nine years old that he did not know anything when he wrote those books, and that only one who reflects can be saved. We said that this was a lie, and that, if he were a true Saint without beginning or end, he would not have lied. For the Creator of the world is without deceit; and since he lied at that time, it may be seen that what he said when he was seven was also a lie, namely, that he was alone in heaven and on earth; and those who worshiped him and did what he taught could not be saved, since they were all lies.⁸²

Others also came of the law of Amida,⁸³ and others, *Foquexus* (Hokke-shū), whom we asked many questions about their laws and idolatries; and we reproached them especially for the things which they did and their simplicities, especially the priests (*Padres*), since they made women and laymen offer sacrificial gifts to the wooden idols of Amida; and we also reproached them for giving food to the souls of the departed,⁸⁴ and for their sins, and for many other things which would be much too long to report.

7. THE DEPARTURE FROM JAPAN (NOVEMBER, 1551)

During the free time which remained to him from the spiritual care of those on board the ship of Duarte da Gama, which had been the primary reason for his coming,⁸⁵ Xavier occupied himself with preaching to the pagans with the help

⁸² The great adversary of Indian Buddhism, Shankara, comes to the same conclusion where he speaks of the three contradictory teachings of Buddha. He summarizes this in the following manner: From whatever aspect Buddhism is examined, it always gives way like a well dug in the sand. The system, as a matter of fact, has no foundation upon which it can stand. By teaching three different systems, Buddha has shown himself to be a man who makes affirmations without any interior consistency, or better, that he was so induced by hatred for everything that he taught absurdities which confused everything. Buddha's teaching must therefore be shunned by all those who have any care for their own salvation (cf. M. Müller, *Sacred Books of the East* XXXIV, p. 428).

⁸³ Followers of the Jōdo-shin sect.

⁸⁴ "They believe that there is eating and drinking in the other world" (EX II 270).

⁸⁵ "In Bungo [Xavier] employed an hour before daybreak in hearing the confessions of the natives of Bungo, and a second hour before sunset to instruct and inspire them," according to *Confalonierius (63). Lucena writes in a similar fashion: In addition to giving instructions to the king, Xavier spent his time in preaching the catechism on the squares and streets of the city; and he did this with such zeal that he forgot everything else. The Portuguese consequently complained to him that these sermons left him no time to care for their souls, since he spent all of it in converting the Japanese (9, 7). The source for both of these authors is Mendes Pinto, who wrote in his *Peregrinação*: "Forty-six days had already flown by since this blessed priest entered the city of Fucheo, during which he busied himself exclusively with the conversion of souls, so that it was a miracle if a Portuguese could find even a single hour for himself, and this for

of an interpreter;⁸⁶ and he was successful in winning some of these over to the

only a spiritual conversation at night, and in the morning for confession" (c. 211). What Pinto says here of the Portuguese, Confalonerius erroneously refers to the pagans. But Pinto is here no sure source, even as little as Bartoli, who states that in Yamaguchi Xavier preached in the mornings to the Chinese, who were there in large numbers because of their trade, and during the day to the Japanese in their language (*Asia* 3, 19). Bartoli does not name his source, but it is probably the poorly understood passage in Mendes Pinto. There were certainly Chinese sailors and servants in Duarte da Gama's crew, and there would have been Christians among them who would have understood his Portuguese sermons.

⁸⁶ Mendes Pinto writes that when the Portuguese objected to him that he spent all his time with the pagans and had none left for them, his countrymen, he told them that they should never wait for him at the noon meal, since the banquet which he enjoyed most was when he could rescue a soul whom Christ had redeemed. Pinto then describes the fruit of his continuous conversations with the duke, who during this time no longer gave any audiences to bonzes. They had taught him many vices, and he had dismissed a boy whom he had abused till then. A second effect of the priest's preaching was that, contrary to his earlier practice, he from then on gave generous alms and forbade the slaying of newborn children under the severest penalties, a practice which had hitherto been recommended by the bonzes (c. 211). According to Pinto the principle means used by Xavier for the conversion of the pagans were, however, the public disputations which the priest had with the bonze Fucarandono and his companions in the presence of the duke and his court. He describes these in detail in cc. 211-213. The disputations in Bungo, which Pinto describes at length in his *Peregrinação*, were inserted by Tursellinus into the second edition of his life of Xavier published in 1596, and by Lucena into his life of Xavier in 1600. Since then they have repeatedly appeared in biographies of Xavier down into the twentieth century. Despite Aoyama's attempt to rescue them, at least in the main, as historical sources (155-166), we regard them as a poetic fiction invented by Mendes Pinto. Our reasons for this are as follows: (1) The character of the *Peregrinação*. It is, as we have shown in our "Fernão Pinto und seine 'Peregrinação,'" published in 1926 (GS II 23-103), a novel elaborated with artistic imagination on the basis of a few historical data. Ninety-five percent of the events described in it are either pure fiction or romantically expounded. (2) The style and contents of Xavier's disputations in Bungo contained in it bear the clear stamp of poetic fiction, as Rodrigues Tçuzu already noted. He spent eight years at the court of Bungo and frequently conversed with Ōtomo Yoshishige and spoke with him about Xavier's visit in Bungo. In his history, Rodrigues passes over these disputations in silence, as Brou did in his life of Xavier in 1912 (II 227). (3) The complete silence of all contemporaries. Xavier, who wrote at length in his letters about the disputations in Yamaguchi, and who sent the accounts of Torres and Fernández about them to Europe in 1552, says nothing about the disputations in Bungo. The other confreres of the saint are also completely silent about them, as are the witnesses at the processes of canonization in 1556-1557, among whom was Duarte da Gama. Also completely silent about them are Pérez in his *Informação*, written in 1579, and Teixeira in his life of Xavier completed in 1580, both of whom knew the saint personally. Frois, who got to know Xavier after his return from Japan, and sailed in 1554 with Pinto from Goa to Malacca, but did not reach Japan until 1563, has nothing about them in his *Historia de Japam* I, finished in 1586. Neither does Valignano, who was in Bungo as visitor in 1580 and, like Frois, was personally acquainted with Yoshishige, have anything about them in his history of the Society of Jesus in India, completed in 1586, though he describes Xavier's labors in Japan, nor in his **Libro primero del principio y progreso de la Religión Christiana en Japón*, composed in 1601, although he had at hand the detailed description of the disputations in Bungo given by Lucena, whose work he cites by name, and which Lucena had borrowed from Pinto. In 1610, when Orlandinus used long passages from them in his history of the order, the visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues sent a long censure (probably composed by Rodrigues Tçuzu) to Rome in 1620 in which it is said: "Todo o arrezado deste recebimento, assi como aqui está, he muy duvidoso e fora do costume de Japam, e he tirado todo de Fernam Mendez. O certo he que el rei fez muitas honras ao santo Padre. Tambem averia a contrariedade dos bonzos, de que aqui falla, porque naquelle tempo florescia muito, e eram estimados, e tinham poder e liberdade; mas nella forma e com estas palavras não parece verisimil" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 47, 144v). (4) Yoshishige also seems to know nothing about these disputations between Xavier and

faith.⁸⁷ Among his converts was Braz of Okinohama along with his wife and

the bonzes. In 1578 he told Brother Damião his first experiences with the Portuguese and Christianity: He had first desired to become a Christian when Jorge de Faria came to Bungo. Diogo Vaz de Aragão then came and told him of the Creator of the world and remained with him for five years. Some years later Father Gago came with a brother. He asked them repeatedly about the things of God, but since they had not as yet mastered Japanese, they only recited to him the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt not swear. Thou shalt not kill," and so forth. He then asked himself: "If an evildoer cannot be killed, how can a kingdom ever be ruled?" Diogo Vaz remained with him until 1551; Gago came in 1552. Of Xavier and his alleged disputations in the presence of the prince there is no word (GS II 533-534)! Alcáçova, who returned from Japan to India in 1554 and encountered Pinto there, describes how he came to Bungo with Gago in September, 1552, how the priest, using Brother Fernández as his interpreter, repeatedly spoke with the duke about the Christian faith, and how the latter was much pleased to hear about it. The same was the case in 1553, when the priest took up his residence in the house of a bonze and held many disputations with the bonzes there. When these persecuted the missionaries, the duke protected them. But Alcáçova knows nothing of a public disputation in the presence of Yoshishige and his barons (*Cartas* 1598, 23v-25). When Nunes Barreto came to Bungo in 1556 with Pinto, he sought to obtain a public disputation from the prince without success. As he wrote, "Muito trabalhamos com el Rey de Bungo que quizesse diante de si e dos senhores da terra fazer vir alguns bonzos e os que mais sabião, e ouvirmos com elles; que nos lhes mostrariamos seus erros e a verdade da fee de Nosso Senhor. Mas elle prometendo de o fazer, não foi disto nunca contento nem quis traser por mais que lh'o pedissemos em conclusão. São tão aparentados os bonzos com os fidalgos, por que se o rei rege, e sam tanto nossos contrarios, ... que me parece que o maior contraste que ha no Japão contra a pregação do Evangelho são os bonzos" (Ayres, *Subsidios* 105). Here also there is no word of Xavier's disputations! (5) Other considerations must also be taken into account. Xavier left his interpreter, Fernández, in Yamaguchi. Joane could not take his place for such disputations, still less Bernardo and Matheus, who did not understand Portuguese. On his four voyages to Japan, Pinto had learned a few Japanese words such as *Chém-chicogim* [Tenjikujil], *cuchimiácós* [kechimyaku], *Cubucamá* [Kubōsam], *Groxó* [Goshō], *foxi* [hoshil], *hi* [hi], *Xaca* [Shaka], *Amida* [Amida], *Gizom* [Jizō], *Canon* [Kannon], *ino* [inu], *coseem* [kusai], and also a series of place names which are almost always distorted. His one Japanese quotation: "Hiacataa passiram fingiancor passirau," which according to him means: "The king who says something of the sort should be burned by fire from heaven" (c. 210, p. 57), is no brilliant indication of his knowledge of Japanese. Without a miracle he could not have followed the disputations which, according to his own assurance were conducted in Japanese; nor could he have taken notes of them, or retained a recollection of their extended contents until he wrote them down later in his *Peregrinação*, which he composed in Portugal. We assume that here, as elsewhere, he had sources which gave play to his imagination for his chapter on the fictitious disputations in Bungo. Such would be: (1) Xavier's oral data on the disputations which he and Torres had in Yamaguchi. These could have been given to Pinto during his stay in Bungo and on his voyage from there to Sancian. (2) The manuscript protocol of Fernández, which he probably showed Pinto, a benefactor of the Yamaguchi mission. (3) The oral reports of Melchior Nunes Barreto, with whom he sailed to Japan and back to India in 1554-1557. That Nunes Barreto had studied Japanese Buddhism is indicated by his still unpublished letter on it to the general of the order dated January 13, 1558 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 90-94v). Pinto could also have used the following printed sources: (1) the *Recopilación de las cartas que fueron embiadas de las Indias* (Córdoba, 1557), with Xavier's long letter of January 29, 1552, which also speaks in detail about the disputations in Yamaguchi. (2) the *Copia de las Cartas que los Padres y hermanos de la Compañia de Jesus que andan en el Iapon escriuieron* (Coimbra, 1565), which contains, for example, Torres' second letter and an extract from Fernández' letter of 1551, the letters of Vilela and Alcáçova of 1554, those of Duarte da Silva and Gago, and that of Nunes Barreto of 1555. The letters of this edition were collected, translated, and published by Father Cipriano Suárez (Portuguese: Soares), S.J., a professor in Coimbra and author of the *De Arte Rhetorica* which was at the time universally used as a textbook. He knew Mendes Pinto personally and mentions the manuscript of his *Peregrinação* in a letter written to Father Mirón in 1569 (GS II 557, where 1569 is to read instead of 1559). (3) The *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de*

his brother and their servants,⁸⁸ and an elderly woman, the sister of a high Buddhist dignitary.⁸⁹

Jesus, que andão nos Reynos de Iapão escreuerão (Coimbra, 1570). They contain, for example, Fernández' letter with the protocol of the disputations in Yamaguchi, Torres' two letters on them of 1551, Alcáçova's letter of 1554 on the persecution of the priests in Bungo by the bonzes, that of Duarte da Silva and Gago of 1555 on the latter's private disputations with the bonzes in Bungo, and that of Frois of January 7, 1556. This last letter along with the letters of Brother Fernández and of Nunes Barreto probably gave Pinto the thought of inserting the learned disputations of Xavier with the bonze Fuca-randono, who had been summoned from the distant monastery of Miaigima, between Xavier's first and last visits in Bungo. In his letter Frois writes that in December, 1555, when Pinto and Nunes Barreto were wintering on the island of Lampacau near Canton, the ship of Duarte da Gama arrived from Japan with the report that two very prominent bonzes from among the most learned of the region of Miyako had come from afar to Bungo to dispute with Father Gago. One of these was particularly acute and so experienced in questions of natural philosophy that he often posed such deep and difficult questions that the priest was astounded. After many, long conversations, he had, after having persecuted the Church, been baptized like a second Paul (Ayres, *Subsidios* 95-96).

⁸⁷ When Gago visited Yoshishige in 1552 with Fernández as his interpreter, the duke told him that he was sad that there were still no Christians in his realm, though there were such in Yamaguchi. To this Gago replied that some had already become Christians (*avia já alguns feitos*) in Bungo, and that many wished to become so (Alcáçova in 1554, in *Cartas* 1598, 23v-24). In 1601 Valignano similarly wrote that when Gago and Alcáçova came to Bungo in 1552, they were greatly consoled by the fact that there were "algunos christianos, que el Padre Xavier avia dexado ya hecho en Bungo." Others were immediately converted, but these were as a rule from among the poor (**Libro primero* 43). Thanks to the efforts of Gago and Fernández, as Alcáçova noted, the number of Christians in Funai and its environs rose to six or seven hundred in 1553; and he continued: "e vão em muito aumento as cousas de Deos" (*Cartas* 1598, 25v 27v). On September 20, 1555, Duarte da Silva wrote that among those converted in 1554 were some of higher rank and a learned Zen bonze (*ibid.* 44v-47). In his letter of October 6, 1571, which he wrote after his return from Japan, Vilela was led astray by his desire to increase the credit of his own services. He consistently lowers the numbers of those who had been baptized in Japan and states that at the time of his arrival in Yamaguchi in 1556 he had found there only four hundred Christians, and only five hundred in the whole of Japan. He also states that when Torres fled in this same year from Yamaguchi to Bungo, there were only "alguns trinta christãos" in this latter city, and that these were "gente pobre e não de muito nome entre os Japões." But after his, Vilela's, seventeen years of labor in Japan, there were around thirty thousand Christians in it when he left in 1571 (*Cartas* 1598, 329-v). In his *Peregrinação*, Mendes Pinto writes that forty-six days after his arrival Xavier had baptized the chief bonze of *Canafama* (Okinohama), and five hundred more pagans had thereupon followed his example (c. 211). After this Duarte da Gama had found the priest in a poor house with eight Christians (c. 212).

⁸⁸ In his letter of December 28, 1596, Frois gives a detailed description of the earthquake and tidal wave that devastated Bungo in 1596. During the course of this he mentions Braz: "The things which happened during this earthquake are so horrifying that they would seem to be incredible if it had not been for different Christians who came from there and told us about them. We were waiting here until one of the earliest Christians came from Bungo, a very good and godfearing man by the name of Blas, who escaped as if by a miracle from this extreme danger, and he told us what he had experienced two months after the event. About a league from Funai is a harbor in the sea where many ships were accustomed to land. There was here a large city by the name of Okinohama, from which this good man was called Blas of Okinohama, very well known in Bungo, for his house was an inn for many people from different regions. He said: During the night there came over that town two or three crashing waves suddenly and without a wind, but with such a sound and roar, one towering over the other, that they rose up seven fathoms above the town, as was later determined by the tips of some very old and lofty trees which were later seen. With its raging impetus, the sea pushed for half a mile or more into the land; and when the waves subsided, they left nothing of the town of Okinohama. Those who were outside the town were saved, but whatever that hellish gullet reached was devoured and carried

Meanwhile the time had come for the departure of Duarte da Gama with his ship for China. Ōtomo Yoshishige was sad when Xavier came to visit him

away: men and women, children and old people, cattle and oxen, homes and possessions; and all was converted into a deep sea, as if there had never been a town on the site. At this time Blas was with his wife and a son and his servants in his house without the least suspicion until he suddenly saw himself driven with his wooden house over the waves. His wife and son drowned. He saved himself by swimming for awhile, but he does not know how and where he escaped. He was carried far in his house, and when it began to break up, Blas and his people, all of whom were Christians, cried out the most holy names of Jesus and Mary. Some pagan women of their neighborhood cried out to Amida with a loud voice and urgently asked Blas to save them. He replied: 'How can I save you when you are calling on the devil?' Those pagans then began to cry aloud 'Jesus! Maria!' Blas then quickly passed over to them some timbers of his house that were in front of him. A few of the people could thus be saved, and many in that period of peril took vows and promised to become Christians" (ARSI: *JapSin.* 52, 242v-243; Hayus 368-369). Braz himself is mentioned for the first time in 1579. When it was rumored in Funai that Chikakata was coming to destroy the church in the city and to kill the priests and brothers, Braz of Okinohama, a great friend of theirs, armed himself and came hurriedly with his brother Pedro before midnight a distance of half a league and declared that Chikakata and another *tono* (lord) would undoubtedly attack the church at dawn. They had obtained permission of the crown prince to do this, and he, Braz, had therefore come to die with the priests in the church (Frois, *Historia* II 105).

²⁹ In 1565 J. B. de Monte wrote of her: "A few days ago there died in this city of Bungo [Funai] a very old woman who had been a Christian for fifteen years. She had numerous children, all pagans, and a brother, a bonze in that land, who was very powerful and a kind of archbishop. They all refused to see her simply because she was a Christian. When she was about to die, her children and the bonze, her brother, tried to confuse her; and the bonze sent her a message and asked for permission to visit her. She replied: 'For fifteen years I have been a Christian and have suffered great want during these years. And since I was a Christian, people never wished to visit or help me. And I have borne this out of love for our Lord Jesus Christ, and I rose early in cold and snow in order to go to the church and to recommend myself to my Creator and Lord. May God not let me lose these merits now at this moment. I therefore ask him not to visit me, since I know well what he intends.' She then called her grandson and her servant, both Christians, and she said to them: 'Remain with me in this hour and remind me of the name of Jesus until I die'" (*Cartas* 1598, 198v-199; Frois 271).—Xavier perhaps also baptized the Antonio who, according to what Frois states on two occasions, was the first to become a Christian in Bungo—a distinguished man to whom the king was much attached because of his good qualities and his tranquil temperament. Frois wrote of him: "He was old, already around seventy, and of a very fine appearance. I still met him [in 1564] when I arrived in Japan. He was a man of rare virtues, about whose life a thick volume could be written because of the zeal which he had for the honor of God and his insatiable longing to convert souls" (38). In his letter of September 20, 1555, Duarte da Silva spoke several times of him. In 1554 he was between fifty and sixty years old and living in Funai in the house of the Jesuits, and all day long he explained the Christian faith to visitors. One day he went to the village of Kutami nine or ten leagues from Funai "a ganhar a vida." He there cured a sick man and converted him and his numerous family. At his baptism the man took the name of Lucas. In 1555 Antonio returned there again with Gago, Fernández, and the converted bonze Paulo. A prominent lord of the town, Keimidono, one of the two greatest lords of the kingdom of Bungo, also listened to the preaching and encouraged his people to become Christians. Their number in the place consequently rose to three hundred. In September, 1555, a woman from Ida came with her husband to Funai in order to be baptized. They wished to return home, since the priest was absent; but Antonio and the members of the household prayed for the woman and thus healed her from an impending possession. They both consequently decided to be baptized (*Cartas* 1598, 45-47; Frois 38-39). Despite his age, Antonio traveled by land more than sixty leagues to Yamaguchi in order to see Father Torres and to obtain his blessing. When Frois came with Luis de Almeida to Usuki in 1564, Antonio was their host. He spoke with both his guests of the contempt of the world and of how the lords of Japan could best be converted, and how every day he recited certain prayers

before his departure. He had hoped that the priest would remain permanently at his court. Francis consoled him and said that he would return the following

for the pope, for the clergy, for the individual priests of the Society in Japan, for the conversion of infidels, and especially for the king of Bungo (Frois 35-39 224). Since Yoshishige told Gago in 1552 that he was sad that no Christians had been baptized in his kingdom, this Antonio was probably not baptized until after Xavier's departure.—Since the conversions of many witnesses at the processes of canonization were attributed to the miracles which Xavier allegedly worked in Bungo, we must also make a brief mention of them. The two most famous of these are the cure of a blind merchant and the prophecy of the punishment of the blasphemer Vilhena. That Xavier cured a blind man in Japan was first reported by Melchior Nunes Barreto in his letter of April, 1554, which was written on the ship in which he sailed from Goa to Cochin with Xavier's former companion, the Japanese Joane. He wrote: "A brother of Pablo de Santa Ffee, who is now sailing with us and who travelled there with the priest, assured us that he gave sight to a blind man in Japan" (DI III 78). The witness was Joane, whom Frois calls a brother of Anjirō (3-4), but whom Anjirō himself calls his servant (DI I 339). We know nothing certain about the person, place, or time of the cure. In the Cochin process of 1616 seven witnesses again spoke of the cure of a blind man, and this time it was a merchant whom Xavier cured in Bungo before his departure. The first of these, the mestizo Domingos Caldeira, who was over ninety-eight years old, called himself an eyewitness who had served Xavier for three years in Malacca, China, and Japan. He declared at the hearing that one Sunday after the sermon he had with his own eyes seen Xavier suddenly cure a pagan merchant who had been blind for many years. The priest had then baptized the merchant with his wife, three sons, and entire family, and then more than three hundred pagans. Caldeira also asserted that he had been present when Xavier prophesied God's punishment on D. Francisco de Vilhena for his blasphemous words in Japan. Some five days later the culprit perished in a shipwreck. Caldeira also claimed that he had been an eyewitness when Xavier changed sea water into fresh on the *Santa Cruz*, which was sailing from Japan to China and had run out of water (MX II 449-451). But Vilhena's shipwreck was on July 21, 1573; the voyage of the *Santa Cruz* when it ran out of water was in 1564. Caldeira consequently confused Xavier with other priests (cf. Frois 430-435, and GS III 138-140 254-257, where instead of July 31 there should be read "July 21, the day of St. Praxedes"). This nullifies the other testimonies given from hearsay, two of which appeal expressly to Caldeira (the witnesses are numbered 13 17 28 92 93 and 94 in the Cochin process). It also nullifies Cros's observation that Caldeira was obviously a man whom Duarte da Gama lent Xavier as a servant for a time in Japan, and that the cure of the blind merchant probably took place in Hirado (Vie II 413). Bernardo, the saint's companion on all of his journeys in Japan, also spoke in general of Xavier's miracles without further data on time and place. He told Ribadeneyra that he had seen how many sick people with all kinds of diseases had been brought to Xavier, and how they had all immediately become well when he made the sign of the cross over them or sprinkled them with holy water. The Japanese had looked upon him as being more than a man, as being an ambassador from heaven (Ribadeneyra 4, 7; FN IV 657). On December 6, 1555, Quadros, who had met Bernardo in Portugal, wrote that a Japanese (meaning Bernardo) had told him that he had seen Xavier work three miracles in Japan: (1) He had cured a mute cripple from both of his defects; (2) he had restored hearing to a deaf man; and (3) he had obtained health for one who was mute or crippled. An alleged raising from the dead in Japan, found in the text of the so-called Quadros letter in MX II 954, is due to the false punctuation of the editor (DI III 337). Bernardo probably saw these cures during Xavier's journey to Miyako. Frois writes that when he was making this journey and men or women asked him for remedies for their sick children or for their own ills, Xavier would copy out a saying from the Gospel and tell them that they should wear it about their neck, and that they would regain their health through it (13). When a witness in the Cochin process of 1616 further declared that he had heard that Xavier had checked a plague in Japan and that the pagans there had been converted because of this (MX II 465), he confused this report with a similarly unhistorical plague miracle wrought by Xavier on Manār.—In December, 1555, Duarte da Gama's ship reached Lampacau, where Nunes Barreto was wintering with Pinto. The letters of Gago and Duarte da Silva, which the ship was bringing from Japan, and the Portuguese on board the ship spoke at length about the progress of the Japanese mission and about a learned bonze whom Gago had baptized with the name of Paulo and who was constantly working

year with new missionaries.⁹⁰ The duke and his brother promised that they would in the meantime protect his companions whom he was leaving behind in Yamaguchi. Ōuchi Yoshitaka had earlier wished to send an ambassador to the representative of the king of Portugal in India. Ōtomo Yoshishige had now taken his place. A noble of his court should, as his ambassador, accompany the priest on his return voyage to India.⁹¹ He would take with him a precious gift in the form of a Japanese armor⁹² and letters for the king of Portugal, whose greatness

miracles. They also mentioned the supervisor of a town with three hundred persons who had received baptism and a prominent lord who had also been converted. God had worked through him and many others the most obvious miracles, as in the primitive church. By the simple imposition of their hands they had cured the deaf, dumb, and individuals with infectious diseases (Frois on January 7, 1556, in Ayres, *Subsidios* 94-96). More detailed is a letter written by Duarte da Silva from Bungo on September 20, 1555: A blind man in Funai was healed during his baptism, and the report of this spread throughout the whole kingdom. From all sides, sick came from up to a distance of twelve leagues to Funai with all kinds of afflictions: the blind, dumb, leprosy, and those sick with a fever. For the lack of other means, these were cured with holy water, which especially helped those who had diseased eyes, the most common sickness in that land (*Cartas* 1598, 45v-46; see also Gago *ibid.* 40-41, and Haas II 292). At the beginning of 1554 Alcáçova had already reported that in 1553 Gago had cured a thirteen-year-old blind boy in Bungo, and that there had been other cures in Yamaguchi (*Cartas* 1598, 25v 26v).

⁹⁰ Mendes Pinto is right in having Xavier say at the time of his departure from the duke that he hoped to return very soon. But Pinto then inserts a departing speech of his own invention in which Xavier reminds the prince of the shortness of life and tells him that anyone who does not die as a Christian will be damned for ever. During the course of this address, tears come twice to Yoshishige's eyes (c. 211). *Rodrigues Tçuzu here copies Pinto, but he changes the passage where Xavier speaks of returning soon, since he erroneously assumes that he already intended to sail from India to China and not to Japan (69v; cf. 57-58).

⁹¹ Arai Hakuseki, who died in 1725, states in his *Seiyōkibun* (Account on the Things of the Lands of the West) that the imprisoned priest Sidotti had told him that Xavier had preached to the prince of Bungo, and that the latter had sent a prominent ambassador with many gifts to Rome, where he died and was buried. He further states that the prince of Bungo was Ōtomo Saemon Sōrin and that the ambassador was probably the bonze Ueda Gensa (L. Lönholm, "Arai Hakuseki und Pater Sidotti," MDGNVO 6 [1894] 166). Haas cites the *Ōnankenshikō* of Hirai Kisho, according to which a Portuguese ship came to Bungo in the eleventh year of Tembun (1542), and two years later six more arrived with rare and valuable objects, to which Yoshishige replied with gifts in kind. At the same time he ordered one of his servants, Saitō Gensuke, to go to the land of the newcomers. The latter went and died there, and his grave is still to be seen in their capital (I 28). But since the embassy of 1551 is in both instances confused with that of 1582, nothing is gained by this explanation. On other legendary reports, see GS II 544. Yoshishige (*ibid.* 533) and Xavier (EX II 273) call the envoy a servant (*criado*); *Rodrigues Tçuzu calls him a *fidalgo* of the duke (70). He was baptized in Goa in 1552 and received the name of Lourenço Pereira (Rodrigues errs in calling him Diogo). He returned this same year to Japan with Gago (DI II 454-455). In 1577 Yoshishige declared that twenty-six years before he had sent one of his servants to India in order to learn if what the Portuguese had told him about Portugal and its rule was true; and he had learned from him that what he had heard was even less than the reality, and this had increased his love for the priests (GS II 533). In 1578 we still find the envoy as a Christian in the court of the duke (Frois, *Historia* II 23-24), and also in 1586, when Frois was writing the first part of his history (17).

⁹² EX II 273 360. On January 27, 1552, the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha wrote to King John III from Cochin: "Master Francis came from Japan, and he came content with the land and its people, and he said that it seemed to him that much fruit would be produced there. He brought with him a Japanese and a letter of the king [of Bungo] for Your Highness, and an armor which I passed on to Diogo Lopes de Sousa" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 604). Lopes de Sousa sailed from Cochin at the beginning of 1552 (Q 4742) and arrived on May 7, 1552, in Lisbon (Figueiredo Falcão 164).

had been described to him by the Portuguese, and for the governor of India. In these he offered the king his friendship and asked him to send missionaries, and he promised to help them in every way.⁹³

Xavier would have been glad to take with him some educated Japanese for India and Portugal, especially some learned bonzes, so that they might give his confreres a notion of their keen intelligence. But the Christians of Yamaguchi feared the dangers of the sea, and the bonzes preferred their comfortable life to a long and dangerous voyage.⁹⁴ He therefore had to content himself with Bernardo, Matheus, Joane, and Antonio. The first two of these wished to visit India and Europe in order to be able to report what they had seen on their return; the other two would serve him and his confreres as interpreters until their arrival in Japan the following year.⁹⁵

In the middle of November,⁹⁶ Duarte da Gama's junk weighed anchor at

⁹³ "Emformado da gramdeza d'El-Rey de Portugal, [Yoshishige] spreve a El-Rey, ofrecendo-se por seu servidor e amigo; e em synal de amizade lhe manda hum corpo d'armas, e ao Viso-Rey da Imdia mandou hum criado seu, ofrecendo-lhe sua amizade," Xavier wrote to his confreres in Europe (EX II 273). To the king of Portugal he wrote: "Este año de 52 escrivi a V. A. de Cochín en las naos que fueron al Reyno... del rey de Bungo quán amigo era de V. A., y en señal de su amistad escribió a V. A. y le embió sus armos" (*ibid.* 360). When Nunes Barreto sailed from Goa for Japan in April, 1554, no answer had as yet come from the Portuguese king. He thus wrote to Ignatius: "El rei de Bumgo, que es el más poderoso rei de Jipão, inbió hun enbaxador al Vissrey con dones y presentes y cartas, em que mostrava ser muy deseoso de se hazer cristiano, y de se liar en muy verdadera amistad con el sereníssimo rei de Portugal, dizendo que rei de tan noble jemte no puede dexar de ser el más poderoso e excelente rey que ha en el mundo; y que será bienaventurado se le tomar entre sus vasalhos" (DI III 79-80). The viceroy immediately sent the ambassador back to Japan with Brother Alcáçova, Duarte da Silva, Father Gago, and a return gift in the form of a Portuguese armor and other items. When Fernández visited Yoshishige with them, he told the duke that they knew that he had written to the viceroy of India that he would receive into his kingdom the priests who came to preach the law of the Creator (Alcáçova in 1554, in *Cartas* 1598, 23v). But the answer of the Portuguese king had not as yet come. On September 20, 1555, Gago wrote to King John III from Hirado: "Da visitaçao que fez a V.A. o duque de Bungo, quando de cá foy o padre Mestre Francisco, espera elle por reposta. Ouvia dizer que vinha pera cá o padre Mestre Belchior [Nunes Barreto], e que estava em Malaca; está alvoroçado, parecendo-lhe que traz a reposta." Since John III died in 1557, the answer was not sent until March 16, 1558, by his successor, King Sebastião (*ibid.* 42v).

⁹⁴ EX II 358.

⁹⁵ Xavier left only Torres and Fernández with a single servant [Amador] in Yamaguchi, as Cabral wrote on September 5, 1571 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 21). He is mentioned for the last time in Japan in 1555 (*Cartas* 1598, 46v). As Eredia (DI II 293) and Frois (*ibid.* 449 454-455) observed, five Japanese sailed with Xavier: the envoy and Bernardo, Matheus, Joane, and Antonio (EX II 355-358 479-483).—Antonio Pereira, the captain of the ship on which Xavier and his companions sailed at the end of 1551 from Malacca to Cochín, stated at the Malacca process in 1556 that Xavier had sailed with fourteen or fifteen Japanese (MX II 418), and in the Goa process in 1557 that he had sailed with twelve or fifteen Japanese from Malacca to India (*ibid.* 265). His memory was no longer sure. According to Teixeira, Xavier took Bernardo and other Christian Japanese with him who wished to see the confreres in India and what they were doing. A pagan envoy also sailed with him, who became a Christian in Goa (according to the *Italian translation, c. 19), which is followed by Tursellinus (3, 9, in the first edition; 5, 2 in all the later editions). The Spanish translation erroneously states that the lord of Yamaguchi had sent an ambassador with Xavier and that all the people who had sailed with the envoy were baptized with him in Goa (880).

⁹⁶ Valignano errs in writing that Xavier remained only "pocos dias" in Bungo (191). In his *Peregrinaçam*, Pinto has Xavier arrive in Bungo on September 19. He has him make his first departing visit to Yoshishige forty-six days later and his second five days after this. The following day, November 19, he sails away (cc. 208 211 213-214). The usual time for sailing away was in October (thus, for example, in 1560, 1561, 1562) or

Okinohama⁹⁷ and set off on its return voyage to China. With it was sailing Xavier with his four Japanese companions and the ambassador of the duke of Bungo. Two and one-half years filled with sufferings and sacrifices had passed. Though these had whitened his hair,⁹⁸ Francis' heart was still youthful and courageous and filled with gratitude towards God and with hope for the future of his beloved Japanese mission as he began his return voyage to India.

November (in 1556, 1557, 1559). According to Teixeira (880), Valignano (192), and *Rodrigues Tçuzu (70), Xavier sailed in November and arrived in Malacca at the end of December, when there was hardly any hope of finding a ship for India, as Pérez observed in 1555 (DI III 248), and also the witnesses Antonio, Diogo, and Gonçalo Pereira (MX II 418 262-265). According to Frois, the latest date for sailing from Malacca for India was December 26 (DI III 529). Xavier wrote from Singapore that he would be in Malacca on Sunday. This Sunday can only have been December 27, a fact which indicates that the date of Xavier's letter can only have been December 24, when the distance from Malacca is taken into account. Since he states in this letter that "39 dias ha que partí del Japán" (EX II 239), the day of his departure from Bungo must have been November 15 (cf. *ibid.* 236-238).

⁹⁷ Pinto states correctly in his *Peregrinação* that the ship had sailed from the harbor of Funai (that is, from Okinohama) (c. 214). *Rodrigues Tçuzu errs in giving Hiji as the place of departure (70).

⁹⁸ EX II 278. On December 3, 1969, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, a worthy monument was dedicated to the saint in the park in the center of Ōita as a remembrance of his stay in the capital of Bungo. This had been erected at the suggestion of the former, most deserving mayor of the city, F. X. Ueda Tamotsu.

BOOK II

THE PROVINCIAL OF THE EAST

(DECEMBER, 1551—DECEMBER, 1552)

Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi. In reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die justus iudex.

"I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just judge will render to me in that day."

2 Tim. 4:7-8

CHAPTER I

THE CALL OF CHINA (NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1551)

1. THE RESCUE OF THE SLOOP (NOVEMBER, 1551)¹

Keeping ever within the sight of the land,² Duarte da Gama's junk sailed towards the south along the east coast of Kyūshū.³ Then, after rounding its

¹ The so-called *miracle of the sloop* is, according to the **Relatio* of 1619 (Q 6223, ff. 62v-63), "the best known and most renowned of Xavier's miracles, for which there are fifty witnesses." According to Barradas, "it is a miracle so famous that there is hardly a witness who does not speak of it" (GS IV 441). In the processes of canonization, there were sixty-one witnesses who testified to it: six in the informational processes of 1556-1557, fifty-five in the remissorial processes of 1610-1616. The numbers of the witnesses at the processes are as follows: in 1556: Malacca 1; Goa 30; in 1557: *Goa lat.* 31 and 33; Malacca 5 6; Cochin 2; in 1610: *Rom. in gen.* 12; in 1614: Lisbon I 3 5; in 1615: 8 9 12 13 15 20 23; Goa II 1 5 10 14 15 19 20 22 24 26 31 33 38 40 46 47 50 51 52 55; in 1616; Lisbon II 1 4 5 8 9 11 18 20; Cochin II 10 14 16 17 18 28 30 35 37 39 91 92 93 96 98 100 112. The informational processes of 1556-1557 and the remissorial processes of Cochin of 1616 are still extant and published in MX II. The remissorial processes of Lisbon in 1614-1616 are extant in a Latin translation, but they have not been published (cf. GS IV 419-430). The other processes have been lost. Extracts were given from them and the extant processes by the following: Barradas in 1617 (Q 6218, ed. GS IV 441); the **minutes* of the three auditors of the Rota in 1618 (Q 6221a, nn. 60-64); the **Summarium* of 1618 (Q 6222a ff. 892-896 960-964); the **Relatio* of 1619 (Q 6223 ff. 62v-63); **Confalonarius* in 1624 (Q 6236 ff. 241-244).—Accounts are given by the *Extractos* of around 1559: A (Q 6150, second edition in Sá II 190-192) and *B (Q 6150, 1 with the names of the witnesses, ff. 5v-6v); Pérez, *Informação* of 1579, who probably was acquainted with *Extractos* A (68-69); Teixeira in 1580, which is only extant in the **Italian* (f. 53) and Spanish translations (MX II 914-915); Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* in 1583 (edited in 1614, c. 214), used by Tursellinus in 1596 (5, 2) and Lucena in 1600 (9, 15). For further details see GS II 46 57-58 93; IV 426-427 565-566.—The evolution of the legend. Only four of the sixty-one witnesses are worth considering: two eyewitnesses, Duarte da Gama, the captain, who appeared as a witness in 1556 and 1557 in Malacca and Goa (MX II 416 261); and Antonio Dias who, if we can believe Mendes Pinto in this regard, was the skipper (*mestre*) of the junk (*ibid.* 259-260). In addition to these there are Galeote Pereira, who is erroneously called an eyewitness in the **Relatio* but was a prisoner in China from 1549 to 1552, though he was a witness, like Gama, in 1557 and could have obtained information from him (MX II 275), and Jerónimo Ferreira, who appealed to Diogo Pereira, Xavier's great friend, with whom the saint sailed from Sancian to Malacca in 1551 (*ibid.* 215-216). The **Relatio* gives as a fourth eyewitness the Chinese captain Antonio Martins, who declared in Goa in 1615 that he was seventy-five years old and had been present at the miracle of the sloop when he was sailing with Xavier from Malacca to China on the *Santa Cruz*. He here confuses two ships and voyages and, except for a passage taken from Lucena, he had nothing new to report. For another miracle of Xavier he appeals to Brother Oliveira, who also confuses two ships and persons (**Summarium* 785 815 821-v 879v 893 904 927 961-v; Barradas 462). The other two witnesses at the informational and remissorial processes, even where they appeal to alleged eyewitnesses, have nothing new apart from erroneous data from later authors. The *Extractos* of 1559 and Pérez in 1579 faithfully follow the above mentioned primary witnesses. In 1580 Teixeira erroneously attributed the miracle to the time of Xavier's voyage from China to Malacca in the ship of Diogo Pereira (881). He is followed in this by Valignano, Maffei and Guzmán. Mendes Pinto, who died in

southern tip, it sailed towards the south-southwest, north of the Ryūkyū island

1583, even though he was an eyewitness, reworked the incident, as usual, into a novel, which influenced all of Xavier's later biographers. Tursellinus used Pinto's manuscript in 1596, and Lucena in 1600; and they have Xavier tell the pilot that the daughter (in Lucena: the son) would return to her mother within three days. In addition to this, Tursellinus mentions Xavier's bilocation and cites Pinto explicitly for this; but this is missing in Lucena and in the printed edition of the *Peregrinação* of 1614. Martin Darvellos, one of the witnesses at the Cochín process in 1616, further declared that Aguiar had told him that he had sailed as a pilot with Xavier from Japan to China, that he had been present at the miracle of the sloop, and that the priest had prophesied to him that his ship would never sink into the sea (MX II 461). Here Darvellos confused him with the pilot of Duarte da Gama's ship. Seb. Affonso, a relative of Aguiar, places the prophecy on this voyage immediately after the return of the sloop (*ibid.* 502).

² Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, c. 214, describes the return voyage from Okinohama (the harbor of Funcheo = Fuchū, later Funai, today Ōita), "à vista da terra," as far as the fictitious island of Meleitor of the king of Minácoo, and from there with the monsoon wind straight across the China Sea for seven days until the onset of the storm.

³ For Xavier's route from Bungo to China there are, in addition to Bourdon and Linschoten, two particularly important works to be considered: Wang Yi-t'ung, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), and Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Sengoku-jiai no Bungo Funai-kō* (The Harbor of Funai in Bungo during the Sengoku Period) (1962) 227-269. — Gaspar Moreira, whom we encounter in Macao in 1597, 1600, and 1609, wrote in his **roteiro* for the voyage from China to Japan that one should come from Lamão (Namoá) or Chincheo at the twenty-sixth degree of latitude, and then adds: "If you wish to sail to Bungo, then sail from there to the northeast to the islands of Tanaxima [Tanegashima] which lies on the thirtieth degree" (85v-86). The Chinese Cheng Shūn-kung, who came to Bungo in 1556 as an ambassador, gives in his *Jih-pen i-chien* (Japanese Mirror) the places he passed on his voyage: Iōjima, Yakushima, Tanegashima, Bōnotsu, Yamagawa, Ōdomari, Tsukinoura (Uchinoura), Shibushi, Chino-no-Minato, Kadoura (Tonoura), Meizu, Aburazo, Utsumi (Aoshima), Akai (Akai), Tokubuchi, Mimi (Mimizu), Tsuchimochi, Hosojima, Saeki, Akamizu, Tōmi, Takeshima, Saganoseki, Takashima, Usuki, Kamae. The list cites Okamoto on pp. 230-231. The Chinese were the teachers of the Portuguese in this. The latter at first used Chinese pilots and sailed with Chinese in their junks. We consequently find the principal towns on the east coast already in the account which Jorge Alvares composed for Xavier in 1547: Boo (Bōnotsu), Amamgoão (Yamagawa), Nexime (Koneshime), Mynato (Chino-no-Minato), Tanora (Tanōura), Dozosima (Hososhima), Fungamon (Hyūga), Bungo (Bungo), Xaquenou (Saganoseki) (see Vol. III, pp. 273-274). A further list is given in the account of a Portuguese pilot who sailed in 1557 from Ningpo in a junk of that city to Bungo, and from there to Sakai: Ycoo (Yakushima), Tanaxuma (Tanegashima), Minatto (Chino-no-Minato), Xibuxij (Shibushi), Quimonsiquy (Kimotsuki), Tanōra (Tanōura), Gico (?), Umbra (Aburazu), Undo (Udo), Toconofuchy (Tokubuchi), Myme (Mimizu), Tomxijima (Hosojima), Camico (Kamae?), Usquy (Usuki), Sanganaxeque (Saganoseki), Fingy (Hiji), Aquina fama (Okinohama) (Linschoten V 193-208). — According to his *Peregrinação*, Mendes Pinto sailed on his first voyage to Japan from Tanegashima by way of Yamagawa, Tanōura, Minato, Hyūga, and Usuki to Fucheo (Funai), and he returned by the same route to Tanegashima (cc. 135-137). He took the same route again on his second voyage to Bungo and return (cc. 200-202). On his fourth voyage to Japan in 1556, his ship came to the Koshiki Islands instead of to Tanegashima through a pilot's error. It then sailed southeast, until it sighted the mountains behind Minato, to Tonoura, and from there to Canafama (Okinohama), the harbor of Fucheo. From Saganoseki it sailed back to Tanegashima (cc. 223-225). According to the Japanese sources the first Portuguese ships came to Bungo from Tanegashima (GS II 544 546); and in 1552 Alcáçova and his companions, sent by Xavier, sailed from China to Tanegashima and from there to Bungo (*Cartas* 1598, 23-v). — There were political reasons for those sailing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for choosing the longer route for the voyage to China, along the east coast of Shikoku and Bungo, instead of the shorter route, through the Inland Sea and the strait of Shimonoseki. In 1433 the decennial tributary embassy to China was again activated. This served as the means for official trade with the kingdom, and two rivals immediately vied to obtain the main portion of this profitable trade: the Ōuchi of Yamaguchi and the Hosokawa of Sakai (Wang 68-70). The Ōuchi with the pirates of the Wakōs, who were subject to them, controlled the route of the

chain, across the China Sea along the same route that had been taken by Xavier in 1549 when he went to Japan. The ship had already reached the latitude of Chincheo⁴ when a wild storm suddenly arose that threatened to sink the ship.⁵

The mizzensail was at half-mast, and the junk was in full course,⁶ when the rope on the stern holding the sloop to the ship broke.⁷ The boat disappeared instantly among the mountainous waves.⁸ There were absolutely no prospects of saving⁹ it and its four occupants, two of whom were Mohammedan sailors.¹⁰ The captain consequently gave orders to continue on.¹¹

Inland Sea. The Hosokawa and others consequently made ever increasing use of the southern route along the eastern coast of Shikoku and Kyūshū (*ibid.* 4). In 1453 the Ōtomo family was able to equip one of the nine ships for the tributary embassy (*ibid.* 107). In 1464 the Ōuchi family lent the *shōgun* 100,000 copper coins for the expenses of the embassy, and one of the three ships was equipped by the *shōgun*, another by the Ōuchi, and the third by the Hosokawa (68). In 1469 and 1511 the Ōuchi had forcibly deprived the ship of the Hosokawa of the Chinese trading pass which it had received from the Ming emperor (*ibid.* 70-71 75-76), and in 1523 open warfare broke out in China between the followers of the two rivals (*ibid.* 75-78). In 1539 and 1547 the Ōuchi alone had equipped the ships for the tributary embassy. With the return of the last of these in 1550, and the death of Ōuchi Yoshitaka in 1551, the embassies ceased to be sent (*ibid.* 78-81). The ships of the Wakōs with their armed attacks on the Chinese coast took their place. At the same time their pirates on the Japanese Inland Sea were making the route ever more dangerous. This could also explain why, for example, Brother Alcáçova, who was ignorant of Japanese, had to go on foot in 1553 without an interpreter from Bungo to Hakata, a distance of sixty leagues, which took him eighteen days (*Cartas* 1598, 24), and also why Gago and Brother Fernández had no vessel at their disposal in 1555 when they went from Bungo to Hirado in order to hear the confessions of Duarte da Gama's men (*ibid.* 41v).

⁴ "Declarou ele, testemunha, que, vindo de Japão o anno do cerquo desta cidade [de Malacca] na sua propria nao, e vindo com elle o dito P. Mestre Francisco, lhe deu hum temporal de fromte do Chimcheo" (MX II 416). According to Pinto, the storm lasted for five days. During this time the sky was always dark so that the pilot could never take the position of the ship and the ship was driven towards the north-northeast through an unknown and unsailed sea. The pilot was steering the ship southwards to the islands of the "Papuas, Selebes, and Mindanaus," which were six hundred leagues away. After nightfall, on the second day of the storm, the sloop was torn loose. On the basis of this fantastic account, which lacks any foundation, some authors have attempted to prove the historicity of Xavier's visit to Mindanao!

⁵ "Magna exorta tempestate" (Gama 261), "exorta magna ac foeda tempestate, ita ut omnes de se actum esse fere existimarent" (Dias), "huma grande tempestade, onde estiverão postos em grande perigo de vida" (Pérez).

⁶ "Correndo com o papafiguio a meo masto, quebrou o cabo ao batell" (Galeote Pereira 275), "velum prorae" (Dias).

⁷ Gama, Dias, G. Pereira, Jer. Pereira. According to Pinto they tied the sloop on with a double rope, "de duas amarras de cairo novas." He adds that the double rope was broken when it was already almost midnight, but G. Pereira clearly states: "e isto era de dia."

⁸ "Brevi temporis spatio a conspectu ipsorum evasit" (Gama 261), "llogo em muito pouco espaço o perderão de vista" (G. Pereira).

⁹ "Com o temporal lhe não podião valler" (Gama 416), "nec ulla erat spes illam recuperandi, navi scilicet suum cursum peragente" (*ibid.* 261), "remansit dicta cymba absque ullo remedio in medio mari; cumque iam non appareret, nullaue esset illam recuperandi spes, eo quod tempestas valde vigeret" (Dias).

¹⁰ "Com dous homens... os dous homens" (Gama 416, but in the other process he states that the boat had returned "salvis omnibus, qui ea vehebantur" 261); "dous marinheiros mouros" (G. Pereira), "cum quatuor nautis, qui illa vehebantur" (Dias), "alguns marinheiros" (Pérez). Pinto preferred larger numbers: fifteen, of whom five were Portuguese (including Affonso Calvo, the nephew of the captain), the rest slaves and sailors. Tursellinus combines Pinto and the testimonies: fifteen in addition to two Moors; and Lucena also: fifteen, five of whom were Portuguese, the rest slaves and Moorish sailors.

When Master Francis saw what had happened, he asked Duarte da Gama and the others to reef the sail and come to a halt—the sloop would soon appear. The pilot was opposed to this—the sea would swallow up the ship if the small sail were taken in. When Xavier persisted in his request, he finally relented and brought the ship to a halt. When the sloop did not immediately appear, the pilot and skipper (*mestre*) both insisted upon continuing with the voyage.¹²

Two hours had passed, and during this time the lost boat had not been sighted. Francis had retired to his cabin to pray, but he now came out¹³ and earnestly asked again, for the love of Christ and of His holy wounds, that the foresail should be brought down and the ship stopped. The sloop would soon come. He had made a vow of three Masses, one for the boat and two for its occupants, so that God would not let them die in their erroneous beliefs.¹⁴ His pleas were heard: the sail was taken in.¹⁵ Since the sloop did not appear, and the pilot and *mestre* deemed that a further delay would be senseless, they wished to raise the sail again. When Francis saw this, he came up and laid his hand on the spar and prevented the men from doing so. He asked them to wait for still another moment. At his request, Antonio Dias climbed up into the basket on the mast to look for the boat. When Dias saw nothing from there, he wanted to descend at once, but Francis asked him to remain a little longer.¹⁶ He then prayed at

¹¹ "Visum est navarcho, relicta cymba, cursum proseguendum" (Dias), "determinação de se yr e deixar o batel" (Pérez).

¹² "At P. Magister Franciscus rogavit navarchum et reliquos, ut expectarem scapham, quia statim ventura erat" (Gama 261), "o que vemdo o P. Mestre Francisco roguou he pedio que amainassem, o que se fez a roguo; mas não haproveitando nenhuma cousa, segundo o tempo fôra grande, contra sua vontade tornarão ha dar as vellas" (G. Pereira); "O padre roguou que amainassem. Ho piloto contradizia, dizendo que os comeria o mar se tirassem a pouca vella com que fugiam ao mar; todavia amainarão" (Jer. Pereira 216); "O que vendo o Padre rogou que esperassem por elle e que amaynacem a vella; e o piloto não queria senão partir e que não podia esperar, e que os comeria o mar se amaynassem a vella; e asi o piloto e o mestre, vendo que já não podia recuperar o batel, insistirão a se ir" (Pérez). Pinto has the captain stop the ship, but the waves threatened to capsize and sink it. Xavier prayed to the five wounds of Christ, and the ship miraculously straightened up as the sloop disappeared into the darkness of the night. All wept and prayed for the souls of those who were on it. Tursellinus and Lucena have Xavier console the people with the words: "The daughter [Lucena: the son] will return to her mother before three days have passed." Lucena has Xavier spend all the rest of the night in prayer.

¹³ "E avião duas horas que corrião sem aparecer o batell nem da gravya. Tornou o P. Mestre Francisco a sair de seu gasalhado" (G. Pereira). "At Pater hoc tempore orationi incumbibat, vovebatque aliqua sacrificia pro iis, qui in dicta scapha vehebantur, et pro ea" (Gama 261).

¹⁴ "Dizendo que por amor de noso Senhor e das suas chaguas tornasem hamaynar, porque elle confiava na sua misericórdia que se não perdessem aquelas allmas, que podião ser christãos" (G. Pereira). "E perdendo-o já de vista da gavia, o dito Mestre Francisco diseraa que prometia de dizer huma missa pollo batel e duas pollos dous homens que nelle vinhão" (Gama 416).

¹⁵ "A qual cousa ouvindo os da nao, derão com has vellas outra vez em baixo" (G. Pereira).

¹⁶ "At illi, cum existimarent possibile non esse cymbam recuperari, insistebant in navigatione proseguenda; dictus vero Pater etiam urgebat vehementer ne navigarent, quia cymba statim erat perventura. Et tandem, quia visum fuit, impossibile esse id quod Pater aiebat, coeperunt velum prorae sursum efferre ut discederent. At Pater, accurrens, manu supra antennam apposita, ab incepto desistere coegit, precatus ut expectarent adhuc paululum. Et mox ipse testis iussu dicti Patris conscendit carchesium navis. Et cum non videret cymbam velletque descendere, dictus Pater rogavit ut adhuc parrumper expectaret, quia statim descensurus erat" (Dias); "E polo contrario o Padre insistia que se não fossem e que logo veria o batel. E todavia o piloto e o mestre parecendo-lhes

the ship's rail with his hands lifted to heaven. After he had finished his prayer, he turned to the captain and his men and told them that they should not be concerned. He trusted in God that the ship would return safely. Not long after this,¹⁷ two or three hours after the sail had been reefed,¹⁸ the sloop reappeared and, despite the heavy storm, came straight up to the junk. The men on the junk wanted to throw a rope to those on the sloop, but the priest said that this would not be necessary. To everyone's astonishment, the boat sailed up easily to the ship and lay gently along its side until its occupants had come on board and members of the crew had climbed down into the sloop and tied it to the junk.¹⁹ In thanksgiving for their miraculous recovery, the two Mohammedan sailors had themselves instructed in the faith by Master Francis as they continued on their voyage and were baptized.²⁰

que era cousa impossivel, comessarão a mandar alevantar a vella. Acudio o Padre e pôs a mão na verga pera que se não alevantasse e mandou sobir a hum homem na enxarsia; o que vendo que não parecia o batel se queria logo deser, e disse-lhe o Padre que esperasse mais hum pouco" (Pérez). Pinto has the men work the rest of the night in putting the ship again in order. At dawn the sloop is no longer visible from the lookout on the mast. A half-hour later Xavier comes out of the captain's cabin and goes to the *mestre* and pilot and asks that a man be again sent up into the lookout. When Pero Velho makes a sceptical remark, he replies that he has vowed three Masses in Nossa Senhora do Monte in Malacca, and he trusts that God will not permit them to perish. The *mestre* himself and another then climb up into the lookout and keep watch for half an hour, but without success. Xavier then has them come down again. He himself, since he has not slept for three nights and feels weak, retires for the whole day into Pinto's cabin, where he prays instead of rests. Shortly before sunset he again comes out and asks once more that a survey be taken from the lookout. The pilot and *mestre* climb up into it and remain there a long time without seeing the sloop which, according to the opinion of the pilot, must be fifty leagues away.

¹⁷ "E estando rezamdo ao bordo com as mãos allevantadas, disse aa gemte e a elle, testemunha, que se não agastasem, que elle confiava em Deos que o batel viria a salvamento a elles; e que logo no mesmo ynstante simtirão vir-se chegando o batel até chegar ao bordo da nao, semdo o temporal muyto grande" (Gama 416). "At Pater hoc tempore orationi incumbibat, vovebatque aliqua sacrificia pro iis, qui in dicta scapha vehebantur, et pro ea; statimque eodem tempore conspexerunt dictam scapham, et illam expectarunt" (*idem* 261).

¹⁸ "Derão com has vellas outra vez hem baixo. E estando asy de mar em través per duas hou tres horas, em cabo deste espaço virão vir o batell direito á não" (G. Pereira). Pinto has Xavier pray at the rail of the ship. He then lays his head on the rail of the ship as if sleeping for the duration of two or three Creeds, when a child in the lookout sights the sloop. Tursellinus has the priest pray for three hours, until the boat was sighted by Dias. Three witnesses have the boat return after three days (MX II 472 489 494), probably a confusion with the sloop of the *Santa Cruz* which sought Sancian in 1552 and returned after three days (DI III 654).

¹⁹ "E estando pera lhe dar hum cabo, disera o dito Padre que não era necesario, que o batel chegaria muito mansamente, como de feito chegou até os dous homens se meterem na nao e os outros de demtro amarrarem ho batel, de que todos ficarão muito espantados" (Gama 416), "quae brevissimo tempore ad navem pervenit, salvis omnibus qui ea vehebantur. Et cum ad navem appulissent, et mare nimis agitaretur, navim conscenderunt, cymba absque ullo ligamine interim relictas, quae tamen immota perman-sit quousque alii nautae eam ingressi alligarunt; qui casus statim ab omnibus pro notabili est habitus" (*ibid.* 261); "Et post breve temporis spatium cymba pervenit ad latas navis; et aethiopes, qui illa vehebantur, navim intrarunt, relinquentes dictam cymbam liberam absque ullo ligamine, et tamen, a nemine apprehensa, ipsa quievit iuxta latas navis quousque alii dictae navis ministri, illam ingressi, eam navi alligarunt; et statim, qui in navi erant, hoc habuerunt pro re valde notabili" (Dias); "Virão vir o batell direito á nao, que sem desviar a huma banda nem a outra veyo á poupa muito bem amarrado; vierão hos marinheiros" (G. Pereira). "De que ficarão todos admirados. Isto foi notorio e porque eu o ouvi a muytas pessoas dignas de fee o conto" (Pérez).

²⁰ "Virão hos marinheiros, e se converterão he forão bautizados" (G. Pereira). The

2. A LETTER FROM CHINA (DECEMBER, 1551)¹

The storm died down; the tall, blue mountains of the Chinese coast came into view; and the ship continued south along its course with them in view from

alleged bilocation of Xavier, which later became so famous in literature and art, is first found in Tursellinus in 1596. After giving an account of the return of the sloop, he continues: "Mira deinde res, ac pene fidem excedens traditur. Fernandus Mendes Pintus Lusitanus honestus et grauis comes Francisci peregrinationis ex Iaponia in Sinas, et periculi socius fuit. Is caeteris quae exposuimus enarratis, autor est reduces illos in onerariam receptos, cum vellet nauta scapham inanem iam ac religatam submouere, inhibuisse clamantes, ut manum prius Xauerio porrigeret, qui adhuc in scapha resideret; respondenti nautae Xauerium iam in naui esse, ac fuisse ante ipsorum reditum, certatim illos affirmasse, nimirum quamdiu ipsos in scapha tempestas agitasset infesto vagantes mari, Franciscum adfuisse, cunctosque solantem, et ad spem salutis excitantem scaphae cursum ad onerariam direxisse. Tum demum intellectum est, Francisci pro illorum salute supplicantis speciem eis praesto fuisse (quod et de S. Nicolao Myreensi Episcopo memoriae proditum est), ut appareret, cuius ope a praesenti exitio seruati forent. Res omnium vectorum, nautarumque sermonibus celebrabatur. At Xaverius diuinum id opus non suum esse praedicans gubernatori nauis denunciat, ut vela impigre expediat, haud ita multo post, sedata tempestate, secundis ventis usurus" (5, 2). The bilocation is not reported in the *Peregrinação* nor in Lucena, who at other times copies Pinto's manuscript verbatim. In his chapter on the miracle of the sloop, he notes that he was employing for it the testimonies of Duarte da Gama and Galeote Pereira, "alem d'outras muytas informações de pessoas todas dinas de fé, que ainda que relataram o caso muy differentemente, e de alguma nos consta [meant is Mendes Pinto], que escreueo menos do que costumaua contar; esta diferença porem mais nos faz a relação sem sospeita de engano, do que a debilita na opinião da verdade" (9, 15). The bilocation is also lacking in the account composed by Maffei in 1582 from oral information provided by Pinto (GS II 105-109) and in his *Historiae Indicae* of 1588 (*Opera omnia* I 406). The *Litterae Remissoriales* of 1613 (Q 6200: *De miraculis*, n. 46) want the witnesses to be asked about the bilocation. The results were meager. Only two witnesses speak of it in the Cochin process of 1616, both on the island of Manār. The first was Thomas Andreas (MX II 565-566). He gives as his authority for all his statements a young man who served Xavier and saw everything: how Xavier healed a blind merchant in Japan, obtained a miraculous catch of fish, and was at the same time on the ship and the sloop. The authority was the mestizo Domingos Caldeira. He was over ninety-eight years old in 1616 and constantly confused Xavier with later Jesuits (see above, p. 295). The second witness was the forty-two-year-old Melchior Soeiro d'Ares (MX II 571-572), a *cavalleiro fidalgo*, *provedor* of the Misericórdia, and orphan judge, who in 1611 obtained a title to the position of secretary to the tolling post in Diu for three years as a reward for his nine years of service in India (*TdT; *Chanc. D. Felipe II., Doações* 23, 274v). He gave a report from hearsay on two (unhistorical) raisings from the dead which Xavier wrought in Mutam and Kovalam, and another on the miracle of the sloop. He added that it was "publica vox et fama, quod dictus Pater in eadem tempestate apparuit iis qui ierant in scapha, cum tamen esset in navi." The indirect influence of Tursellinus is shown in both witnesses, since they even repeat the passage with Xavier's statement that the daughter would return to her mother. The *minutes* of the three auditors of the Rota of 1616 consequently have nothing about a bilocation in their dealing with the miracle of the sloop. The observation added by the notary Johannes Visetus from the testimony of Mendes Pinto: "Adjungit praeterea P. Xaverium apparuisse illis qui in scapha fluctibus jactati in discrimine iactabantur" was later crossed off and made illegible (nn. 60-64, ff. 313-337). The *Relatio* of 1619 (Q 6223) simply adds to the report on the miracle of the sloop that many authors have noted that Xavier appeared to those in the sloop, and that its occupants declared, after they had been taken on board the ship, that Xavier had constantly been with them and had steered the boat through the waves, and that they had been much astonished when they were told that the priest had been at the same time on board the ship (63-v). *Confalonierius repeated the same in 1624 (243v). The bull of canonization of 1623 gives the miracle of the sloop without the bilocation (MX II 712). In 1614 Seb. Gonçalves, who used Tursellinus and Lucena, took a strange position. He maintained, erroneously, that Duarte da Gama and a nephew of Diogo Pereira had stated under oath that they had heard two sailors say that Xavier had been with them in the boat the entire night. A similar incident is told of St. Nicholas, and Christ is

Chincheo to the islands of Canton. Off the island of Sancian, where Portuguese and Chinese merchants met to carry on their smuggling, a large ship, the caravel *Santa Cruz*, was lying at anchor. Its owner and captain was Diogo Pereira, Xavier's old friend, who had been waiting there in vain for the north wind which would bring him to Malacca.² Pereira was delighted with Xavier's unexpected arrival and offered him passage on his ship for his further voyage,³ since Duarte da Gama wished to winter in Siam in order to repair his junk, which had been badly battered by the storm, and to purchase the wares he needed for his next voyage to Japan.⁴

Xavier obtained two important pieces of news from Diogo Pereira. The first concerned Malacca, and it explained why Xavier had received no mail from his confreres during the entire time of his stay in Japan, despite the orders that he

present under the sacramental forms at the same time in heaven and on earth. If a scrupulous theologian refused to accept the miracle in this form, he could accept the fact that an angel appeared in the sloop in Xavier's form, just as Master Gaspar appeared to a *fidalg*o in Ormuz (4, 16).—Pinto ascribes the miracle of the sloop to December 17. The date is impossible: Xavier left Japan on November 15 and arrived in Malacca on December 27. It took ten to twelve days to sail from Japan to China (EX II 210); it took a month to sail from China to Malacca.

¹ The sources for this section are: Gaspar Lopes' letter of October 14, 1551 (GS III 669-673), the most important of all; Xavier's letter of January 29, 1552 (EX II 277), and Pérez' of January 21, 1555 (DI III 247-248); the testimonies of Diogo Pereira (MX II 262), Antonio Pereira (*ibid.* 417-418), Jerónimo Ferreira (*ibid.* 216), and of the two prisoners Galeote Pereira (*ibid.* 276) and Gaspar Lopes (*ibid.* 177). See also our two articles: "Der Ursprung des Chinaplans des hl. Franz Xaver" (GS III 665-679), and "Das Geheimnis der zwei Dschunken" (*ibid.* 681-763); Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, c. 215, and Pérez, *In-formação* 69, who relied upon the testimonies of the witnesses.

² "Vindo o dito Mestre Francisco de Japão na nao de Duarte da Gama, e chegando ao porto de Samchoão na China, achara ahy Diogo Pireira, que avya muitos dias que estava prestes pera partir pera esta cidade [Malacca], o que não podera fazer por ter o vento contrairo, sendo o tempo da monção, o qual vento contrairo era o que servya ao dito Duarte da Gama pera poder chegar do Japão à China" (Antonio Pereira). "Em treze dias de nossa viagem lhe aprouve [a nosso Senhor] que chegassemos ao reino da China, e, surtos no porto de Sanchão, onde n'aquelle tempo se fazia o nosso trato, já quando ahi chegámos, por causa de ser muito tarde não achamos mais que uma só nau, de que era capitão Diogo Pereira, e esta já de verga d'alto para se partir ao outro dia para Malaca" (Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* c. 215).

³ "O qual [Duarte da Gama] tanto que chegou se pasou Mestre Francisco há nao do dito Diogo Pireira" (Antonio Pereira).

⁴ "Na qual [nao de Diogo Pereira] o padre se embarcou, porque a de Duarte da Gama, em que viera de Japão, lhe era necessario ir invernar a Sião, por vir aberta pela roda de proa, do grande trabalho que passára na tormenta, que atrás tenho contado, e lá se concertar e prover de muitas cousas, de que tinha necessidade" (Mendes Pinto l. c.). In his letter of December 5, 1554, Pinto wrote that he had twice been in Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, that he had there seen the white elephant which had died three years before, and that he had heard from merchants there the sums spent by the king on its burial. He had been two or three times in Martaban in Pegu and had finally returned to Siam in order to go from there to Japan. But he had there changed his plan and had gone [in 1553] to India in order to sail from there to Portugal. He had several times visited the College of St. Paul in order to see if any answers to his different letters to Xavier had been received. In Ayuthia he had once witnessed an eclipse of the moon (DI III 143-152). Pinto seems to have sailed from Siam to Pegu in 1552. In his *Peregrinação* he states that he had been in the city of Pegu on April 5, 1552, when the *xemindo* marched out for the decisive battle, and that he had been present at his execution twenty-eight days later (cc. 195-198). Then, contrary to all chronologies, he continues by stating that after this he sailed from Pegu to Malacca, and from there to Japan with Jorge Alvares (c. 200). As we have seen above, Vol. III, pp. 565-566, Duarte da Gama had reasons for avoiding Portuguese territory, and since China was closed off, Siam was the only remaining place where he could have his ship repaired.

had given to all in this regard. Since the beginning of June, Malacca had been besieged by the sultan of Johore and his Javanese allies. No ship had been able to sail from there for China, and no one could say what was the present situation of the fortress.⁵

The second piece of news concerned China, the land closed to all foreigners. Pereira had been able to obtain information on the fate of the two junks which he had left behind in China with his wares at the end of 1548. They had been captured by the Chinese coastal fleet, and their officers and crews had been imprisoned. Antonio Lopes de Bobadilha, who had fought in 1547 at the Perlis River with Diogo Pereira against the Achinese, had sent his brother Gaspar Lopes, a prisoner in China, a letter and money. The latter, whom Xavier had come to know in Ternate in 1546 as the secretary of the *Bufara*, had sent in return a letter of his fellow prisoner Lançarote Pereira and one of his own addressed to his brother, but indirectly to Diogo Pereira and to all the Portuguese who were in China. In the absence of the others, it had been delivered to Diogo Pereira. The letters had come from Kweilin, the capital of the province of Kwangsi in South China; and Pereira learned from them that the Portuguese of his two junks had been taken into the interior of China as alleged pirates. There they had been subjected to a thorough, impartial, juridical investigation by the royal officials and declared to be innocent of the crimes ascribed to them; but they had been banished to the province of Kwangsi for their illicit trade. They were being held there in free arrest. Among them were, in addition to the two authors of the letters, Galeote Pereira, Manuel de Chaves, and Alonso Ramirez, Xavier's protégé.⁶ Gaspar Lopes' letter had been inscribed: "From this prison, on October 14, 1551," but it did not give the location of the prison.⁷ After giving an account of his arrest at the beginning of 1549, Lopes continued:

If the bearer of this letter returns soon, that is up to the twentieth, may it please God to help us. When I receive your letters it is through the third or even fifth person. For when one comes from there, he gives it to another, and he gives it to another; and thus it comes to one of the prisoners here.⁸ There are many tyrants and greedy

⁵ Gaspar Lopes learned of the siege of Malacca from the letter of his brother, and Diogo Pereira probably from the same or other sources.

⁶ Xavier and Pérez both attest the fact that Diogo Pereira received the letters of the imprisoned Portuguese during Xavier's stay on Sancian. On January 20, 1552, Xavier wrote from Cochín: "Hé a China terra muito grande, paciffiqua, sem aver guerras nenhuma; terra de muita justiça, segumdo o que spreve os portugueses, que nela estão; hé de mais justiça que nenhuma de toda a cristaandade" (EX II 277), and Pérez stated the following about Xavier in his letter of January 23, 1555, to Ignatius: "El año de 51 vino de Japán, y passando por los puertos de la China, fué ymformado por cartas de unos cativos portugueses, que estaban en la China, como se fuese una embaxada de la parte del Rei de Portugal a Cantón, que avría pazes entre los nuestros y los chinos, por onde avría camino y entrada grande para na China se manifestar la lei de nuestro Señor Jesú Christo, por los chinos ser regidos por leies y ser amigos de saber, y otras cosas particulares, por las quales parece ser que tomarán más ayna nuestra fee, permaneciendo en ella que estotra gente de la India" (DI III 247). On this see our two articles in GS III 665-702, where we also published the letters of Gaspar Lopes and Alonso Ramírez.

⁷ The original letter is found in the collection *Fragmentos, maço 30*, of the Torre do Tombo, without a number. It consists of two leaves (Portuguese paper). The upper half of the first leaf has been torn away, and there is a large hole in the second half; folio 2v is blank. We have given the text with a commentary in GS III 669-673. For a completion of the gaps, see in addition to the data in Xavier and Pérez our two articles just mentioned.

⁸ As Ramírez writes, the prisoners were first taken to the capital of the province

individuals. He [the bearer] told me that I must give him six of seven parts, and that I can keep one. See if it is not better to tell the one who is coming: "See here, there is so much in the hand of Nacoda⁹ or Malemo.¹⁰ Carry this request for me to the prisoners. If you come back and bring an answer, you will receive this sum." Otherwise, it is useless to send us any letters, for they open all the letters; and they have good hostages and will return with any kind of answer. From the alms which you sent us, we could have maintained ourselves, if they had been given to us. But, as I have learned, those which come are brought with fear.¹¹ The mandarin apologizes and says that nothing has as yet come; we shall not get any letters from him.

The author of the letter then indicated various ways in which they could be freed. A petition should be directed to the authorities, but the Portuguese should not designate themselves as Siamese. They would immediately perceive the ruse when they saw that the Portuguese knew no Siamese.¹² In the petition they should write that before their arrest, they, the prisoners, had a patent of the Great Mandarin and a banner of the mandarin of Cumay¹³ in the name of the king of China, and also a letter of the *aytão*¹⁴ of Quantão.¹⁵ The captain who had arrested them¹⁶ had confiscated these items. If his brother or Diogo Pereira came to Canton as an ambassador¹⁷ of the king of Portugal, they would be able to conclude a peace if they promised to pay the usual harbor tolls. In this way they would also free all of their countrymen imprisoned in China.¹⁸ Lopes then continued:

I therefore, lord brother,¹⁹ return to say that if the Lord God should bring you of Kwangsi, and it was only later that they were separated from each other (GS III 677 700-702).

⁹ A native ship captain (Dalgado II 88).

¹⁰ A native pilot (*ibid.* 16-17).

¹¹ "Das esmolos que nos temdes mamdado nos sostivermos se noos fforam dadas, mas, segumdo tennho sabido, são as que vem amontadas com medo." The passage is not perfectly clear.

¹² The sense is: The addressees should not identify themselves as Siamese in order to avoid the invidious name of Portuguese in their petition for the release of the prisoners. The Chinese would be able to perceive the ruse immediately.

¹³ Ke-moi in Fukien.

¹⁴ Hai-to, that is, admiral (Dalgado I 18). Meant is K'o Chiao (Chang 82-84).

¹⁵ Kwangtung, the province, whose capital was Canton.

¹⁶ Meant is the military commandant of the province, the *tu-ti-sse* by the name of Lu T'ang (cf. GS III 686, and Chang 84).

¹⁷ Pérez' letter mentions the proposal of an embassy. In the upper part of the lower half of the second side of Lopes' letter only a few introductory syllables are extant, among these is the half-word *baixada*, in the next line *pera que saibam a*, and in the one after this *anos e asy liv[rareis a no]s todos*.

¹⁸ The author of the letter then notes that the attempt to free them through an embassy involved no risk. The incomplete next line reads as follows: "risquo sobre mim . . . tanto que cheguardes hao porto, se vises a or . . . dareis graças hao Senhor Deus. E se ouotra cousa me parecese, não seria voso irmão, porque nam vos arrisquaria aimda que souvese perder quinnhentas mortes."

¹⁹ The brother is probably Antonio Lopes de Bobadilha, "an honorable mulatto," who had a leg shattered during the battle on the Perlis River in 1547 and was killed by the Javanese during the siege of Malacca in 1551, as Pérez writes (*Informação* 61). A former slave of his, Pero Lopes, who could read and write Portuguese and a little Chinese, offered himself to Xavier as a translator on Sancian in 1552 (EX II 495 512). The siege of Malacca by the allied Malays and Javanese began on June 5, 1551. The captain of the fortress, Dom Pedro da Silva, immediately sent a ship to summon all the Portuguese on the western coast in Kedah, Tenasserim, Pegu, and Bengal, and another under a native captain to Patane, on the east coast, in order to warn all ships coming from Siam, Cambodia, and China so that they would not fall into the hands of the

by any of these ways²⁰ to this harbor²¹ so that you might enter it and pay the tolls,²² you should consider and call yourself fortunate; and if the lord Dioguo Pereira should decide on such a thing, he may certainly be canonized for having freed his friends and relatives from captivity. And if you could by any way let the Portuguese in Cochim²³ know that the lord Dioguo Pereira is in the harbor and determined to make such a pilgrimage, they would rise up and would not forgo their happiness for this at any cost; and Manoel de Chaves²⁴ would regain his youth despite his old age.

The lord Dioguo Pereira may consider this letter as being addressed to him and to all those who are there;²⁵ and he may be sure that if they send petitions by any way there may be,²⁶ they will be immediately granted; and for this reason they should send them through this government of Quantão,²⁷ saying that they promise to pay the tolls, and that they can exact them; and that they had all come to an agreement to this effect.²⁸ We are also sending a letter of Lançarote Pereira;²⁹ we ask our Lord that it may be delivered on this side of Cape Comorim³⁰ so that he [his brother] can have news of Lançarote Pereira and Galeoto Pereira³¹ and Manoel de Chaves; for it is

enemy (Couto 6, 9, 6). It seems that Antonio was on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula north of Malacca when he heard of the siege, and that he sent a letter with money (and writing paper) through a Chinese junk to his brother imprisoned in China, since no Portuguese ships could pass through the strait of Singapore during the blockade. He then sailed to the help of Malacca, probably with Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, who sailed from Kedah with three ships and a hundred men. He arrived in the city on August 6 and was greeted by the besieged as a savior. The Javanese withdrew on September 16. Antonio had fallen in battle with them. This also explains why the author of the letter could not give an address. At the time he wrote it, he had no fixed residence. His letter did not come until some time had passed into the hands of Gaspar Lopes, who wrote his answer on October 14. No further news had in the meantime come to China from Malacca or about the death of his brother.

²⁰ In the lost part of his letter Gaspar Lopes proposed different ways to secure his freedom.

²¹ Canton.

²² This was done in 1554 by Lionel de Sousa, and peace was thus again established between the Chinese and Portuguese (Gaspar da Cruz 124).

²³ By this is not meant Cochin in India, but Chaoching (today Shiuhiung) between Canton and Wuchou, where the governor of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi was accustomed to live (cf. D'Elia, S.J., *Fonti Ricciane* I [Roma, 1942] 161, n. 2, who writes *Sciaocchim*).

²⁴ He succeeded in escaping from prison in 1552 and meeting Xavier on Sancian (EX II 499 501 515).

²⁵ The author of the letter did not know who was with his brother. The messenger was obviously told to hand over this letter and that of Lançarote Pereira to the first Portuguese ship he encountered, or to the first Chinese ship sailing to the Portuguese.

²⁶ Lopes wishes to say: If the freeing of the prisoners is requested in a petition on any of the suggested ways.

²⁷ Amaro Pereira also mentions a "governança de Cantão" in his report on China (Q 6159). Meant is the rule of the double province of Kwangtung-Kwangsi, which had a common governor (Lu T'ang), as Galeoto Pereira noted in his treatise on China (Q 6154).

²⁸ They had at first all come together in the capital of the province of Kwangsi (Gaspar da Cruz 146). They were later divided up two by two or three by three in different towns of the province (*ibid.* and Ramírez; cf. GS III 677-678).

²⁹ Lançarote Pereira d'Abreu, a Portuguese *fidalg*o, sailed to India in 1541 with the right to a captaincy on one of the caravels which patrolled the coast between Sofala and Melinde (Q 760). Mendes Pinto says of him that he was "homem honrado e do boa geração, natural de Ponte de Lima," and he attributes to him the principal blame for the attack upon the Portuguese wintering in Ningpo in 1548-1549 (*Peregrinação*, c. 221; see also cc. 90 and 140, and Gaspar da Cruz 126-127).

³⁰ He thus hoped that the addressee of the letter would be east of Cape Comorin and thus more quickly reached. For the voyage to the west coast of India, ships had to wait months in Malacca for the November monsoon.

³¹ The gap G... a is to be completed in this way and not as *Gonçalo Pereira*, as we assumed in EX II 261, n. 6.

certain, and we are sure, that if he learns of it, they will be rescued while they are still alive, even though this would cost him his possessions and involve a risk to his own person, and all the more in that it is nothing more than a spending of money for performing such a great work of mercy as that of freeing so many individuals³² and for opening up the harbor³³ so as not to lose so many lives and possessions every year.³⁴ There is nothing more except that we receive the petition without your being harmed by their deceptions. Write to us by a safe way if the lord Dioguo Pereira is coming to accomplish this, for with the help of the Lord God, we all expect to see ourselves saved and freed, if the Lord God grants us life.

We were very sad about what happened in Malaqua.³⁵ May God be praised! May it please Him that all contributes to His service, and that He keep us in His care, since despite our sins God wished to come to our salvation.

And I ask you this a thousand thousand thousand times, both in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and of His five wounds, and of his holy death and passion; and thus may you have the blessing of your father: Do not set out to go to Malaqua until you know what is happening there, and I am also asking the same of the lord Dioguo Pereira.³⁶ And see to it that Patane remains friendly, since it can do no more; and do not be deceived into thinking that it is subject to the king of Syam.³⁷ We now have, God be praised, only Syam in the first place and then Japan³⁸ [as our friends]; and we can come and go and conduct trade if we pay the tolls on our arrival. Brother, be mindful of yourself; and I ask this in the name of the Lord God, who has you in His power, that you have a care for yourself and for all those lords, for we recommend ourselves to their prayers as faithful Christians of the Lord. God. I am not writing to the lord Dioguo Pereira since the bearer of this letter did not give me the time nor the opportunity to do so. I have no more to write to you; it is sufficient that you are there without writing to us. If something is given to them, they will deliver our letters. I ask our Lord that He may watch over you, and that He may lead you and all those lords to peace and safety, and that He may permit you to end your life in His holy service, and also us.

From this prison,³⁹ Monday morning, the fourteenth of October of the year 1551.

From your brother and friend,

Guaspar Lopez.

This letter moved Xavier to change all of his previous plans. Instead of returning to Japan the following year, he would try to persuade the governor of India to send an ambassador to conclude peace with the Chinese, to free the

³² In 1556 Ramírez mentioned more than sixty prisoners who were still alive (GS III 678).

³³ Canton.

³⁴ "Este e outros cativos ha na China, porque atégora esteve de guerra, e quando se perdia alguma nao, os tomavão, ou levavão presos," Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote from Macao on November 23, 1555 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 88; cf. EX II 515).

³⁵ His brother thus wrote during the siege of Malacca, which lasted from June 5 to September 16 (Q 4703; DI II 204-220).

³⁶ They should first ascertain if it was safe to stop in Malacca.

³⁷ The Mohammedan sultan of Patane, although he was a vassal of Siam, which was on friendly terms with the Portuguese, was quite independent and a very unreliable customer, always ready to betray the Portuguese.

³⁸ Siam and Japan were the only friendly lands in the Far East where the Portuguese could at the time engage in trade.

³⁹ Although they resided in the "jail," the survivors of the two junks still enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom in contrast to the other Portuguese who before or after them fell into the hands of the Chinese, some of whom had already been condemned to death since they had, for example, killed Chinese in their own defense. The latter was the case of Matheus de Brito, whom Melchior Nunes Barreto encountered in the jail in Canton in 1555 (Ayres, *Subsidios* 93 95 98). On free detention in Kwangsi, see the letter of Ramírez (GS III 677) and other reports (*ibid.* 700-701).

prisoners, and by these means gain an entrance for the Gospel into the Middle Kingdom. He would propose Diogo Pereira to the governor as the ambassador, and he would accompany him so that he might bring the message of the true faith to China. This was the land from which the Japanese had derived their different sects. The country was at peace, and its inhabitants were even more eager for knowledge than Japanese. There were, thus great hopes that they would more readily accept the Christian faith and persevere in it more steadfastly than the people of India. And if China were converted, this would be a great help in persuading the Japanese to abandon their sects and to accept Christianity.⁴⁰ Francis therefore asked his friend, from whom he had already received so many favors, that for the love of God he should accept the office of an ambassador and, in this position, attempt to free his relatives and friends who were imprisoned in China. Pereira immediately agreed to this suggestion and gladly placed himself and his possessions at Xavier's disposal.⁴¹

The wind from the north, which had been so long awaited by the *Santa Cruz*, had risen at the time of Xavier's arrival.⁴² The period for sailing to Malacca was coming to an end. There was no more time to waste.⁴³ Master Francis therefore took his leave of Duarte da Gama and his other friends who had sailed with him thus far—Mendes Pinto, Pero Velho, and Antonio Dias. He urged them and their companions to pray for Malacca, which was still under siege, and to go to its assistance.⁴⁴ With his Japanese—Antonio, Joane, Bernardo, and Matheus—and the ambassador of the king of Bungo, he boarded Diogo Pereira's ship, which immediately set forth on its voyage to the south.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Cf. Pérez' letter (DI III 247) and Xavier's letters, which echo information received through the prisoners (EX II 277 291-292).

⁴¹ "Et dixit ipse testis, quod, cum ipse apud Sinas ageret, venit illuc a Japonia dictus P. Magister Franciscus, et ab eo petit, ut ob amorem Dei, quando tanta illi beneficia contulerat, vellet liberare captivos, qui apud Sinas detinebantur; et ipse testis ei obtulit facultates suas et omnia quae ipse vellet" (Diogo Pereira 262). Pérez notes on this: "Y allí [Xaver in Sanzian] halló un Diego Pereira, conosciado ya del tiempo del P. M. Francisco, ombre rico y señor de una nao, el qual se ofreció al Padre que él a su costa con su navio querría hazer aquel servicio a Dios y al Rei, si el Visorrei de la India lo despachase. Y con este propósito vinieron ambos en la nao a Malaqua" (DI III 347-348).

⁴² In 1556 Antonio Pereira, with whom Xavier sailed from Malacca for India in 1551, testified in Malacca: "O qual [Duarte da Gama] tanto que chegou se pasou Mestre Francisco há nao do dito Diogo Pereira, e logo no proprio instante elle vio o vemto da monção á popa, e se partio quebrando o vemto que d'antes vemtava" (MX II 418).

⁴³ "Por ser grande parte da monção da China pera Malaca gastada" (Antonio Pereira).

⁴⁴ Gaspar Lopes, who appeared as a witness in Goa in 1556 after obtaining his freedom, said at this time: "Ouvira dizer, que estando o Padre na China, honde faleçeo, quando Malaca estava cercada, disse: 'Roguem a Deos por nossos irmãos, que estam em Malaca em grande opressão'" (MX II 177). Two other witnesses have Xavier giving orders to the Portuguese to bring help to the besieged. Jerónimo Ferreira declared that he had heard from Diogo Pereira that when the priest was in Chincheo [read: Sancian], he had assembled the Portuguese and had told them that they should go to Malacca to help their Portuguese confreres who were at war and in the direst need of help (MX II 215-216). Galeote Pereira, whom Brou (II 247) and others erroneously call an eyewitness, testified that when Xavier was in Japan [read: Sancian] in the company of some Portuguese, he had told them that they should go to the help of Malacca which was being besieged. He had already told them many times that they should go there. When he saw that they were unwilling to do so, he had said to them: "Brothers! Let us go to help Malacca!" At that time it was impossible to know this about Malacca without a divine inspiration, as there was in this instance. Galeote Pereira, who was at the time a prisoner in Inner China, is here no reliable witness.

⁴⁵ According to Mendes Pinto, Diogo wished to set sail on the very day after Xavier's arrival (*Peregrinação*, c. 215). Pérez writes: "E passando-se o Padre à nao de Diogo

3. WITH DIOGO PEREIRA TO MALACCA (DECEMBER, 1551)

Six years before, in December, 1545, Master Francis had obtained his first intimate knowledge of China. Since then this land, closed to all foreigners, had never receded from his thoughts. Before sailing to the Moluccas, he had asked the Portuguese merchants who went to the Middle Kingdom to get further news about it; and at the time of his return in 1547, he had received such a report. From what he had learned from his friend Mar Jacob, the Syro-Malabar bishop, the apostle Thomas had already preached the Gospel there.¹ At the beginning of 1548, Xavier had sent Ignatius an account on Japan and China, and he had written to him that confreres coming to India should be men who could be sent alone, without companions, to China, Japan, and Pegu.² A year later he had sent him a report on the large university of Chengico on the far side of China, whose teachings were spread throughout China and Japan.³ In November, 1549, he had already sent word from Kagoshima to his friends and confreres in Goa that if he found that the Far East was as ready for the acceptance of the Christian faith as it seemed to him at the time, he was thinking of inviting the following year the leading universities of Europe, the pope in Rome, and all religious orders to this holy crusade, since there was room in Japan and in the still larger China for all who wished to proclaim the faith. One could go safely to China with an accompanying letter from the king of Japan, and he hoped to obtain one of these from him without much difficulty. If God granted him ten more years of life, he expected to see great things in these regions.⁴ Chinese and Japanese boys should be taken into St. Paul's College in Goa so that they could later be used as interpreters for the priests going to Japan and China.⁵ Xavier's trip to the royal court of Miyako had cruelly destroyed this illusion; and the overthrow and death of the prince of Yamaguchi, who had controlled the trade with China, had carried his last hopes in this regard to the grave. But now the letters of the Portuguese imprisoned in China which had been received by Pereira on Sancian indicated a way for the entrance of the Gospel into this self-isolated kingdom—through an embassy of the governor of India to the king of China.

As the ship sailed on its way, Xavier enlisted the help of the ambassador of Ōtomo Yoshishige and of his own Japanese companions. They wrote down in Chinese characters the catechism which he had composed in Kagoshima. This contained the truths of the faith from the creation of the world to the final judgment as they had been translated by Anjirō into Japanese and written down

Pereira pera vir a Malaca, en esse instante dizem as pessoas que ali estavam que veio o vento a popa e sse partio por ser já passado muito tempo da monção" (*Informação* 69). Tursellinus places Xavier's prophecy on Velho's death during this stay of Xavier in 1551, and in Macao instead of in Sancian; but Macao was not founded by the Portuguese until 1557, and Xavier never entered it (5, 3). His source is indirectly the *report of Miguel de Lacerda, who also attributes it to the harbor of Macao, but places it in the year 1552 (*Lisbon, *RProcess II*, n. 11, 105); Lucena rightly attributes it to Sancian in 1552 (10, 25). Xavier's brief stay on Sancian in 1551 and other weighty reasons make that year unlikely for the prophecy.

¹ EX I 334-335; Vol. III, pp. 49-50 593.

² EX I 398-399 420.

³ *Ibid.* II 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* 209-210.

⁵ *Ibid.* 217.

in Latin script. He would thus be able to make himself understood in China even before he had learned the language of the land.⁶

Xavier's main topic of conversation with his friend Diogo Pereira on their voyage towards the south was the future of the embassy. He would sail on at once from Malacca for India. There he would obtain from the governor Pereira's appointment as ambassador and all the required letters, documents, warrants and gifts. He would return to Malacca at the end of May. Pereira would in the meantime purchase the needed pepper in Sunda. They would meet again in Malacca and set out together from there in June for China. But when Pereira spoke about his hopes for the embassy, Xavier's soul was filled with sad forebodings; and he repeatedly said that he feared that the devil would prevent their voyage and undertaking. When Pereira became depressed by Xavier's constant objections and expressed surprise at the latter's pessimism, he was simply told: "You will see!"⁷

During a storm that broke out during their further voyage, the *Santa Cruz* sprang a leak; and it was feared that the ship would be lost. Xavier, however, encouraged the pilot, Francisco de Aguiar, telling him that he should have no fear: his ship would not sink into the sea but would fall apart on the beach where it had been built; and he himself would not die in the sea but upon the land.⁸

⁶ On January 29, 1552, Xavier wrote to Ignatius from Cochin: "Fyzymos en lengua de Japón un lybro que trataba de la creacyón del mundo y de todos los misterios de la vyda de Chrysto; y después este mesmo lybro escrybymos en letra de la Chyna, para quando a la Chyna fuere, para darme a entender hasta saber hablar chyna" (EX II 292). We assume that Xavier had this copy made in Chinese ideograms soon after his departure from Sancian. Our reasons are as follows: (1) At the time of his departure from Bungo, he was not thinking of any missionary excursion to China since he wished to return again to Japan in 1552. (2) Xavier's words indicate that he had the Chinese copy made for his trip to China. (3) Xavier remained for only two days in Malacca, and he wrote his letter to Ignatius five days after his arrival in Cochin. It is therefore likely that he had the copy made soon after sailing from Sancian, and that it was made by the ambassador of the king of Bungo, who probably had a better knowledge of Chinese characters than Xavier's Japanese companions and could have been assisted by them. Lucena, who had the use of the now lost Portuguese original of the process, gives Xavier's answer: "Ora vós o vereis" (10, 15).

⁷ Diogo Pereira (MX II 262).

⁸ There are thirty-five witnesses who mention this, the most famous of all Xavier's prophecies, in his process for canonization: six for Aguiar: the testimony of Amador da Costa in 1577 and witnesses 14 17 28 32 and 35 in the Cochin process in 1616; twenty-nine for his ship, the *Santa Cruz*: witness 5 in the process *Rom. in gen.* in 1610, witness 5 in 1614 in Lisbon I 1614, witnesses 10 and 11 in 1615, witnesses 5 10 22 24 30 31 32 33 38 40 46 47 50 56 in Goa in 1615, witnesses 10 12 15 17 23 28 31 37 92 93 in Cochin in 1616, and one witness in Malacca.—During the course of years, different historical and legendary events were woven together with the data in the testimonies of witnesses. Xavier, Aguiar, and Diogo Pereira are exchanged with other persons, and the *Santa Cruz* with other ships. The consequence has been a great confusion among the witnesses and authors. The pertinent historical events and their legendary developments are briefly as follows: (1) In 1535 the bodies of eight Portuguese from a ship which had been captured by the Moors were found on Moro, and in 1545 Galvão fell on the Moluccas in the siege of a Moorish fortress. In the legend, two ships sail from Amboina, Galvão in the first and Xavier in the second. After reaching Ternate, Xavier saw Galvão's death in a vision, and three days later the waves brought in the ruins of his ship. Or, during the voyage, the priest sees the slaying of one or more Portuguese; they then find their bodies on land (Vol. III, pp. 141 154-155 170-171).—(2) In 1551 Xavier sails in Duarte da Gama's ship from Japan to China; during the storm the sloop is lost. The priest promises the pilot that it will return and that the sea will not devour the ship. In 1580 Teixeira places the miracle of the sloop during the voyage from Sancian to Malacca, and on Diogo Pereira's ship.

The lofty mountains of Cochinchina and the islands of Pulo Condor were

without giving the name of the vessel or of its pilot (MX II 881).—(3) At the end of December, 1551, Xavier sails from Malacca to Cochin in the *Galega*, the ship of Antonio Pereira. Since the ship is *pervetusta* and taking in water through many cracks, Xavier consoles the fearful sailors and his fellow voyagers by telling them that it will come safely to India (*ibid.* 265-266). In 1594 Tursellinus, immediately after the Galvão miracle, speaks of a *navis in India adeo vetustate fluctibusque labefactata* that most feared to sail on it. Xavier, who happens to be present, prophesies that the ship will not sink on this voyage and that it will eventually come to a harmless end. From then on, all vie to load their wares upon it until it falls apart on the beach in 1583, nearly thirty years after Xavier's death (4, 2). In 1596 he describes the same miracle (6, 2) and adds another: In 1552 Xavier is sailing from Goa to Cochin in the ship of Diogo Pereira, which is being accompanied by another ship. During the storm he comforts the desperate Pereira by telling him that his ship will end up on the beach, but that they will soon see the ruins of the other. Planks, barrels, and bodies from it immediately come into view. The first ship does not fall apart on the beach until thirty years later (5, 5). In the **minutes* of 1616 the two ships, the *Santa Cruz* and the *Galega* are consequently joined together (275v-276v).—(4) In 1552 Xavier is sailing in the galleon of Diogo de Sousa from Goa for Malacca. He consoles his fellow voyagers during the storm and tells them that it will end before sunset. Two ships, *fustas*, that were sailing with them, according to Pérez the sloop of the ship (DI III 248), are lost in the storm (according to the *mestre* of the ship in 1556 and Lopo de Aguiar, a voyager on it, in 1557, in MX II 194 391).—(5) In 1552 Xavier is sailing with the pilot Francisco de Aguiar in the *Santa Cruz* from Malacca to Sancian. The ship misses its goal and a boat is dispatched to look for the island. It returns three days later, as Antonio reported as an eyewitness (DI III 654).—(6) At the end of 1553 Lopo de Noronha sailed with Xavier's body on his ship from Malacca to India. Twice the ship was saved from sinking on the way through the intercession of the saint (MX II 563; cf. 288 293 419 424 426). A witness stated that Xavier had prophesied that the ship which would bring his body to Goa would not end up in the sea but on the beach (Barradas 452).—(7) In 1564 two ships were sailing with Jesuits from Macao to Japan. The first of these ships, the one on which Father Melchior de Figueiredo was sailing, lost its rudder in a severe storm and had to return. He therefore sailed on the second ship with his companions João Cabral and Baltasar da Costa. This ship, like Pereira's, had the name of *Santa Cruz*. It also ran into a storm and because of a lack of fresh water came into dire straits until it happened upon an unmarked island with a spring. The ship then sailed on to Japan. Among the passengers were two who testified as eyewitnesses at the Cochin process in 1616. They confused the *Santa Cruz* of 1551 with that of 1564, and one of the three Jesuits with Xavier; and they declared that he had miraculously converted sea water into fresh and thus saved the ship. When they gave this testimony the mestizo Domingos Caldeira was ninety-eight years old and the Chinese João Botelho was eighty-five (GS III 254-257).—(8) On July 21, 1573, the ship of Dom Antonio Manuel de Vilhena, on which the visitor Gonçalo Alvarez was sailing to Japan from Macao with four companions, sank off the coast of Japan during a typhoon. The visitor had noted some irregularities about Vilhena's ship before sailing and had declared that if he found another he would not sail on it. Only two persons survived the sinking of the vessel, and these were picked up by a junk after they had been floating on a plank for three days. Fragments of the ship were cast up on the Japanese coast (Frois 430-431). Domingos Caldeira also enters here as an eyewitness in 1616, but he confuses Xavier with the visitor Alvarez and has him prophesy the sinking of the ship (MX II 450).—(9) Some witnesses also speak of other ships which, according to Xavier's prophecies, would not sink into the sea but would fall apart on land, for example, the *Nossa Senhora dos Anjos*, which went to ruin in Goa and is brought in connection with the Galvão miracle (MX II 478 558-559; Barradas 442); the *Santa Catarina*, which Xavier allegedly prophesied in Chaul would fall apart on the beach where it was built (Barradas 442; cf. MX II 194 391); and the junk *São Francisco*, which supposedly received the same prophecy from Xavier in China (Barradas 442-443).—Typical of the confusion which the preceding accounts and their legendary developments up to 1616 caused is the report of Miguel de Lacerda. This is now lost but it was the source for the inclusion of this miracle in Tursellinus' edition of 1596 and in Lucena. Amador Rebello, S.J., also testified to it as the eleventh witness in the first Lisbon process in 1615. According to Lacerda, Xavier sailed on the *Santa Cruz* from Malacca to China [he confuses the voyage of 1551 with that of 1552] with Diogo Pereira [Teixeira's influence].

already far behind when the *Santa Cruz* drew near to the wooded, hilly coast

Xavier consoles Pereira during the storm with the prophecy that his ship will disintegrate on the beach where it was built, whereas the second ship that had departed with it would be sunk. After the storm they saw the bodies and ruins of the ship [influence of the Galvão or Vilhena miracle]. Thirty years later the *Santa Cruz* fell into ruins on the beach (104v). Lucena adds that on the day after the storm the *Santa Cruz* rescued two sailors from a plank, the only survivors of the wreck (9, 17, a borrowing from the Vilhena report). Most witnesses give Xavier's prophecy immediately after their report on the miracle of the sloop, but they separate the prophecy from it in time.—The main source for his prophecy to Aguiar is the letter of Amador da Costa, S.J., written to his confreres in Portugal from Macao on November 23, 1557. At the end of his description of his voyage to Japan, he adds what he had experienced on his voyage from Malacca to China and makes the following observation: "I spoke with a pilot who is called *pilota das botas* because at the time of the death of Father Master Francis he stole one of his shoes as a relic. He informed me that the priest, since he had been a great friend of his in Malacca and China, had told him, the pilot, that he would not die on the sea, and that he would never lack what he needed. Through the kindness of our Lord this had thus far been fulfilled, as had been many other things which he had told him in the form of a prophecy" (*Cartas* 1598, 402). In the Cochin process of 1616 witnesses 14 17 28 32 and 35 testified to this prophecy. Of these, Domingos Cardoso (489-490) and Pedro Henriques (471) heard it from Aguiar himself. Francisco de Aguiar de Faria heard it from his grandmother, Maria Manuel, the wife of Aguiar (497). Sebastião Affonso heard it from his father, a relative of Aguiar, but he erroneously placed the prophecy in the miracle of the sloop (502). Pedro Sotto heard it from trustworthy Portuguese (465-466).—Many witnesses testified to the prophecy with respect to the *Santa Cruz*. The Indian Father Francisco da Costa, S.J., who had been born in Goa in 1563 declared in 1610 (**minutes* 112-v-113; ARSI: Goa 24, 219 224 266) that he had spoken with the captain of a ship, Diogo Pereira, a great friend of Father Francis, who had told him "che trovandosi in una fortuna di mare sopra la sua nave, ove si trovava ancora il Padre, essendosi aperta la sudetta nave talmente, che secondo il giudizio delli marinai si teneva per spedita, il sudetto Padre Francesco intrepidamente affermò, che la nave non solo non si perderebbe per all'hora, ma anco non si perirebbe mai più in mare, e così avvenne apunto, perchè all'hora tutti si salvarno, et anche la nave solcò il mare per molti anni dopo. Et dopo finalmente si aperse da se medesima nel porto senza perdersi cos'alcuna. Et io mi ricordo mentre era fanciullo haver veduto detta nave in mare, la quale communemente si chiamava 'la nave del P. Santo.' Et alia notabilia circa hoc factum recenset" (**minutes* 265-v), and he added that since Xavier had prophesied that the ship would not come to an end on the sea but on land, he had never drawn it up on land. When it needed repairs, these had been made on the sea. He had himself seen this in part, and he had heard it in part from others. It had also been publicly voiced; and he had seen how the people, because of their confidence in the prophecy of the said priest, vied with each other in loading their wares on the said ship, since they were sure that they would never lose them on it (*ibid.* 276: *Rom. in gen.* 5). From the rest of the witnesses only a few are mentioned. In the Goa process of 1615, João Alvares, the thirty-first witness, named a *sarangue* (Moorish pilot) who had sailed for a long time on the *Santa Cruz* as his authority (*ibid.* 201v). Anna Tostada, the daughter-in-law of Diogo, the thirty-second witness, mentioned people who had known Xavier personally (*ibid.*). Lucena adduces three more witnesses. He writes that, according to the account (now lost) of D. Pedro de Castro, the son-in-law of Diogo Pereira, of his wife, Maria Toscana de Brito, and the testimonies of many other persons, it was established that the prophecy took place on the voyage from China to Malacca. He had further received a written report of his confrere Nicolao Pereira, who, when he was a soldier in Malacca in 1573, saw how the *Santa Cruz* had bravely defended itself against the Achinese fleet and had then sailed off to India with other ships. When the ship threatened to sink near Cape Rachado, it had sailed back again to Malacca, where the timidity of the people on board was received with scorn, since twenty-two years before Xavier had prophesied that it would never sink in the sea. At this it sailed off again and reached India in safety (9, 17).—We can only discuss the fulfillment of the prophecy briefly. According to Teixeira the prophecy for the *Santa Cruz* was only for its voyage to Malacca (881), as it was also understood by Antonio Moniz, the thirty-seventh witness in the Cochin process in 1616 (505). According to Pedro Henriques, the seventeenth witness in the same process, Xavier promised Aguiar that no ship in which he sailed

of the Malay Peninsula, where the sultans of Patane, Pahang, and Perak were allies of the king of Johore who had besieged Malacca.⁹ Preparations had to be made for a possible encounter with hostile ships, and the crew had to be prepared for battle.¹⁰ In the meantime Pereira sought to discover if the siege was still continuing. On this Xavier was able to put him at ease: the city was at peace, and he would soon receive the desired information. After the ship had sailed farther on, they were able to obtain news to this effect. Xavier's observation was thus confirmed.¹¹ The siege had been lifted in the middle of October, and Malacca had been free since then. When Pereira expressed his fear that Xavier would not find a ship there to carry him on to India because of the advanced season of the year, the latter eased his mind on this as well.¹²

The *Santa Cruz* reached Singapore on December 24.¹³ The last ships sailing for India usually left Malacca on the twenty-sixth.¹⁴ The captain therefore sent on ahead from there a dispatch boat,¹⁵ which carried with it Gonçalo Pereira¹⁶ and the Japanese Antonio and a note from Xavier for Francisco Pérez, the superior of the Jesuit house in Malacca, informing him of his arrival and asking him, if at all possible, to obtain passage for him on a ship sailing to India. The letter, which was written in a Portuguese colored with Spanish, ran as follows:¹⁷

May the grace and love of Christ our Lord ever help and assist us. Amen.

Thirty-nine days ago I sailed from Japán,¹⁸ where the faith of Jesus Christ our Lord is in very great increase. Cosme de Tórrez and Juan Fernández are remaining there in one of the most prominent cities of Japan¹⁹ with those who have become

would sink into the sea as long as he was on it (471); and, although the *Santa Cruz* was a very large ship (EX I 412), Henriques saw him sail off full of confidence in Xavier's promise in a very small little ship for Pegu, as was also affirmed by Seb. Affonso (502). According to Lacerda, Xavier prophesied that the *Santa Cruz* would only fall apart where it had been built, that is, in Cochin, as Seb. Gonçalves declared in opposition to Lucena ("Zensuren". 98). The witnesses, moreover, many of whom had seen the ship, testified that it had rotted away on the beach in Cochin in front of the monastery of S. João near N. Sra. da Guia (463 495-496). Diogo Pereira is mentioned for the last time in 1575 as sheriff in Goa (GS II 139-141). Aguiar, who is confused by Lagôa with one of his many namesakes (*Grandes* II 136-137), died after 1577 in Pegu "after many difficult shipwrecks" (MX II 497), though the *Santa Cruz* did not crumble away until 1583.

⁹ Couto 6, 9, 9, p. 284.

¹⁰ Gonçalo Pereira 264-265.

¹¹ Diogo Pereira 262, Gonçalo Pereira 264-265.

¹² Diogo Pereira 262.

¹³ In December, when the current here went from south to north (*Handbuch für Ceylon* 75, and pl. on p. 33), an oared sailboat could pass the thirty leagues from Singapore to Malacca in two or three days. Xavier's undated letter was written in the strait of Singapore (MX II 265), apparently immediately after his arrival in Singapore. In it he writes that he would come to Malacca on Sunday, which can only be that of December 27. This gives Xavier's arrival in Singapore on December 24 (EX II 237).

¹⁴ On November 17, 1556, Frois wrote from Malacca: "Los que vienen de la China o del Japón para passar en la India, si acyerten a no poder llegar aquí a los 25 de Diciembre, que pasa un año" (ARSI: Goa 10, 387v).

¹⁵ A *manchua* (MX II 418), an oared sailboat shaped like a galiot of from ten to forty tons with a mast and square sail (Dalgado II 19).

¹⁶ Gonçalo Pereira, designated as a *fronteiro* (soldier on the frontier) testified as a witness in the Goa process in 1557. He declared that he had sailed from China to Malacca with Xavier in 1551 (MX II 219 264-265). In the same process, Antonio Pereira stated that he had brought Xavier's letter from the strait of Singapore to Gonçalo Pereira in Malacca (*ibid.* 265).

¹⁷ EX II 239-240.

¹⁸ He sailed on November 15.

¹⁹ Yamaguchi.

Christians and who are becoming such each day. Send Antonio²⁰ at once to me in a *balón*,²¹ and let me know if there is any ship there ready to depart for India. If there is a ship ready to sail, speak to the *señor capittán* and ask him to wait for one more day,²² since I hope that I shall arrive in Mallaca sometime Sunday.²³ Of those who are in the house, send me only Juan Bravo;²⁴ and he should come with Antonio. Order a search to be made for the provisions I shall need for my voyage to India if there is a ship there on the point of departure. It is of great importance to the service of God that I sail at once to India so that I may return immediately in May. And since we shall soon see each other and console each other greatly in the Lord, I shall say no more.

Wholly yours in *Domino*,

Francisco.

With this letter Xavier sent another for the captain of the ship which would bring him to India with the request that he wait a day longer for him, and he indicated the number of his companions for whom places should be reserved.²⁵

²⁰ Xavier's Japanese companion.

²¹ *Vallam*, a light, oared boat (Dalgado I 85-86).

²² Diogo Pereira (262), Antonio Pereira (418), and Pérez (*Informação* 69) thus err when they state that Xavier told Diogo Pereira on the voyage that he would still meet Antonio Pereira in Malacca for the voyage to India.

²³ On December 27.

²⁴ The *Codex Macaensis* erroneously has *Botelho*, the other texts correctly have *Bravo* (EX II 235 238-239). In 1549, before his departure from Malacca for Japan, Xavier had ordered Pérez to send Bravo for his humanistic studies to Goa in November, 1550 (DI II 134); but on April 24, 1550, Pérez wrote that Bravo was with him in Malacca (*ibid.* 106); and on October 20, 1551, he asked Juan Fernández to greet Xavier for him in Yamaguchi and Bravo in Malacca (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 86). Xavier's letter of December 24 shows that Bravo was still in Malacca. The saint had thus cancelled his order in his lost letter of November 5, 1549, to Pérez (EX II 231-232), who arrived in Malacca on April 2, 1550. Pérez had obviously forgotten this in 1579 when he wrote in his *Informação*: "Chegando ao estreito de Sincapoura, escreveo a Antonio [Pereira] que o esperasse, [e] ao Padre Francico Pérez que lhe mandasse lá ao caminho a João Bravo, avendo elle deixado ordenado que o mandasse a Goa na entrada do anno 155[1]. E isto notei eu e disse em casa aos Irmãos e foi cousa muy soada e dita de muitas pessoas, e de Diogo Pereira e Antonio Pereira" (69-70).

²⁵ Antonio Pereira was mistaken in the Malacca process when he said that Xavier had consoled Diogo Pereira on the voyage by telling him that he would find him, Antonio Pereira, ready to sail in Malacca, and that for love of him he would wait three more days; and that it so happened. When he, Antonio Pereira, was already to sail and was held by a single anchor and the spar of the sail had already been raised, a *manchua* had come to him with Xavier's letter, in which he told him that he knew that he was still in that city and that he should wait for him in order to take him to India (418). In the process in Goa he added that Gonçalo Pereira had brought him Xavier's letter, which read as follows: "I know that you are ready to sail. But wait for me since I shall sail with you. Keep a cabin for me and for twelve or fifteen Japanese who are sailing with me. Farewell!" (*ibid.* 265). In the Malacca process he stated that he had waited for Xavier and had brought him to Goa with fourteen or fifteen Japanese. The witness obviously cited the letter from memory. It was not addressed to him unless Pérez had addressed it to him after receiving it. Pereira did not bring Xavier and his companions to Goa but only to Cochin; and his Japanese companions were only five, as the contemporary letters show. Heredia adds a postscript to his letter from Cochin of January 19, 1552: "On the twenty-fourth of this month of January, Father Francis came to this city with five Japanese" (DI II 293). The viceroy, D. Afonso de Noronha, who received Xavier and the ambassador in Cochin "com muito agasalhado," wrote three days after his arrival to the king from Cochin: "Mestre Francisco veyo de Japão.... Trouxe comsyguo hum japão. Trouxe huma carta d'el rey pera Vos'Alteza e humas armas que entreguey a Dioguo Lopez de Sousa" (*ibid.* 298). On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote from Goa about Xavier's arrival: "Chegou a Cochim com simquo japôis" (*ibid.*

449). Gil Barreto reported on the baptism of the ambassador from Bassein on December 15, 1552: "O embaixador daquelle senhor de Japão, que o P. M. Francisco trouxe, se fez christão no collegio de Goa com ser o Viso-Rey seu padrinho, e asi se fez hum ou dous moços com elle" (*ibid.* 511-512). Teixeira, who was present at the baptism of the ambassador, wrote in his life of Xavier in 1579 that the ambassador had afterwards become a Christian in Goa *and with him all the people whom he had brought with him* (the words in italics are missing in the Italian translation). But his memory was no longer safe since he also writes *João* instead of *Antonio* Pereira and *forty* instead of *thirty-nine* days in his letter (MX II 880; EX II 239). He also places the miracle of the sloop during the voyage from China to Malacca instead of from Japan to China; and he was obviously also deceived by the testimony of Antonio Pereira. On January 21, 1555, Pérez wrote from Cochín that in 1552 Xavier had sent Father Gago and other confreres to Japan with five Christian Japanese (DI III 249), and Frois wrote on December 1, 1552, that in 1552 Xavier had taken with him from Goa to Malacca Brothers Alcáçova and Silva "e o enbaxador que veo de Japão, e dous japões que vierão tambem com ho P. Mestre Francisco" (*ibid.* II 454-455). The two Japanese in Frois are Antonio and Joane, the five in Pérez are obviously these two and the ambassador with the two allegedly baptized moços.

CHAPTER II

TWO DAYS IN MALACCA (DECEMBER 27-30, 1551)

1. THE ARRIVAL (DECEMBER 27, 1551)

Immediately after the small boat had been dispatched with its letters, the *Santa Cruz* weighed anchor. After sailing for three days, it reached the waters of Malacca. It was already Sunday afternoon, December 27,¹ when it encountered the returning boat. On it was, in addition to the Japanese Antonio and João Bravo, a Portuguese *fidalgo* with whom Xavier had become acquainted in Mozambique in 1542 when he was on his way to India. This was Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos,² a cousin of the captain of Malacca, Dom Pedro da Silva, and of his brother Dom Alvaro de Ataíde, who had sent him to greet the priest in their name and to assist him when he landed.³ From those who had returned from Malacca, Xavier learned that Antonio Pereira's ship was still in the harbor and that its captain was willing to wait three days for his departure for India.⁴

Not long after this, the white chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte, the landmark of Malacca, came into view. Three vessels were anchored⁵ off the ship island: the Banda and clove ships,⁶ and the *Galega* of Antonio Pereira. By the

¹ Antonio Pereira states: "Estamdo elle, testemunha, sobre huma amarra e com as vergas em cima, chegara huma manchua com huma carta do mesmo Padre para elle, testemunha: ... e que nisto vira logo vir a nao, em que elle vinha, pello qual esperara" (MX II 418). The *Santa Cruz* thus sailed immediately after the boat that had been sent on ahead.

² On him see Vol. II, pp. 100-102.

³ In 1555 Pérez wrote of Xavier and Diogo Pereira: "Vinieron ambos en la nao a Malaca, donde entonces estava hum fidalgo para entrar por capitán de hay a un año [D. Alvaro de Ataíde]; el qual, luego que supo que venia el Padre, mandó a un su primo a lo desembarcar con mucha alegría y contentamiento, por el conocimiento que tenía ya del Padre de otro tiempo, y por aver tres años que andava en Japán con assás de trabajos y peligros" (DI III 248). In 1579 he only wrote: "E chegando [Xavier] a Malaca depois do cerquo, achou ahi a Dom Alvaro de Taide, muito seu devoto e conhecido doutro tempo; o qual avia de entrar por capitão o anno seguinte" (*Informação* 70). It was of course Captain D. Pedro da Silva and his brother who sent their cousin to meet Xavier. Pérez does not give the name of the cousin, but their only cousin at the time in Malacca was Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos. D. Pedro da Silva's great friendship for Xavier is known from the latter's letters. We have our doubts with respect to D. Alvaro. His experiences in 1542, when he sailed with Xavier and M. A. de Sousa from Mozambique to India, were not of the kind that would have been particularly conducive to this (cf. Vol. II, pp. 69-70 99-102 195-196 279).

⁴ Antonio Pereira (MX II 265).

⁵ Gonçalo Pereira: "Nam quo tempore ipsi [Xavier and Diogo Pereira] Malacam pervenerunt, iam ea urbs pace fruebatur, erantque adhuc in portu duae vel tres onerariae (quoad ipse testis meminisse potest), quarum una duos adhuc vel tres dies, postquam ipsi appulere, immorata est, eamque dictus Pater conscendit et in Indiam traiecit" (*ibid.* 265). The three ships were the Banda and clove ships and the *Galega* of Antonio Pereira.

⁶ The Banda ship usually sailed from India for Malacca in the middle of October and then sailed on to Banda on January 1. The royal clove ship usually arrived in

time that the *Santa Cruz* had anchored near the fortress, the whole city had assembled on the beach: Dom Pedro da Silva, overjoyed by the safe return of the saintly priest; his brother Dom Alvaro, who had come from India with the Banda ship in the middle of October, after the siege had been lifted;⁷ the *vigario*, João Soares, the former priest in Chale, whom Xavier had known in India;⁸ Vicente Viegas with the other beneficiaries; Juan Diaz, alias Delgado, whom Xavier had met with Cosme de Torres in Amboina in 1546;⁹ Pérez with his companions, Bernardo Rodrigues and two confreres who had returned from the Moluccas, Morais and Gonçalves; the brothers of the Misericórdia; and the officials and citizens of Malacca along with many old friends and acquaintances.

In 1549 the bishop had consigned the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte to the Society of Jesus, and a simple building had been added to it which served as a residence and school.¹⁰ Here within the circle of his confreres Xavier found shelter until the departure of his ship.

Malacca at the end of May and sailed on from there on August 15 past Borneo to Ternate (EX I 63*; Rebello 499). Because of the siege of Malacca in 1551 there was a change in the sailings. On June 13 a caravel arrived in Malacca with the new captain of Ternate, D. Garcia de Meneses, instead of the usual clove ship, a *nau*. Meneses perished in the fighting at Malacca, and the ship had to remain there until at the beginning of January Gomes Barreto took his place and sailed on "with the Banda monsoon" past Java to Amboina, and from there with the south monsoon to Ternate, bringing news of the victory at Malacca (Rebello 280-281, 486, against Couto, has Barreto sail in August from Malacca and arrive at Ternate in November 6, 9, 9, p. 290).

⁷ D. Alvaro de Ataíde did not come to Malacca until after the siege. Couto errs in not having him sail from Goa until 1552, in the clove ship which left in April under Captain Diogo de Sousa and was carrying the new captain of Ternate, Francisco Lopes de Sousa (6, 9, 19, pp. 361-364-365), who did not sail there until 1552 (Rebello 281-282 487).

⁸ Cf. SR IV 240-247; DI I 467-468; II 214.

⁹ See Vol. III, pp. 115-124-125. He was a native of Medellín (Badajoz) in Spain and was still in Malacca in 1552. Pérez handed over to him the care of the house of the Society since he had been ordered by Xavier to leave the city. Diaz remained there until 1554, when Jesuits came again to Malacca (Pérez, *Informação* 75).

¹⁰ Pérez writes: "A igreja de Madre de Deus de Monte deu à Companhia o Bispo Dom João d'Albuquerque, sendo reitor de Goa Antonio Gomez e governador Jorge Cabral, o qual fez muitas esmolas e doações à Companhia, e o Padre Francisco Pérez tomou posse da igreja por parte da Companhia, e João Soares, vigayro de Malaca, com os beneficiados que então erão, o meterão de posse, serrando e abrindo as portas e entregando-lhe as chaves, com todas as cerimonias acostumadas. E dahi por diante esteve em seu poder a igreja com todas as ofertas do altar todo o tempo que esteve em Malaca" (*Informação* 67). Cabral took over the rule on August 12, 1549 (Ferreira Martins, *Crónica* 294). The gift was made in 1549, after Xavier's departure from Malacca, where he had been accustomed to sleep with Bravo in the church, that is, in its sacristy, which had been handed over to the priests for their use (EX II 166). He mentions the bishop's deed in 1552 (*ibid.* 496); and on November 28, 1550, the bishop wrote that he had given *irmidas* to the Jesuits (DI II 121-123), by which are meant the churches in Cochin and Malacca. The visitor Gonçalo Alvares wrote to the general in 1568: "Na cidade de Malaca tem a Companhia firme residencia. Forão para ahy os Padres no anno de 48, e no anno logo seginte ho governador Jorge Cabral lhe mandou dar huns chãos e casas em que agora vivem, e o bispo Dom João d'Albuquerque lhe mandou dar a igreja, a qual o Bispo que agora hé [D. Jorge de Santa Lucia] confirmou e deu perpetuamente" (*ibid.* VII 585). The second grant was on November 30, 1561 (*ibid.* V 308). — The first house in which Xavier and Pérez lived was the wooden shed near the Misericórdia. It was not healthy since it was at the foot of the city's hill and water flowed under it (Pérez, *Informação* 57-63-66). Pérez therefore became ill, as he wrote in 1579: "Até que, por concelho do P. Vicente Viegas, que Deus tem, e doutras pessoas devotas, comprou o Padre Francisco Pérez as casas que agora tem a Companhia, que estam em riba do monte, que do primeiro ferro lhe custarão seiscentos crusados da moeda de Malaca, e isto d'esmolas, que então era outro tempo que não hé agora; não d'esmola dos casados de Malaca, senão doutras pessoas, e así por então não aver outra Religião em Malaca

2. AT NOSSA SENHORA DO MONTE (DECEMBER 27-30, 1551)

Xavier received a large bundle of letters from Pérez, the entire correspondence of the last two and one-half years.¹¹ He also now learned the reason why, despite all his instructions, they had not been sent from Malacca to Japan. One month before Xavier's arrival, Pérez had written:

Up till now we did not know anything about Padre Mestre Francisco, since during the past year of [fifteen hundred and] fifty there was no embarkation from here. I do not know if it was Mamona or Lucifer who prevented it, since six or seven times merchants made preparations for sailing with a great desire to do so, but in the end they did not sail. And this year of [fifteen hundred and] fifty-one there was also no embarkation, since, though one ship was in the harbor ready to go, it was burned on June 7 with three other *naus* and a small *navio*, which they call a *junquo* here. And this was so because God our Lord wished to punish this city through a siege of one hundred and three days, which began on June 5, and on September 16 the Mouros went away.¹²

Only once during the past two and one-half years had Pérez received news from Xavier in Japan. He had sailed away on June 24, 1549, and the people in Malacca had almost despaired of him when on a Wednesday morning, April 2, 1550, a ship arrived from Japan, to the great joy of his confreres and of the entire city. It was Avân's junk. It had been on its way longer than usual since the ship's crew had wished to bury the remains of their captain, who had died in Kagoshima, in his native China. With the ship were Domingos Dias, the priest's companion, and letters from Xavier, Father Torres, Brother Juan Fernández, and Paul of the Holy Faith, all written in Kagoshima on November 5, 1549. As soon as Captain Dom Pedro da Silva received news of the arrival of the junk, he sent word of it to Father Pérez, who was celebrating Mass in the church of the Misericórdia at the time. After finishing the Mass, Pérez went to the parish church, where he met Dom Pedro, who was almost foolish with joy. He told Pérez that a procession of thanksgiving would have to be held. The latter repeated this to the *vigario*, who immediately agreed to the suggestion, since he was no less happy with the news. The whole city then went in procession, singing the *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, the *Te Deum*, and other hymns, to the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte, where the *vigario* sang a Mass in

todo o tempo que ahi esteve. Era então Malaca muy prospera e mui povoada de gente da terra, muy rica asi de mercadores portugezes como de chins e mouros. Acrecentou-se o trabalho com o cerquo que se siguio o terceyro anno de Dom Pedro" (*ibid.* 66). The house and ground were given, as we have seen, in 1549. The benefactor who provided the alms for its purchase was obviously Cabral, who gave the "college," as the house was called, an annual income of one hundred *milreis*, which was confirmed by João III (DI V 179). Teixeira therefore is not exact when he wrote in 1582 that the priests had first lived in the hospital and house of the Misericórdia, and that the people had been moved by their zeal to give them the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte and had built a small house (*casuccia* in the Italian translation) which grew so large that a college was erected there in 1575 by order of the general (Teixeira It. P. 2, c. 20, lacking in the Spanish translation). Cabral's gift was in 1549, after Xavier had left Malacca. In 1552, when he no longer had such a clear remembrance of it, he wrote to Pérez from Sancian: "A igreja de Nossa Senhora, e o collegio, se for nosso, ficará tudo aquello que hé da Companhia de Jesu, ao Padre Vicente Viegas" (EX II 496). See also GS III 531-535.

¹¹ Cf. Q 4263 (letters to be sent to Xavier) 4554 (received your letters sent to me and Father Francis) 4584 (Master Francis will also think about it) 4591 (in April I shall send your letters to Father Master Francis) 4603 (a copy of the long letter is going to you for Father Master Francis, and another for Goa).

¹² DI II 205.

honor of God and the Most Blessed Virgin. Four Japanese had also come on the junk. They were warmly received into the house of a Christian Chinese, and many Portuguese of the city frequently invited them to their homes. They also came frequently to the Jesuit residence. Pérez instructed them in the Christian faith; and on the feast of the Ascension, May 15, they were baptized to their own great satisfaction. The captain had two of them dressed for the occasion, and Pedro Gomes de Almeida¹³ did the same for the two others. Their sponsor at baptism was Dom Pedro da Silva himself. The *vigario* baptized them with all the solemnity that was possible in Malacca. Three of them returned after this to Japan; but the fourth, who was anxious to see Goa, postponed his voyage. All of them had been happy to return to their own country.¹⁴ They had, however, arrived in Kagoshima after Xavier's departure, and he had known nothing about their coming. From this time on Father Pérez was accustomed to offer a Mass of the Passion of Christ or of the Holy Name of Jesus every Friday for the priests and Christians of Japan.¹⁵

Father Pérez' companion, Oliveira, had sailed to Goa in November, 1550, in order to be ordained there to the priesthood. To replace him, Pérez had received a new assistant from Goa. This was the mestizo Bernardo Rodrigues, who had been born in India and was about twenty-two years old. He was teaching the children how to read and write.¹⁶ In addition to Bernardo, Xavier had been surprised to find with Pérez the two confreres whom he had sent from Malacca to the Moluccas before his own voyage to Japan in 1549. These were Father Manuel de Morais and Brother Francisco Gonçalves, who had been in Malacca since June, 1550. They had left the Moro mission under the pretext of going to the help of Amboina, which had been orphaned by the death of its missionary, Father Nuno Ribeiro. But they had then returned from there to Malacca without the permission of their superior. In accordance with Xavier's instruction, Pérez had not taken them into his house when they arrived in Malacca; but, after they had shown their regret and served for some time in the hospital, he had received them until Xavier would decide their case. During the siege they had helped to strengthen the men in battle.¹⁷

¹³ Is he to be identified with D. Pedro de Almeida whom we later encounter in Hirado in 1564 as a great friend of the Society of Jesus and chief captain of the voyage to Japan (Frois 211-212)?

¹⁴ Pérez on November 24, 1551 (DI II 109-110); the viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha on January 16, 1551 (*ibid.* 182-183); and Pérez, *Informação* 68.

¹⁵ Pérez, *Informação* 68.

¹⁶ Bernardo Rodrigues gives an account of his earlier life in his letter of January 20, 1558 (DI IV 51-56). He entered the Society in Goa before April, 1549, since Gaspar Barzaeus greets him as a confrere from Ormuz in December, 1549 (*ibid.* I 636). On November 24, 1550, Pérez in Malacca names him as a companion (*ibid.* II 106). By order of Xavier he went from there to Cochín at the end of 1552 (EX II 490 496 507 511-512), where we encounter him as a teacher in the elementary school until January, 1561 (DI II 619; III 715; IV 51 180 236 305 867; V 74). He was in the novitiate in Goa for only one winter, 1555 (*ibid.* III 411). For judgments on him in 1559-1560, see *ibid.* IV 425 452 469 518-519.

¹⁷ Cf. Pérez, *Informação* 65. Nuno Ribeiro died on August 22, 1549, and the Christians of Amboina were now abandoned (Q 4543). On February 13, 1550, Beira wrote from Ternate that Morais and Gonçalves had gone to visit Christians on an island (meant is Amboina) (Q 4380). On November 24, 1550, Pérez wrote that Morais and Gonçalves were with him in Malacca (Q 4540). In 1553 Beira stated that four companions on the Moro mission had twice refused to obey him, their superior (Q 6002). In his *Informação* Pérez writes that he had taken Morais and Gonçalves back into his house, and that during the siege, when necessary, they had left the house of the Society with a crucifix and gone to three sites to strengthen the men in battle (65 67; cf. DI II 211). That the

Pérez himself, though he had suffered severe pains in his stomach during the first two years, had labored tirelessly in the confessional and pulpit, in the administration of the sacraments, in the instruction of children in the faith, and in admonishing adults. He had also made numerous conversions among the pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans. Among his converts had been a *yogi* 107 years old. He and his two sons and a woman had been baptized with great solemnity by the *vigario* in the presence of the captain, Dom Pedro da Silva, since the man had been one of the most distinguished individuals of his community. Pérez had exerted himself for a year on his conversion, and the old man had died six months after his baptism in the faith of Jesus Christ.¹⁸

During the few free moments that remained to him from his required visits and from the preparations which he was making for his voyage to India, Xavier was able to obtain further information from Pérez on the main events of the past year and one-half. Pope Paul III had died in Rome,¹⁹ and he had been succeeded by Julius III.²⁰ Criminali had suffered a martyr's death during an attack of the Badagas,²¹ and Henrique Henriques had been elected by his confreres to take his place as mission superior.²² Cipriano was working in São Thomé with great zeal despite his age.²³ The ailing Lancilotto was similarly occupied with his college in Quilon, which was especially designated for pupils from the Fishery Coast.²⁴ In Cochín, where Father Gago and, after him, Father Eredia had been working, Antonio Gomes was at odds with the city over a church which he had obtained from the bishop.²⁵ In Basein and its neighboring Thāna, Melchior Gonçalves was able to report numerous conversions;²⁶ and the news from Ormuz on the labors of Gaspar Barzaeus sounded like a fairy tale out of *The Thousand and One Nights*.²⁷ In Goa Antonio Gomes had expelled the native pupils from St. Paul's College, to the great distress of the people and his confreres.²⁸ The new viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, who had sailed from Portugal at the beginning of May, 1550, and had not reached Cochín by way of Ceylon until January, 1551, had ordered the college in Goa to be peopled again with native students.²⁹ In Malacca the most significant event had been, as it was still the main topic of conversation, the siege of the city during the previous year by the allied Malay and Javanese forces. From Nossa Senhora do Monte, Xavier could see the results of it. In the north, on the far side of the river, where there had once been the extensive city of the natives and of the Indian, Malay, and Chinese merchants in the shade of coconut palms, there now yawned a burned and barren waste.³⁰ During the two days that he stayed

two did not leave Malacca immediately after the siege is indicated by the fact that they are not mentioned in India before January, 1552, and that the large number of sick in Malacca required their presence in that city.

¹⁸ DI II 105-107.

¹⁹ He died on November 10, 1549.

²⁰ He took over the rule on February 8, 1550.

²¹ He died in the middle of June, 1549. Cf. Q 4204-4205 4269-4270 4271 4273 4301 4354-4355 4554.

²² Q 4205 4572.

²³ Q 4301 4355 4582.

²⁴ Q 4337 4354-4355 4546 4572 4582 4591.

²⁵ Q 4355 4557 4571-4572 4584.

²⁶ Q 4230 4315 4318 4355 4424 4582 4591 4594-4595 4622.

²⁷ Q 4256 4269-4270 4304-4306 4355 4538-4539 4542 4591.

²⁸ Q 4354 4572 4584 4592.

²⁹ DI II 148 181.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 218; EX II 302.

in Malacca, Xavier learned from Pérez and other witnesses of the terrible visitation which, during the course of three and one-half months, had brought the city to the brink of disaster.

3. THE SIEGE OF MALACCA (JUNE 5—SEPTEMBER 16, 1551)³¹

In December, 1550, Lancilotto had written of the general moral degradation of the Portuguese in India. According to him they purchased herds of female slaves and slept with all of them before selling them again. In his report he had included the universally known example of a Portuguese in Malacca who had twenty-four of these from different castes and abused them all.³² In his first visit to this city in 1545, Xavier had repeatedly threatened it in his sermons with the vengeance of God.³³ It had now come, and Pérez also, who gave Xavier a long account of the siege, saw in the one-hundred-and-three-day blockade a punishment from God. He noted that it was precisely on Sundays, which the people desecrated with their trading and banquets, that the city had suffered particularly heavy losses. On one Sunday a cannon ball had killed Duarte Madeira; on another Sunday a second had torn the leg away from a man and caused his death; on the following Sunday a third had killed another man; and on a fourth Sunday a shot from a cannon exacted still another victim.³⁴

The united fleet of the foe had appeared before Malacca on June 5. It had consisted of more than three hundred ships, including more than forty Javanese junks,³⁵ with seven to eight thousand Malays of the sultan of Ujong Tanah (Johore) and of his allies, the sultans of Perak, Pahang, and Bruas; and three thousand Javanese under the supreme command of the *sangadipati*, the governor of the queen of Djapara in Java.³⁶ To oppose this far superior force there had

³¹ The sources for the siege are: (1) Pérez' letter of November 24, 1551 (Q 4703), edited in DI II 204-220, and the extensive main report which Pérez sent with Xavier (EX II 303), which is complemented by a later letter of January 21, 1555 (DI III 253-254), and, especially, by his *Informação*, composed in 1579 (66-67), when his memory at times failed him. (2) D. Pedro da Silva's document on the knighting of Fernão Carvalho, of November 15, 1551 (Q 4700). (3) The letter of the procurator of Malacca, Christovão Martins, of January 27, 1552 (Q 4748). (4) Two letters of the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha of the same day to the king (Q 4746), in which he names as sources the accounts of eyewitnesses (probably Ch. Martins and Christovão de Sá), and to the queen (Q 4747, ed. *Gavetas* V 325-329). (5) The letter of Simão Botelho, of January 30, 1552 (Q 4758, ed. *Cartas Botelho* 29-30). (6) Xavier's letter of January 31, 1552 (Q 4761, ed. EX II 302-305). (7) A second of October 22, 1552 (*ibid.* 495); also the testimony of Pires d'Araujo of 1556 (MX II 200). In addition to these there is the account in Couto 6, 9, 5-6, 9, 9 (pp. 250-290), who adds important details, but also gives false dates and conjectures. Fernão Carvalho, son of Diogo Carvalho in Peral (region of the city of Cadaval), not to be confused with two namesakes, probably the same one whom we encounter as the standard bearer of Jurdão de Freitas in Ternate in 1545 (Rebello 210) had his document of knighthood confirmed in Portugal in 1555.

³² DI II 130.

³³ Vol. III, p. 50.

³⁴ DI II 205-207; see also Couto 6, 9, 8, pp. 278-279.

³⁵ "More than three hundred ships, they say" (Pérez 209; "formando-se huma armada de mais de duzentos navios, em que entravam mais de quarenta juncos de Rainha de Japorá" (Couto 6, 9, 5, pp. 253-254). The document of knighting distinguishes two fleets: that of the king of Juntana (Ujong Tanah) and that of four other kings, his vassals, with which more than ten thousand Malay soldiers came. In their company was another great fleet of the *sangadipati* with three thousand Javanese, both with much artillery (Q 4700).

³⁶ Couto speaks of the Malay kings of Perú (Perak), Pão (Pahang), Marruás (Bruas).

been only some 280 Portuguese and their slaves.³⁷ In addition to this, the Portuguese city had no walls along the river in the north, or along the coast in the west; and in the east it was only defended, like the native city, by an earthen wall strengthened with bastions.³⁸

Fishing boats could no longer sail out to obtain provisions for the city; and four days after their arrival, on Sunday, June 7, the enemy burned the five ships of the Portuguese which were anchored off the ship island. Among these was one which belonged to Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, and another to Antonio Fernandes.³⁹ Four days later, after a brief resistance, the Malays captured the fishing village of Hilir in the east;⁴⁰ and the Javanese, despite the resistance of Luis Mendes,⁴¹ succeeded with the help of traitors⁴² in pushing their way into the native city in the north, which was almost entirely inhabited by pagans and Moors, and occupying it. More than two thousand persons, including some Christians, were thus captured; and an enormous booty, estimated at being worth more than a thousand pieces of gold, fell into the hands of the victors—gold, silver, silks, sandalwood, large amounts of cotton goods and Chinese porcelains, seven or eight Portuguese field guns, and large stores of all kinds of food.⁴³

The enemy were feverishly working to fortify the positions which they had captured in the east and north and to set up bastions from which they might fire upon the Portuguese city when, on June 21, three ships from India appeared before Malacca. One of these was a caravel which Dom Garcia de Meneses⁴⁴ was taking to the Moluccas as captain of Ternate. The two others were merchantmen. The sultan of Ujong Tanah immediately sent more than eighty *lancharas* (oared boats) against them. These were all well provided with artillery;

and their neighbors, and also of Sultan Halaudim ('Alā-ud-dīn) and the queen of Japorá (Djapara) (6, 9, 5, pp. 250-252). Pérez estimated the total number of men as between ten and twelve thousand (211), seven or eight thousand of whom were Malay soldiers. There were three thousand Javanese according to their own data, fifteen hundred according to others; but Pérez means that there were more than three thousand men including those who had joined up with them, but who in times of peace had lived in the native city of Malacca (209).

³⁷ According to Pérez there were only 260, after the arrival of the ships 300, Portuguese to resist the superior forces of their foes (209-210). According to Couto there were around 400 Portuguese in the fortress and two large *naus* in the harbor at the beginning of the siege (6, 9, 6, p. 257). The document of knighting has "only 280 men" (Q 4700).

³⁸ Pérez 209; cf. Vol. III, p. 9.

³⁹ Pérez 205. Couto names the owners of two *naus*: Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, "parente de Dom Pedro da Silva, e a outra de hum Antonio Fernandes, morador em S. Thomé" (6, 9, 6, p. 258).

⁴⁰ Couto, *ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

⁴¹ Couto 259.

⁴² According to the document of knighting (Q 4700).

⁴³ Pérez 207-209; Couto 6, 9, 6, pp. 259-260; Q 4746.

⁴⁴ Dom Garcia de Meneses, son of D. João de Meneses Craueiro, had been destined by his father for the priesthood and had obtained a doctorate in canon law. When he came to court from his studies, he had fallen in love with the daughter of a high ranking *fidalgo*. When the matter became known, through fear of his and her parents, he secretly embarked for India as a *cavalleiro fidalgo* and sailed there in 1550 with the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha. When the viceroy was in Cochin in January, 1551, he learned from Jurdão de Freitas, who had returned from Ternate, that Sultan Hairun had rejected him as captain of the fortress and that this position was consequently free (Rebello 450). D. Affonso therefore gave it to Meneses so that, after completing his term of office in Ternate, he might return to Portugal with 20,000 *cruzados* and there marry the lady of his heart, who had been placed in a convent (Couto 6, 9, 4, pp. 246-247; *Emmentia* 433; **Memoria das pessoas* 107).

and along with the *lancharas* he sent a galley with heavy, and many other, smaller, guns. Dom Garcia kept his three ships together, and these drove their opponents back with their heavy cannons. The following day he was able to disembark a portion of his men. The residents of Malacca, worn out by the continuous fighting, received them with great relief. The fishing boats were now able to venture out again into the sea.⁴⁵ In the meantime Gomes Barreto, who had been appointed admiral of the sea of Malacca, remained on the caravel with forty men in order to protect the other ships and any more that might be coming from India.⁴⁶

The Javanese had planted a bombard in front of the bridge which passed over the river near the fortress. They had begun to fire upon the Portuguese city with it and had caused great damage. Dom Garcia had gone to confession the day he landed, and the following day, Sunday, June 14, he had received Holy Communion. On that same day, at the break of dawn, he went out with the permission of the captain to capture the bombard. With a number of *fidalgos* who had volunteered for the task, he took the Javanese watch by surprise and secured possession of it. He was however driven back by the superior forces of the enemy who had hastened up. He and his companion Pero Vaz Guedes and four or five others died heroically as they defended the captured gun. Ten or twelve others died in the river on their way back; and three fell into the hands of the Javanese, who never spared the life of a Christian.⁴⁷ The Portuguese felt

⁴⁵ Pérez 206-209. Couto here has a different account from that of Pérez. He has Meneses come with his galleon (247), alias caravel, without other ships. The king of Ujong Tanah sends his admiral, the *lakshmana*, against him with forty or fifty *lancharas*. The admiral and his son fall in the ensuing battle and the Malays flee. Meneses then lands with a portion of his men and leaves Gomes Barreto, who had been named the admiral of the sea of Malacca, behind on the caravel with forty men in order to protect any later coming ships (6, 9, 7, pp. 263-267).

⁴⁶ On Gomes (in Couto *Gemes*) Barreto, see Vol. III, p. 230.

⁴⁷ Pérez 206-207. The viceroy wrote that Dom Garcia had fallen while fighting along with eighteen of his men, among whom were Pero Vaz Guedes, Antonio Ferreira, Antonio de Lugo, and Gaspar de Paiva (Q 4746). According to Couto, D. Garcia made the attack with a hundred men, thirty of whom were slain (6, 9, 7, pp. 267-270). In 1538 Pero Vaz Guedes (in Q 4703 *Guilhez*, in Q 334a *Guelles*) sailed from Chaul, where his uncle Simão Vaz was the captain of the fortress, to the help of Diu in a *catur* (Sousa Coutinho 139, Correa IV 63); in November, 1538, he was captain of the galiot *Nazaré* (Q 334a); in 1543 he furnished a table for the soldiers in Diu (Q 1322); and in 1546 he took part in the expedition to Kandy (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 366), where a *mudaliyār* took his name in baptism (*ibid.* 368). Antonio Ferreira, to be distinguished from five namesakes (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 160), was a former chamberlain of the count of Castanheira. A very good *cavalleiro* (Couto 269), he became *alcaide-mor* of Pasei on Sumatra in 1523. This was captured in 1524 by the Achinese (Correa II 791). After this, at the end of 1524, he helped to defend Malacca (*ibid.* 799). On March 12, 1548, D. João de Castro ordered the factor of Malacca to pay him his salary (Q 3840). Antonio de Lugo, a frontier soldier, testified in Goa in 1545 that at the request of M. A. de Sousa he had sailed in 1542-1543 on a royal galleon on a trading expedition to Ormuz, Calicut, and Chale, and that he had taken care of loading the ginger (Q 1614). In 1546 Garcia de Castro sent through him, his friend, a letter from Cochín to D. Alvaro de Castro (Q 1858). He had earlier been in the service of the count of Castanheira and had obtained from M. A. de Sousa the position of a treasurer and toll collector in Malacca. This was ratified in Portugal on December 30, 1548 (Q 4106). Gaspar de Paiva was the son of Lourenço de Paiva, who had been the secretary of A. de Albuquerque in 1510 and had sailed again to India in 1533 (Correa II 116; III 540; CA III 312-318). He was a brother of Cosme de Paiva, who fell in the siege of Diu in 1546, and of Antonio de Paiva, who persuaded the kings of Macassar to be baptized. He was also a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house; and on February 16, 1548, he received the title to the position of a toll judge in Malacca for three years (Q 3750).

their loss all the more keenly in that the small number of those defending the city was hardly sufficient to keep a continuous watch over the long extent of the walls, especially since the enemy usually attacked at night. It was thus extremely difficult for the men to obtain sufficient sleep. With crucifix in hand, Pérez and his companions went to strengthen them in battle.

On June 17 the Javanese attacked the city before dawn at a spot where Francisco de Paiva, an old, married citizen of Malacca, was keeping watch. With three other Portuguese and fifteen to twenty slaves, he fended off an attack of the enemy, who had already placed their ladders against the walls and had partially mounted it, until thirty more defenders came to their assistance. They fought for an hour against their assailants with fire bombs, guns, lances, and javelins; and they slew many of them as they mounted the ladders with their lances, blowguns, and poisoned arrows. Among those whom they killed was a relative of the commander in chief of the Javanese. The others were driven to flight.⁴⁸

At the beginning of July two more ships arrived at Malacca from the south.⁴⁹ One of these was a *nau* from Maluco under the command of Manuel de Figueiredo;⁵⁰ and it had on board the former captain of Ternate, Christovão de Sá.⁵¹ The other ship was a galleon with a cargo of sandalwood from Timor under the command of its owner, Braz Roballo.⁵² They provided welcome assistance to the beleaguered city, where hunger was already being felt, and from where many slaves had consequently fled to the enemy.⁵³

The general storming of the city had been fixed by the Malay and Javanese forces for the night of the full moon, July 3-4.⁵⁴ But the Portuguese had been

⁴⁸ Pérez 210.

⁴⁹ According to Pérez, three ships from India reached Malacca on June 12, among them that of D. Garcia de Meneses (208-209). Couto has a different report. According to him, only Meneses' caravel arrived "a few days after the coming of the enemy." At the beginning of July two more came loaded with wares from Cochin. On one of these was Captain Luis Martins; on the other was an Antão Martins, "o surdo," married to the mother of Dona Maria da Cunha, the daughter of Governor Nuno da Cunha. A few days after the arrival of these ships, two more came, those of Figueiredo and Roballo (6, 9, 8, pp. 272-274). We suspect that Couto's two India ships were those which, according to Pérez, came with Dom Garcia. Luis Martins is probably the same person who wrote from Cochin in 1527 that he was from Portalegre, that he had been serving in India for twenty-three years, had married the daughter of Ruy de Brito, the first captain of Malacca, the previous March, had taken part in the campaigns against Calicut (in 1525) and Bacanor (in 1526), and that the king should grant him for life the office of *alcaide-mor* of Cochin, or of a captain and *alcaide* of the *castello de cima* there, or the habit of the Order of Christ (Q 113). In 1510 he was a buyer for Albuquerque and, at the end of the year, a secretary in Kilwa (CA IV 273; VI 411-412). In 1526 he was sent as captain and factor to the Maldives (Correa III 15). According to Couto his ship belonged to Alvaro da Gama, who was in Cochin as captain (272).

⁵⁰ Manuel de Figueiredo came on a ship of Bernaldim de Sousa, the captain of Ternate, as is stated by Couto. He had taken part in the siege of Djailolo, which began on December 22, 1550, and ended with the capture of the fortress on March 19, 1551. On this occasion he had been dubbed a knight along with five others (Q 4663-4664). In 1556 he was in Goa as a witness at Xavier's process, but he confused the saint with Beira (MX II 204-206). He was married to Antonia Frois. His son Luis de Figueiredo, born in 1560, was a witness at Xavier's process in Quilon in 1616 (*ibid.* 606-607; see also 594, where his father, "vir nobilis et magna fide dignus," is mentioned).

⁵¹ On him see Vol. III, pp. 440-441, n. 56.

⁵² He was a respected *cavalleiro*, married to Guiomar de Aguiar, the mother of D. Vasco da Gama, a son of D. Estevão da Gama (Couto 174).

⁵³ Couto 274-275.

⁵⁴ "A 3 dias de Julho se ajuntarão os jaos e mallayos... e determinarão de com-

forewarned about it. A Kaffir slave had captured a Javanese who had revealed the secret, and the Portuguese had prepared themselves for the imminent battle through confession and Communion. At the gate of the fortress, near a bombard which defended the bridge, a soldier with a long, flowing, blond beard had pitched a straw tent. He had served some years in Italy or Germany and understood something about the art of war. He advised the captain to lay the masts of junks and the beams of two-storied houses lengthwise along the inner footings of the city wall, and to place devices upon the wall itself in order to lift them up. An hour after midnight the foe began to storm the eastern wall with fifty ladders. The Portuguese then lifted up the masts and beams and let them fall lengthwise down upon the ladders burdened with attackers. This broke many of the ladders and killed many of the enemy. Those who still survived were taken care of by fire bombs, muskets, fieldpieces, and other weapons of the Portuguese. After a two- or three-hour battle, the foe had to retreat, leaving behind more than two hundred dead.⁵⁵

The initial attack, on the eastern side of the fortress, had somewhat subsided; but the battle was still in course when the Javanese under the leadership of their *sangadipati* during this same night made an attack upon the city near the bridge in the north, where the river could be crossed on foot at ebb tide. Dom Pedro da Silva received them there with fire bombs, the heavy guns of the fortress, and other weapons. Though many of the attackers were thus slain, a number of them in the darkness of the night still succeeded in entering a wooden house which stood on piles above the water when the tide was in and lay outside the palisade which the captain had erected along the river during the siege. From this house they then passed on to two others. All night long the Portuguese strove to prevent the attackers from getting possession of other houses, which would have brought the city into the greatest danger. The Portuguese fought regardless of death. Most of them had confessed and received Holy Communion during the preceding days. The children and women had prayed to God for mercy.⁵⁶ Pérez, who had been with his companions encouraging the men fighting on the eastern side of the city, now hastened with Bravo and a Javanese and a Macassar to the palisade along the river in order to strengthen the Portuguese there by his presence and prayers. On the advice of Bravo, he knelt behind a protecting wall at the foot of a tree on which he had hung the brass crucifix given to him by Xavier. There he recited Matins as the battle progressed.⁵⁷

When morning dawned, the Portuguese could see more clearly where the enemy were located. Christovão de Sá, who had been entrusted with the defense of this area by the captain, had the three houses in which the Javanese were holed up encircled. Some of his men climbed up on the houses, removed portions of their roofs, and shot down upon the men who were in them. Others of the enemy who had fled onto a veranda were killed by fire bombs; those

bater a cidade por todas as partes, e assy o fizerão em huma sexta feira, depois de mea noyte huma hora, pouquo mais ou menos" (Pérez 211). The third of July was a Friday, and it had a new moon. Couto errs in placing the general attack on August 12, "em que era a Lua nova," and at daybreak (6, 9, 9, pp. 279-280). There was no new moon on August 12, 1551, and the attack was an hour after midnight.

⁵⁵ Pérez 211-212; Couto 6, 9, 8, pp. 275-279; 6, 9, 9, pp. 279-281. According to Couto the Malays left more than six hundred dead there.

⁵⁶ Pérez 211-212; *Informação* 67; Couto 6, 9, 6, pp. 261-262, and 6, 9, 9, pp. 281-283.

⁵⁷ Pérez, *Informação* 67.

who leaped from it into the river were slain by musket balls. The Javanese who had been caught in the house were unable to use their long spears to defend themselves. At ten in the morning, when the Portuguese entered the three buildings, they found them filled with bodies, 270 in all, and all heaped up upon each other. It was then learned why the Javanese had entered there. When they had arrived, they had asked an old Malay woman the way to the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte. They intended to occupy it and fire upon the fortress from it. The woman told them that she would show them the way. She went out of her house, closed the door, went to the captain, and told him what had happened. The latter had then sent Christovão de Sá to the site. The foe suffered more than six hundred casualties in their assault, and the vicar went with a crucifix and all the clergy along the wall of the city to give thanks to God their Defender for the victory which had been achieved.⁵⁸

After failing to take the city by storm, the besiegers tried to starve the Portuguese into surrendering. They closed the city off from the east by means of a palisade so that the people in it could no longer go foraging for plants to eat, and they blocked all supplies from entering the city. The scarcity of provisions increased from day to day, and the people were reduced to eating dogs, cats, and rats. When a chicken could be found, it cost from two to three *crúzados*. The small number of defenders prevented their relieving each other in keeping guard. Because of their miserable fare⁵⁹ and sleepless nights, many fell ill, especially since their adversaries usually made their attacks upon the city during the darkness of the night and shot at it during the day with their artillery from two different sides. This was particularly true on Sundays, when the people had gathered in the church. Duarte Madeira was thus killed, for example, on August 2 by a cannon shot as he was kneeling before the altar at Mass in order to receive Holy Communion. He had been a zealous Christian and had labored much in the defense of the city.⁶⁰

The need for food had reached its height when, four days later, on August 6, the feast of the Transfiguration, a savior appeared in the person of Gil Fernandes de Carvalho.⁶¹ He had been sent by the viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, to

⁵⁸ Pérez 212-213; *Informação* 67; Couto 282-283. In his *Informação*, where his memory was no longer so certain, Pérez states: "Recolheo-se então o Padre [Pérez] per conselho do Irmão João Bravo a rezar as matinas detrás dumas paredes, de gíolhos de baixo de huma arvore, diante de hum crucifixo, e quando acabou de rezar erão todos aquellos jaos mortos, que seriam mais de trezentos, segundo disserão quem os contou, e o Padre os vio pollos seus olhos" (67).

⁵⁹ Pérez 213 219; Couto 283-284.

⁶⁰ Pérez 207.

⁶¹ Pérez 213-214; Couto 6, 9, 8, pp. 270-272; see also Pérez in DI III 253-254, the viceroy's letter (Q 4746), and Noê's (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 609). Gil Fernandes de Carvalho was a son of Pedralvares de Carvalho, the captain of Alcácer Ceguer in Morocco, and of Maria de Távora. He had seven brothers and two sisters (*Manso de Lima VII 58; *Andrade Leitão VII 1698-1699). His father was lord of Canas de Senhorim and a Knight of Christ. When his father died, Gil, since his elder brother had only daughters, received his habit of Christ in 1545 (Pimenta de Avellar 47) and the prebend of São Miguel de Charente for his services during the war (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 53, 57v). In 1548 he sailed with his brother André de Carvalho to India (*Emmentia* 430). In 1550 he was sent to Ormuz because of the danger from the Turks and wintered there (Q 4390 4541). In 1551 he was sent by the viceroy Noronha to Kedah to purchase pepper. He came to the help of Malacca from there and then returned to Cochin. The Franciscan guardian Noê recommended him to the king from there on January 28, 1552, as a "muito bom caualeiro" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 609). In 1553 he saved the mission of the Fishery Coast through his brilliant victory over the Turkish fleet (Q 6178; DI III 252-254; Vali-

purchase pepper in Kedah, and he had there learned from a letter of Dom Pedro da Silva of the plight of Malacca.⁶² He had now come to the help of the city with a galleon, a *nau*, and a junk. The enemy had sent seventy or eighty *lancharas* to engage him in battle, but he had put them to flight. The following day he had landed with his men, more than a hundred well-equipped gunners eager for battle. The captain, Dom Pedro da Silva, was delighted with his coming and received him with every honor. He brought him to the door of the church of the Misericórdia, where the *vigário* and the priests of the city were waiting for him with an upraised cross. In the church they attended a Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, which had almost always been offered by a priest since the beginning of the siege. After the Mass, the captain and Gil Fernandes went to the fortress to eat. The latter had come, as he said, to serve God and the king; and he was resolved to fight the enemy upon the sea at once. He persuaded Dom Pedro da Silva to prepare some *fustas* for this. In the meantime he and his men prepared themselves for battle by going to confession and receiving Holy Communion. But it finally appeared unfair to the captain and the people that their savior should risk his life in such a way.⁶³

As an alternative, the soldier who had already given such good advice before the general attack on the city suggested a ruse, which was immediately adopted by the captain. There were three ships anchored near the city under the protection of Gomes Barreto's caravel. They should sail out under the captains Luis Martins, Braz Roballo, and Antonio Nunes, allegedly, as it was publicly announced, to devastate with fire and sword the coastal towns of Ujong Tanah, Perak, Pahang, and Bruas, and to kill their inhabitants. Accompanied by two *fustas* filled with textiles, they would then sail south to the strait of Sabang. There they would wait for the junks coming with provisions from Java for Malacca. After they had exchanged their wares for food, they would return with it to the fortress.⁶⁴

The ruse worked. During the night of August 14, the Malays quickly withdrew in order to return to their own threatened lands.⁶⁵ During the early hours of August 15, the feast of the Assumption, the Javanese occupied the palisaded redoubts that had been abandoned by the Malays. They planted their artillery

gnano 289-292; Queyroz, *Conquista da Índia* 614). In 1554 he sailed from Cochin for Portugal, but his ship had to return (DI III 73 167). Pérez calls him a very great friend of the Jesuits (DI III 254). He gave Melchior Nunes Barreto valuable gifts for his voyage to Japan in 1554 (*ibid.* 199). At the beginning of 1555 he set sail in the *Santa Cruz* for Portugal, but his ship disappeared during the voyage without leaving a trace (Couto 7, 1, 6, p. 54; Queyroz, *Conquista da Índia* 625; *Boletim da Filmoteca* 6 [1961] 129). The minutes of a letter of condolence from the king to Gil's brother Ruy de Sousa de Carvalho are to be found in TdT: Col. S. Vicente IX 271.

⁶² Q 4746.

⁶³ Pérez 213-214; DI III 254. Couto has Gil come to Malacca on August 15, the day after the withdrawal of the Malays and their replacement by the Javanese (271-272), against the express statement of Pérez, who apparently kept a kind of diary during the siege with precise data. Pérez writes: "Gil Fernandez de Carvalho . . . chegou à vista de Malaqua a seis dias d'Agosto, dia da transfiguração de Nosso Senhor," and after he had repulsed an attack of the enemy on his ship, "e huma sexta [feira, August 7] desembarcou" (213-214).

⁶⁴ Couto, 6, 9, 9, pp. 284-285.

⁶⁵ Pérez gives a similar explanation for the withdrawal of the Malays: "Os malayos que tinham cercada a cidade pola parte do oriente tinham sentado seu arrayal em terra . . . segundo parece, vista esta detreminação que avia [Gil Fernandes de Carvalho] de hir a pellejar com elles polo mar, desemparraram a tranqueira e o arrayal, e recolherão-se às embarquações a huma sexta-feira à noyte, que forão 14 d'Agosto, octava do dia de Sam Lourenço" (214-215).

upon them and began at once to fire upon the city. They aimed their guns especially upon the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte and frequently hit the house of the priests with their shots, as the Malays had previously done. Cannon balls passed at times between the legs of men defending the city or whizzed past their heads, but only two Portuguese and one native Christian were killed during the barrage.⁶⁶

Still on this same day, August 15, Dom Pedro da Silva ordered an attack upon the palisaded redoubts which had been erected by the Javanese, but it was without success.⁶⁷ A week later he decided to engage them in a decisive combat.⁶⁸ Gil Fernandes de Carvalho was designated to undertake the task with sixty men.⁶⁹ After he had, in keeping with his customary practice, gone to confession and received Holy Communion, he marched out of the city gate with his men at break of dawn. He was himself dressed in his habit as a commander of the Order of Christ, wearing a metal cuirass, a morion on his head that covered both his breast and beard, greaves and armored shoes, and clenching in his fist a two-handed sword. Accompanied by the blessing of a priest, the Portuguese attacked the palisaded redoubt of the Javanese with guns and fire bombs, as the latter defended it with their own guns, javelins, and lances.

The Portuguese standard-bearer, one of Gil Fernandes' soldiers, a brother of Bento Fernandes, pushed through a narrow door into the redoubt protected by another door. He was immediately pierced in the abdomen by a lance and fell down dead. Gil Fernandes, who was following immediately behind him, bent down to pick up the standard. At this very moment an old Javanese, a relative of the *sangadipati*, drove his lance through his metal armor seriously wounding him under his right armpit. Undeterred, Fernandes passed the banner to another soldier and with his two-handed sword split his opponent from head to foot. He then got rid of a second and a third, who fell to the ground sorely wounded. The enemy fled in fright pursued by Gil Fernandes and his men. Many were wounded or killed, but a few survived and saved themselves by retreating into a swamp. The soldiers here persuaded their leader to withdraw. He was wounded and losing large quantities of blood, though he himself, so as not to discourage them, said that it was nothing. The victors then returned with the artillery and all the munitions which they found in the redoubt. The standard-bearer had confessed before going into battle, and he had received Communion previously.

⁶⁶ Pérez 214-215. According to Couto the Javanese sent half of their men to take the place of the Malays who had left (285).

⁶⁷ Pérez 207. That the attack made by Gil Fernandes cannot be meant by this is indicated by the fact that Pérez clearly distinguishes it from the second attack. The first was on Saturday, August 15, the feast of the Assumption, and during it only two Portuguese were killed by enemy bullets. Both had been present in the church for the sermon but had left before it was finished (217). The main assault was on another Saturday, that is, August 22 (215). Couto combines the two attacks and gives August 16, a Sunday, the day of Gil's landing, as the date of the attack (286).

⁶⁸ On the capture of the redoubt, see Pérez 215-217; Couto with new, but not entirely reliable, details (286-288); and, briefly, the viceroy's letter (Q 4746).

⁶⁹ Couto has Gil Fernandes ask permission for this attack from Dom Pedro da Silva on the day of his landing. The captain grants it at once. Couto then has him march out the following day with two hundred men, among whom were all the *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros*, whom he had divided among three captains. He himself led the first division, the van; the two others were under the command of Christovão de Sá and Gomes Barreto (286).

⁷⁰ Bento Fernandes was dubbed a knight in 1538, at the first siege of Diu. This was ratified in 1545 (Q 1479). He was a resident of Diu and in 1545 appeared as a witness in Goa in the trial of Aleixo de Sousa (Q 1626 1644).

Another of the attackers, who had been wounded on the ankle during the fighting, died a few days later as a good Christian.⁷¹ Gil Fernandes, who was only twenty-five or twenty-six years old, was universally esteemed for his frankness, amiability, and generosity; and, thanks to the prayers of all, he regained his health. His victory freed the city on the east. The gates could again be opened and the poor inhabitants could obtain greens and wood and other things which they needed to live on.⁷²

The presence of Gil Fernandes and his men renewed the courage of those within the city. On August 26, the Friday after his victory, the captain sent Gaspar Mendes⁷³ with twelve *wallams* (oared boats) to burn some of the Javanese ships which had been drawn up on land in the northwest on the other side of the river. He burned two or three and captured two more filled with foodstuffs and palm wine, even though they were defended by the enemy with large and small guns. During the fighting one of Mendes' men was killed, and he was himself pierced in the hip by an arrow.⁷⁴

Hunger was still, however, prevalent in the city, especially since the main source of food for the natives, rice, was lacking; and the fruit trees and vegetable gardens were still in the hands of the foe. Many of the Portuguese fell sick as a consequence of their exertions, the heat and cold, and their wretched provisions, even though, since the arrival of Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, their adversaries had not dared to launch an attack. Many in the city were anxious to drive the enemy away by force, but they had to refrain from doing so. The number of those who were still well was too small to make an attack and, at the same time, to defend the city. This was the state of affairs when divine Providence came to their assistance.

The Portuguese were happily surprised to discover that the *sangadipati* and his men had begun to embark on the morning of September 16, the Friday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. At some distance from the place

⁷¹ Pérez 215-217. Otherwise in Couto: The Javanese were taken by surprise. More than a hundred of them were killed before they knew what was happening. The *sangadipati* hastened up with a Javanese king. Gil was thrown down by the thrust of a lance. He got up and slew a Javanese king by thrusting a sword into his breast. He then took from him his sword and golden dagger. The standard-bearer was then struck down. Jorge Borges seized his banner and mounted the redoubt with it. Terrified by the death of their leader, the Javanese fled into the sea and sought to save themselves on their junks; but in the meantime the Portuguese slew many who were still in the water. Dom Pedro da Silva came up with all the men to complete the victory. More than two thousand Javanese were slain. All the bulwarks were captured and destroyed, and their cannons, munitions, and provisions brought into the fortress. Most of the enemy's junks were thrown up on land by a storm on the same day, where the Portuguese seized their artillery. Gil, however, with his galiot and the boats of the galleon wreaked great havoc among the enemy junks that still remained on the sea. Those who could still sail, set off for Java with the loss of half of their fleet (286-289). The Jorge Borges mentioned by Couto is probably the same one who received from D. João de Castro, on June 21, 1547, the position of a notary and secretary of the deceased on the Melinde coast (Q 3146).

⁷² Pérez 216-217.

⁷³ Gaspar Mendes is probably identical with the Gaspar Mendes who in 1538 had the *Santa Maria da Luz*, a *fusta* with sixteen banks of oars (Q 334a, f. 249). He served in Malacca in 1539 (Q 437), and Xavier recommended him to the king in January, 1552. He was single, wealthy, and had served much and contributed much during the siege of Malacca (EX II 302-303). He brought Xavier's letter from Sancian to Malacca in his *vankan* (a Chinese oared ship) in October (EX II 509).

⁷⁴ Pérez gives the date as "Friday evening" (217), which probably corresponds to August 26.

where he was, a ship was lying at anchor. On it the Javanese were taking the artillery they had captured from the Portuguese. Some *wallams* (small rowboats) sailed out to capture the vessel, but they were held off by the gunfire of the Moors. Some *fustas* of the foe hastened up to the help of the ship, but the *fusta* of Gil Fernandes came up and drove them off with two or three falcon shots. The Portuguese then clambered onto the vessel, threw its crew into the sea, and brought it and its cargo of rice, munitions, and artillery back to the fortress. The Javanese in turn sailed off. After 103 days of siege, the city was finally free;⁷⁵ and Gil Fernandes could return with his ships to Kedah.⁷⁶

The people of Malacca could now see with their own eyes the damage that had been wrought by the enemy. The city of the natives with its wealthy merchants and wares was completely burned and devastated. The many fruitful coconut groves that had surrounded it had all been cut down and destroyed so that the site could hardly be recognized. Some of the servants of Dom Garcia de Meneses went at once in search of the body of their lord. They found it already rotted away and could only identify it by its shoes and clothes. Near it were also found the bones of Meneses' companion, Pero Vaz Guedes. Accompanied by all the people of the town, they brought the remains of these confessors of the faith to the Misericordia, where they were given a Christian burial.⁷⁷

Now that the city had been liberated, the people went out to look for fruit, green rice, and other provisions. But their hunger was not stilled until September 26, a Friday, when ships which had been sent out to look for food arrived. They brought back with them much rice and many chickens, onions, garlic, lentils, eggs, and other provisions. After this other ships also came with supplies.⁷⁸

But the siege had taken a heavy toll. More than a hundred Portuguese had fallen at the hands of the enemy. Among these was Xavier's friend Antonio Lopes de Bobodilha, whose leg had been shattered in 1547 at the battle on the Perlis River.⁷⁹ Many others were carried away by their heroic exertions and the hunger and sicknesses which they had endured.⁸⁰ To the east of Malacca, a quarter of an hour away, was the "Rajah Well" with the best drinking water of the city at the foot of the hill of Bukit-China. The people now went there again to obtain water. The Javanese had, however, when they were leaving, poisoned the water. Many of the Portuguese and native inhabitants of Malacca consequently died. Dom Pedro da Silva immediately ordered the well to be emptied and cleaned, and he forbade its being used for an entire year.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Pérez 217-218.

⁷⁶ Couto 290.

⁷⁷ Pérez 218.

⁷⁸ Pérez 219; Couto 289.

⁷⁹ EX II 495; Seb. Gonçalves 3, 13.

⁸⁰ Pérez 219. According to the viceroy Noronha, "during this siege 120 Portuguese died, of whom they killed 80" (Q 4746).

⁸¹ Couto 289-290. He observes: "Tanto que a fortaleza ficou descercada, começaram os nossos a beber do poço da Bathocina, em que os Jaos tinham lançado tão fina peçonha, que logo em bebendo começaram todos a adoecer, e a morrer, ficando o ar tão inficionado, que em dando o Sol na cabeça a huma pessoa alli cahia logo, e assim enterravam cada dia doze, e quinze Portuguezes, e como doentes de peste os levavam pelas ruas arrastos, até hum quintal do Hospital onde os sepultavam juntos. Morrêram deste mal mais de duzentos Portuguezes, e muita gente da terra, do que todos andavam pasmados." The number seems to be exaggerated when it is compared with that of the viceroy. In 1579, when his memory was no longer too accurate, Pérez wrote: "Começou o cerco em Maio, acabou-se na entrada de Novembro, que forão os jaos. E depois do cerco se seguio a doença das febres de que morreo muyta gente portugueza, que dizem que

The city, which had been so sorely tried, sent one of its citizens, Christovão Martins, with letters to India to inform the viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, on conditions in Malacca and to ask him to send a fleet with soldiers, munitions, and artillery, since there was a definite report that the enemy was now preparing a new fleet in order to make a new attack on the city. They also asked that the taxes of the impoverished people, which had been raised by Martim Affonso de Sousa, should be lowered, and that in this regard the Portuguese should be placed at least on the same level as the Moorish merchants.⁸² Xavier in his turn promised to recommend to the king⁸³ the city and three of his unmarried friends in particular—Francisco Borges,⁸⁴ Gaspar Mendes, and Matheus de Brito,⁸⁵ who had borne all the toils and hardships of the siege and had generously given of their own resources. He likewise recommended Alvaro Mendes, the brother of Fernão Mendes Pinto,⁸⁶ who had also experienced the siege.

serião mays de quinhentos. Em nossa casa morrerão alguns, porque foi necessario, pera usar de charidade naquele tempo, recolher o Padre em casa alguns doentes, porque não avia onde se recolherem porque o ospital e as casas stavão cheas; e não somente se estendeo a charidade aos portugueses mas a gentios e mouros, e então se escreveo deste trabalho largamente que foi mui grand pera todos" (67). In the Goa process of 1556, the witness Domingos Pires d'Araujo stated that Xavier had repeatedly prophesied the punishment of God in Malacca, "pronosticando as desaventuras grandes, que depois so-cederão, como foy o cerco e o mal grande contagioso que veyo á cidade á maneyra de peste, que não ficou homem que não adoecese, e muito poucos escaparão" (MX II 200). The plague of 1552 and the sickness of 1551 are here probably put together.

⁸² Letter of Ch. Martins of January 22, 1552, from Cochin (Q 4748).

⁸³ EX II 302-303 305

⁸⁴ Cf. EX II 302-303. He was single and rich and had contributed much during the siege.

⁸⁵ Matheus de Brito sailed to India in 1530. He was the son of Gomes da Fonseca, *escudeiro*, from Portas d'Alentém in the region of Porto (*Flaminio II 565v), and in 1541 took part in the voyage to Suez (*Studia* 9 [1962] 214; Correa IV 163). On January 31, 1552, he was recommended to the king by Xavier as being single, rich, and very generous during the siege (EX II 302-303). In 1555 he was in prison in Canton with other Portuguese who had been imprisoned there for six years (Mendes Pinto from Lampacau on November 20, 1555, in Ayres, *Subsidios* 76). Melchior Nunes Barreto encountered him there, barefooted, bareheaded, with his hands in a cangue and chains on his feet, and condemned to death. He collected a ransom of 1,000 *tael*, the equivalent of 1,500 *cruzados*, to free the prisoners, and the *hai-tao* (admiral) promised to ask the emperor for their release (*ibid.*, and the letters of Nunes Barreto of November 23, 1555, *ibid.* 88; Frois of January 7, 1556, *ibid.* 92; and Leonel de Sousa of January 15, 1556, in *Gavetas* I 913).

⁸⁶ Alvaro Mendes, to be distinguished from five namesakes, was a brother of Fernão Mendes Pinto and had been present at the siege of Malacca. In January, 1552, Xavier recommended him and his two brothers Fernão and Antonio to the king (EX II 304-305). On his voyage from Goa to Cochin in May, 1554, Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote to Ignatius: "The Moors in the kingdom of Bintang, which is beyond Malacca, captured a man (*hombre*); and after they could not persuade him to become a Moor either by promises or by blandishments, they sought to force him by fear and torture. They tied him to a tree and shot a field gun at him three or four times without hitting him. During this time he kept calling upon our Lady until they shot him to bits with a bombard as a glorious martyr, since he died solely for his faith." The letter apparently reached Rome in two exemplars. The first, written by Frois and signed by Nunes Barreto, is extant. Only the incomplete copy of an Italian translation of the second is extant, and the page with our citation is missing from it. The complete Italian text was, however, published in the *Avisi Particolari Delle Indie di Portugallo* (Romae, 1556) 1-10. These as a rule repeat the texts accurately, and they have the following after the word *hombre*: "fratello del nostro Fratello Fernando Mendez" (DI III 88). Meant can only be his brother Alvaro, for the other, Antonio, testified at the Malacca process in 1557 as one who "was married and resident" there (MX II 419).

4. THE APPOINTMENT AS PROVINCIAL

During the short time that he was in Malacca, Master Francis did not have time to read through the copious correspondence of the last two and one-half years. But there was a bundle from Rome, which he opened at once. In it was a document stamped with the official seal of the general of the order—Xavier's appointment as provincial of the East, that is, of all the lands beyond the Cape of Good Hope as far as China and Japan. The document was written in Latin calligraphy and signed by Ignatius. It read as follows:¹

Ignatius of Loyola, *praepositus generalis* of the Society of Jesus.

To my dear brother in Christ Master Francis Xavier, priest of the same Society, everlasting greetings in the Lord.

Since the number of those who follow our Institute is daily increasing in various regions through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, there is also increasing the necessity of caring for many things and consequently of sharing this burden with others. It has therefore seemed expedient to us in the Lord that we should appoint one of our brothers as our substitute and make him the superior of all those who live under the obedience of our Society in India and in other regions across the sea which are subject to the most serene king of Portugal and beyond them,² and to entrust to him everything else that pertains to our office.

Since then we have the greatest confidence in your piety and prudence which is in Christ Jesus, we make and appoint you provincial superior (*praepositum provinciale*) of all of ours who are in the said regions with all the authority which the Apostolic See has granted to us and is conceded to us by the Constitutions of our Society. And in virtue of holy obedience³ we order you to make the fullest use of it in taking over this part of our care and authority for inquiring, arranging, reforming, ordering, proscribing, admitting for probation into the Society or expelling from it those whom it will seem good to you; for appointing also for any office and for removing from the same, and, in fine, for disposing of everything which we, if we were present, would be able to dispose of and you will judge should be done to the glory of God with respect to places, things, and persons which pertain to the Society.

Considering the grace of God in you, we hope in the Lord that this will be to His honor and to the spiritual profit of those who are committed to our care and to the common salvation of souls.

Given at Rome the sixth day before the Ides of October [October 10], 1549.

[Ignatius.]

A second document, similarly written in Latin calligraphy and signed by Ignatius, complemented the first. It read as follows:⁴

¹ DI I 507-510. The original of this important document is lost. Its minutes are preserved in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus (*Inst.* 117a, f. 48), which have been corrected by Polanco's hand. There are also two copies of it, one in the *Historia* of Seb. Gonçalves 4, 20, the other in TdT: *Jesuitas*, Cartorio 88. The copy of Seb. Gonçalves is very accurate and omits the additions of Polanco. We follow the original minutes in DI I 508-510 in so far as they correspond to the text in Seb. Gonçalves.

² Thus also for the lands outside Portuguese territory such as Japan and China.

³ Seb. Gonçalves notes here that Ignatius had ordered Xavier in virtue of holy obedience to exercise the office imposed upon him, not because he doubted his obedience, but in order to increase his merits, as Xavier himself was accustomed to do with his subjects; and also because he wished to avoid the difficulties which could arise because of the great distances between India and Rome if one refused to accept an office (4, 20).

⁴ DI I 736-738. The original is preserved in the National Library in Lisbon, *Pombal* 745, ff. 7-8v, a volume of original letters written by Ignatius and Xavier which Pombal had brought from St. Paul's College in Goa. The ending, date, and signature were cut off as relics and are missing. They have been completed with the help of the precise copy

Ignatius of Loyola, *praepositus generalis* of the Society of Jesus.

To our beloved brother in Christ, Master Francis Xavier, *praepositus* of the same Society in the regions of India subject to the most serene king of Portugal and those beyond, everlasting greetings in the Lord.

Since Pope Paul III of blessed memory⁵ kindly conceded from the treasure of his apostolic power to our least Society very many spiritual favors to the glory of God and the edification of souls which the *praepositus generalis* living at the time can exercise and delegate by himself and through others whom he deems to be suitable for this,⁶ we, who have recently constituted you the *praepositus* of all our brothers who are living in the said regions of India, having great confidence in your piety and prudence (which is in Christ Jesus) and ratifying the authority already conferred, further communicate all the favors and authority which the Apostolic See has in any way communicated to us and which we can communicate (two things only being excepted, namely, that of granting a plenary indulgence once a year⁷ and the admission to the profession⁸) so that you may have the power and ability to use them not only for the edification of your neighbors but also so that you may share them with some of those who are under your obedience as you shall deem each one suitable for this (for whom we grant them now and for the future according to what will seem good to you).

But if you will be in regions very far from the college of Goa, through these open letters, signed by our hand and fixed with the seal of the Society, we grant and concede to that one of our brothers who will be at the time rector of the said college the same faculty and authority as to you, which you may however diminish or entirely suppress as you will think best in the Lord. For we hope in God that such favors and concessions will be weapons of justice to the consolation and help of souls and to the glory and honor of the most high God.

[Given at Rome in the house of the Society of Jesus the twenty-third day of December, 1549.

Ignatius.]

To these two official documents Ignatius had added a personal letter written in his own hand to his distant, beloved confrere.⁹ Xavier read it with deep emotion. It was a covering letter to the official documents which had been composed the day before and a reply to the letters which Xavier had written to Ignatius at the beginning of 1549 before his journey to Japan.

With respect to Antonio Gomes, Ignatius stated that Xavier had done well in telling the priest that he should renounce his office if he did so of his own free will.¹⁰ With respect to Simon Rodrigues, he wrote that Portuguese affairs had to be handled with discretion and not with a free hand.¹¹ If Rodrigues came

in the *Historia* of Seb. Gonçalves 4, 20. The original minutes are in ARSI: *Inst.* 117a, ff. 48-v.

⁵ The pope had died six weeks before, on November 10, 1549.

⁶ Through the bull *Licet debitum* of October 18, 1549.

⁷ Number 19 in the bull just mentioned (*Const.* I 367).

⁸ The brief *Expone nobis*, of June 5, 1546, had restricted the taking of the vows of profession to Rome (*ibid.* 173); the bull *Licet debitum* removed this spatial limitation (*ibid.* 368-369).

⁹ The letter has been lost. Still extant is the register of the original, written by Polanco in ARSI: *Epp. nm.* 50, 171v. In addition to this there are copies of paragraphs 7-8, which Valignano had made in 1576 (Rome, Bibl. Naz. *Fondo Gesuitico* 1255, 16, ff. 274v-275), of paragraph 8 in a Portuguese translation in Seb. Gonçalves 5, 11 (all edited in DI I 510-515), and two short citations made by Xavier in EX II 286-288.

¹⁰ The passage is not found in Xavier's extant letters. It was perhaps contained in a no longer extant enclosure, or it may have been omitted in the copy of his letter to Ignatius of January 12, 1549.

¹¹ On the different problems in Portugal, see Polanco, *Chronicon* I 445-446, and Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 55-56.

to Rome, as he hoped, many matters could be straightened out.¹² With respect to Henrique Henriques and the other confreres¹³ who had an impediment for their reception into the Society, he was including a sheet which could be shown to them and would console them. If a person with outstanding qualities had an impediment to his entering, he could, under certain circumstances, be dispensed from it and be received into the Society.¹⁴ He was including answers to the letters of Cosme de Torres¹⁵ and the Japanese Paul.¹⁶ With respect to two matters which Xavier had referred to Ignatius in his letters of 1549, the answer was as follows:

I am pleased with the order which you have given that where there are more than two of the Society, one should be superior, and even if there are only two.¹⁷ It seems to me in the Lord that this is what should always be done in the future.

With respect to the opinion which you have expressed that the Society cannot be carried forward by the people of this land because of their malice and so forth,¹⁸ although I believe that you are not speaking without foundation, I nevertheless think that one must not lose heart, and that the means which you indicated to me for alleviating and remedying this evil should not be neglected. The first is to choose those who manifest a better inclination and greater capacity and perfection, dismissing as soon as possible those who are not such, and employing more time and labor with the others; the second is that if in these nations you see that in one region boys are more naturally inclined to good than in others, efforts should be made to have the most and the best of these that you can from there so that they may be taught in the colleges; the third is that boys should be taken in at a very tender age, before they have imbibed the evil teaching of their fathers and the sins of this land; for such, if care is taken of their youth, and if they live where they see good examples and teaching, it is to be believed that their native inclination towards evil will be greatly diminished;¹⁹ the fourth, which is the basis of all that has been said, is that with the favor of the King of Portugal and other means which God our Lord will grant, the colleges should be increased in those parts;²⁰ the fifth will be that you will, as you are doing, choose from among the same Spaniards and Portuguese who go to those regions those who have been favorably disposed by God for our Institute. May He to whom this all pertains direct it in the manner that is to His greater service.

Ignatius then added that Xavier had acted wisely in dismissing from the Society those who had not turned out well.²¹ With this letter was being sent

¹² On the same day Ignatius wrote to Rodrigues according to the register: "Se le pide con istancia que venga" (MI *Epp.* II 568).

¹³ The two other confreres who had an impediment were Gaspar Rodrigues and Afonso de Castro; cf. Lancilotto's letter to Ignatius of December 28, 1548 (DI I 438-439).

¹⁴ On the same day Polanco wrote to Araoz according to the register: "Se da aviso cómo las personas raras, que tuviesen algún impedimento, se podrian recibir" (MI *Epp.* II 564).

¹⁵ Cf. his letter to Ignatius of November 25, 1548 (DI I 468-481; on the date, see Q 4154, pp. 500-501, and Vol. III, p. 636 n. 2).

¹⁶ Cf. his letter to Ignatius of November 29, 1548 (DI I 332-341).

¹⁷ Cf. Xavier's letter to Ignatius of January 14, 1549 (EX II 23).

¹⁸ Xavier had written to Ignatius on January 12, 1549: "Por la experiencia que tengo destas partes veo claramente, Padre mío único, que por los indios naturales de la tierra no se abre camino como por ellos se perpetúe nuestra Compañía; y que tanto durará en ellos la cristiandad, quanto duraremos y viviremos los que acá estamos, o de allá mandáredes" (EX II 8).

¹⁹ As Lancilotto also wrote to Ignatius on November 5, 1546 (DI I 144).

²⁰ Xavier had also written this to Ignatius on January 12, 1549 (EX II 12-13); and Lancilotto in November, 1548 (DI I 344).

²¹ We find nothing on Mansilhas' dismissal in Xavier's extant letters. He probably wrote about it in an enclosure which is no longer preserved.

the patent of his appointment as provincial, a copy of which remained in Rome. His province would embrace the lands across the seas, but not Brasil, West Africa, and Ethiopia.²² The monthly Mass which Xavier had asked to be celebrated in San Pietro in Montorio would be offered for a year.²³ Letters would be written to the bishop²⁴ and Frey Vicente,²⁵ and everything possible would be done for the priest²⁶ and for obtaining the indulgences that had been requested.²⁷

In his letter Ignatius had also written to Xavier the great longing which he had to see him again before he died, and he had ended it with the words: "Todo vuestro, syn poderme olvydar en tyempo alguno, Ygnatio" ("Entirely yours without my ever being able to forget you, Ignatio"). Xavier had read these words with tears as he recalled times past and the great affection which Ignatius had always had for him. He was convinced that God had rescued him from many difficulties and dangers in Japan through the prayers which his beloved father had offered for him.²⁸

By his appointment of Master Francis as provincial, Ignatius had placed a large and heavy burden upon him—the responsibility for the direction of so many in the Society. In his humility he felt that he was not equal to this task,²⁹ especially now that God was calling him away from them to distant China.

5. THE DEPARTURE FROM MALACCA (DECEMBER 30, 1551)

After his arrival in Malacca, Xavier's first visit was to his friend and benefactor, Dom Pedro da Silva, the captain of the fortress. During the one-hundred-and-three-day siege, he had shown himself to be a brave, shrewd, and cautious defender of the city. With him Francis found Dom Alvaro de Ataide, Dom

²² The register has only: "sacando el Brazil, Affrica, Ethiopia." But northern and western Africa (Guinea, Congo, Angola) always belonged to the province of Portugal, the Mozambique mission always to the province of Goa.

²³ In his letter to Ignatius of January 12, 1549, Xavier had asked this favor for a year (EX II 15).

²⁴ In this same letter Xavier had written to Ignatius: "Desea el Señor Obispo [Frey Juan de Albuquerque, O.F.M.] conocer a Vuestra Charidad por cartas. Por servicio de Dios nuestro Señor que si pudiere ser le scriváis" (EX II 14). Ignatius wrote to the bishop on December 15, 1549 (DI I 727-729).

²⁵ In this letter Xavier had also written to Ignatius that Frey Vicente de Lagos, O.F.M., was very anxious to have a priest of the Society of Jesus as a preacher and teacher of grammar in his college. He wished to obtain a plenary indulgence for the patronal feasts of the two churches in Cranganore, and he would also be happy to receive a letter from Ignatius (EX II 15). On October 11, 1549, Ignatius wrote to Simon Rodrigues that he might do what he could to grant this request with respect to a priest (MI Epp. II 568).

²⁶ This probably concerns Mestre Diogo de Borba, who had written to Ignatius at the end of 1546 or the beginning of 1547, and to whom Ignatius replied on December 15, 1549. He had sent 185 *cruzados* with the request that they be used for decorating the altar of St. Sebastian in his church in Rome and for three other pious purposes so that he might thus fulfill certain obligations. He had further asked Ignatius that he might obtain from the pope a total absolution, and that he might let him choose a confessor who might give him a plenary indulgence along with the absolution. Ignatius wrote to him that he had fulfilled all his requests. But since the addressee had died on January 26, 1547, he did not receive the letter (DI I 157 515 730-733 741).

²⁷ Seven days later, on October 18, 1549, Ignatius had obtained various favors from the pope through the bull *Licet debitum* (Const. I 367; see also DI I 739-740).

²⁸ EX II 287-289.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 287.

Pedro's brother, whom the latter had not seen since Dom Alvaro's return to Portugal at the beginning of 1543. In 1546 Dom Alvaro had obtained from the king the right to the captaincy of Malacca for three years,¹ and he had sailed to India in 1550 with the viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha. Both had been obliged to take the outer route. Whereas the viceroy's ship arrived in Ceylon instead of Goa, the first land which Dom Alvaro's ship, the *São João*, or "Large Galleon," sighted, was, due to the pilot's error, not that of Goa but Pegu! It was not until the middle of December that Ataíde arrived in Cochin, where he again encountered Noronha.² In September, 1551, Dom Alvaro had sailed from India to Malacca³ in order to remain there until the middle of October, 1552.⁴ The four years of his brother's term of office would then be completed⁵ and he could immediately take over his position as captain of Malacca.

Xavier explained to both of them his plan to have the viceroy appoint his friend Diogo Pereira as ambassador to the king of China. He would then sail with him to China in order to free the Portuguese imprisoned there and to find an entrance for the Gospel in that great, closed land. Both were enthusiastic about the project and promised their assistance with it when he returned to Malacca the following year.⁶ Dom Alvaro gave Xavier a letter for the king of Portugal in which he asked for a certain favor which would help him as captain of Malacca in the restoration of that city which had been so badly damaged in the siege; and Xavier promised that he would support his petition with the king.⁷ In addition to this, Dom Alvaro asked the priest to obtain for him from the viceroy his appointment as chief captain of the sea of Malacca during the time that he had to wait for the expiration of his brother's term of office. This would enable him to be of greater help to Xavier and Pereira in their preparations for their voyage to China. Xavier promised him that he would take care of this.⁸

¹ *Registro* 436 (Q 2026).

² Couto 6, 9, 1, pp. 233-239; Q 4674.

³ Couto errs in not having him sail from India for Malacca until April, 1552.

⁴ D. Pedro da Silva arrived in Malacca in the middle of October, 1548, and immediately took over the rule there (Couto 6, 6, 6, p. 39). In 1541 he had received the position of captain for the usual three years (*Registro* 347), but in 1545 this was extended to four (*ibid.* 379).

⁵ Couto has him sail to Malacca a year before taking over his office in order to save on expenses in Goa (6, 9, 19, p. 364; 6, 10, 7, p. 443).

⁶ "En este tiempo dió parte a este capitán del propósito que trahía de hir con Diego Pereira el año para la China. Y él siendo desso contento, diziendo que ayudaría todo lo que pudiese en su tiempo, porque los capitanes de Malaqua poden en esso ayudar y dar buen aviamiento si quierem" (Pérez in DI III 248). From the context there is here meant the captain Ataíde, as is also clearly indicated in the *Informação*: "E chegando a Malaca depois do cerquo, achou ahi a Dom Alvaro de Taide... e o Padre deu esta conta do que determinava, e elle foi muyto contente disso e determinou ser com elle e Diogo Pereira" (70).

⁷ EX II 303.

⁸ Couto writes that in April, 1552, the viceroy sent Diogo de Sousa to Malacca in the same ship with Francisco Lopes de Sousa, who was on his way to take over the captaincy in Ternate (6, 9, 20, pp. 378-379). He then erroneously adds: "Nesta companhia despachou o Viso-Rey a D. Alvaro de Taide da Gama... por Capitão mór do mar de Malaca, e de todas aquellas partes com grandes poderes; porque como elle entrava na Capitania de Malaca após D. Pedro da Silva da Gama seu irmão, que lá estava, quiz ir diante hum anno que ainda lhe faltava, por se tirar de gastos, e despezas. Despachados estes Capitães, deram á véla em Abril" (6, 9, 19, pp. 364-365); and, further on: "O Abril passado, como fica dito no Cap. XIX do IX. Liv., deixámos embarcado pera aquella fortaleza D. Alvaro de Taide... por se tirar das despezas de Goa, e o Viso-Rey lhe passou

Diogo Pereira also gave a letter to Xavier to be delivered in India. It was addressed to his factor, and it ordered him to purchase the gifts which would be needed for the king of China according to the wishes of the priest.⁹ While Xavier was in India seeking the requisite permissions of the viceroy and making the other arrangements for their voyage to China, he, Pereira, wished to purchase the pepper for the ship's cargo in Sunda. They would see each other again in Malacca in June of the following year; they would then sail from there on their embassy.

Meanwhile the time had come for Xavier's further voyage to India. He took his leave of Pérez, Bravo, and Bernardo Rodrigues, of Captain Dom Pedro da Silva and his brother, of his friend Diogo Pereira, of the *vigario* and his beneficiaries, and of his other friends and acquaintances. On December 30 he embarked on the *Galega* of Antonio Pereira and sailed off for India with his Japanese companions Antonio, Joane, Bernardo, and Matheus; with the ambassador of the king of Bungo; with the two confreres who had returned from the Moro mission, that is, Morais and Gonçalves;¹⁰ and a citizen of Malacca, Christovão Martins, who, as the representative of the people, should obtain from the viceroy help for the city that had been so seriously afflicted by the siege and was still under constant threats from its foes.¹¹

Provisões de Capitão mór do mar de Malaca, e de todas aquellas partes; e segundo nos parece, que o isentou nas cousas da Armada da jurisdição de seu irmão" (6, 10, 7, p. 443). But Pérez contradicts him in his *Informação* where he writes: "Dom Alvaro de Taide... foi muyto contente disso e determinou ser com elle e Diogo Pereira: que o Padre Mestre Francisco viesse à India e comprasse as cousas ncessarias pera a embaixada, e levasse provisões pera Diogo Pereira ser embaixador, e trouxesse huma provisão pera Dom Alvaro ser capitão-mor do mar entretanto que não estava na fortaleza, e que dessa maneyra teria mais poder pera favorecer a embaixada por.mar" (70). On Xavier's arrival in 1552 he notes: "Chegando o Padre em Junho a Malaca, visitando seus devotos e amigos e elles a elle — primeyramente a Dom Alvaro de Taide, dando-lhe conta do que avia feyto e dando-lhe sua provisão pera ser capitão-mor do mar" (72-73).

⁹ Pérez wrote in 1555: "gastando Diego Pereira por su factor mucho dinero en pieças ricas pera levar de presente, se tornó [Xavier] en la vuelta de Malaqua" (DI III 248); and in his *Informação* about Xavier: "Mandou comprar muytas pessos ricas pera a embaixada com dinheiro de Diogo Pereyra, o qual ficou em Malaca pera ir a Sunda a carregar a nao de pimenta e vir esperar ao Padre a Malaca" (71). Xavier wrote to Diogo Pereira on June 25, 1552: "Destruí-vos, Senhor, em gastos de quatro ou cinco mil pardaos, que por meus rogos gastastes em peças pera el-rey da China" (EX II 461). Mendes Pinto, who had a fondness for large numbers, later wrote in his fantastic *Peregrinação* that Diogo had sent from Malacca in Xavier's company a Francisco de Caminha, his factor, with thirty thousand *cruzados* invested in musk and silks so that he could purchase everything that would be needed for the embassy (c. 215).

¹⁰ We conclude this from the fact that the two are not mentioned before this in India, although they would have been obliged to present themselves to the superior of the Indian mission in Goa if they had sailed there before Xavier. Pérez would also have detained them in Malacca, since Xavier would have to decide what should be done with them; and they could also help him with the large number of those who became ill during the siege.

¹¹ We assume this from the fact that he did not write his letter to the king until after Xavier's arrival in Cochin, that is, on October 27, 1552, on the same day on which the viceroy also wrote to the king and queen. In his letter he appealed to eyewitnesses for the siege of Malacca, and he repeated his complaints about D. Pedro da Silva, which we also find in Martins' letter (Q 4746-4748). — Cros (*Vie* II 419) and, following him, Brou (II 249) place the healing of an alleged epileptic son of Diogo Pereira by Xavier in this visit. We have referred to it as in 1549 (see above, p. 10).

CHAPTER III

ON THE GALEGA (DECEMBER 30, 1551—JANUARY 24, 1552)

1. THE LETTERS FROM EUROPE (1548-1551)

The passage from Malacca to Cochin took as a rule around four weeks. Xavier now had time to read the correspondence of the last two and one-half years which he had brought with him from Malacca and to obtain a comprehensive view of the Society and of the India mission that was now subject to him as its provincial.

In addition to sending him official information on his appointment as provincial and the authorizations pertaining to this office, Ignatius had, at the beginning of 1550¹ and of 1551,² forwarded to him extensive reports "on the works, establishments, and persons of the Society," and copies of the two papal bulls which had been issued for the order by Paul III and Julius III.

¹ On July 12, 1550, Polanco wrote to Xavier: "Ubiendo scritto para allá largo al principio deste año" (DI II 48), and he closed his letter with the words: "De otras cosas serán avisados de Portugal, y si Dios fuere servido, lo serán para el Março que viene, de acá" (*ibid.* 49). The "long letter" is lost.

² Polanco's registers of the end of January, 1551, have: "India. Prima a Maestro Francesco una lettera lunga delle cose universali, et foundationi, et persone della Compagnia" (*ibid.* 185). On January 29, 1551, Polanco wrote to Lancilotto at the end of his letter: "Non altro per questa, rimettendomi alla longa, quale è copia d'altra mandata all'India del Japan al P. Maestro Francesco, e V. R. là potra leggerla e mandar a lui, se pensa haverà miglior ricapito che l'altra mandata per via di Goa" (*ibid.* 188). This long letter is also lost. We are therefore obliged to reconstruct the news from Europe which Xavier obtained from what is now missing of the correspondence he received in Malacca from the chronicle and registers of Polanco and from some other sources. On January 25, 1545, Xavier had written to Ignatius: "Desea cada año saber nuevas vuestras y de tódo los de la Companhia, particularmente. . . Deseo de saber nuevas del Doctor Inguo López" (EX I 259-260). On January 12, 1549, he wrote: "Por amor de nuestro Señor peço a vuestra Charidad que dé cargo a alguna persona de casa que me screva nuevas de todos los professos de la Companhia, assí del número como donde están, y de quantos collegios hay, y las obligaciones a que son obligados los professos, y assí muchas otras cosas del fruto que hazen los de la Companhia. Yo dexo ordenado en Goa cómo me manden las cartas a Malaca, y en Malaca me las tresladen por muchas vías para me las mandar a Japón" (*ibid.* II 15-16). On February 2 he had asked Rodrigues to write to him through the two citizens of Malacca who were now sailing to him: "muito larguo de todos os da Companhia ques estão em Italia, França, Frandes, Alemanha, Spanha, Aragão, e do bendito colegio de Coimbra." He should address his letters to the priests in Malacca, and they would send him copies by many *vias* to Japan. The originals would remain in Malacca, but he would receive the copies on some way or other (*ibid.* 66). He also asked for similar detailed information from Ignatius after his return from Japan (*ibid.* 375). That Xavier's wishes were fulfilled is indicated, for example, by Polanco's long letter of December 14, 1550, to Adriani, the superior in Louvain, in which he sent him the news on Rome and added: "De aliis vero locis Italiae, Siciliae, Lusitaniae, Hispaniae, Germaniae et Indiae, per alias litteras intelligetis quid Deus ubique operetur" (MI Epp. III 264).

The bull *Licet debitum*,³ which Paul III had issued on October 18, 1549, was the long desired *mare magnum* of papal privileges for the new foundation. Through it the pope granted to the general of "the Society of Jesus founded and approved by him" the full right of ruling over all his subjects. Those who strove for spiritual offices through ambition were not suited for the Society. An appeal against the rule of the order was invalid. Members of the order who had pronounced their vows in it could not pass over into any other order (except that of the Carthusians) without the express permission of the general or of the Holy See. The Society should be exempt and directly subject to the pope. No one should be able to force its member to accept the office of a visitor, inquisitor, or of a chaplain of religious women; and their houses should not be obliged to pay tithes. The Society should have full freedom to accept or found houses, churches, or colleges. The general of the order should further, and, with his permission, also the provincials, be able to absolve the members of the order from all irregularities (a few serious cases being excepted); and its members should be able to dispense the sacraments of confession and Communion everywhere unhindered. The general further received the authority to appoint suitable persons for lecturing in theology and other faculties; and the members of the Society who worked in lands far distant from Rome among Saracens, pagans, and other nonbelievers could absolve from all cases, even those of the bull *Coena Domini*. They could dispense from impediments to marriage among new converts with the exception of those proscribed by divine law; they could erect churches, hospitals, and other pious institutions; and, when necessary, they could binate in regions where there was a paucity of priests. With the permission of the general of the order they could from then on pronounce the vows of profession outside of Rome; the limitation on the number of coadjutors to twenty was removed. The general should communicate the privileges which he had received to his subjects, especially to those in India and other distant regions. Through the second bull, *Exposcit debitum*,⁴ issued on July 21, 1550, Julius III again ratified the Institute of the Society of Jesus and all the favors and privileges that had been granted to it by his predecessor. He further ordained that a congregation of the majority of the professed whom the general could call to Rome without too much difficulty should decide upon the acceptance or change of the Constitutions.

In a personal letter of July 12, 1550, Polanco referred to these two bulls and to a long letter which he had himself written at the beginning of the year. He also informed Xavier that Julius III, because of his great benevolence towards the Society of Jesus, had not retained during this jubilee year of 1550 the custom of suspending privileges that had been previously granted. He had further ordained that members of the order who were scattered so far throughout the world and were unable to come to Rome to gain the jubilee indulgence could gain it wherever they happened to be. When Ignatius asked the pope to ratify this favor for the Christians in the Indian possessions of the king of Portugal, and also in the Congo, Brazil, and North Africa, he had gladly granted this with the condition that it be conceded through the priests of the Society. Xavier as provincial should determine the conditions for the gaining of the indulgence in the regions subject to him, but in such a way that there was no question of any temporal

³ Q 4267, ed. *Const.* I 356-371; cf. pp. CCXVII-CCXXII.

⁴ Q 4491, ed. *Const.* I 372-383; cf. pp. CCXXII-CCXXV.

gain for the order. Francis would receive further news from Portugal the following March.⁵

Apart from the papal bulls and the jubilee of 1550, in which the priests of the Society of Jesus took an active part,⁶ the principal event for the order had been the congregation of the professed, which had been proclaimed for the jubilee year. Despite his constant illness, Ignatius had completed the Constitutions, which had been so ardently desired; and he had summoned the oldest priests to Rome at the end of 1550 in order to present them for their ratification. The number of professed up to the beginning of 1551 had increased to nineteen. Of the first ten companions, Codure and Favre had died. Araoz had pronounced his vows of profession in 1542; Borgia in 1548; Oviedo, Mirón, Miona, Polanco, and Canisius in 1549; Goudanus, Viola, and Frusius in 1550; and Strada on February 1, 1551. Three more had received permission to do so: Nadal and Jerónimo Doménech in 1548, and Miguel de Torres in 1549.⁷ The duke of Gandía, Francisco de Borgia, who had been received into the order in 1546, had come from Spain for this congregation with around thirty companions, among whom were Araoz, Strada, Mirón, Oviedo, and Rojas. Laynez and Frusius had come from Sicily, Salmerón from Verona in January, 1551; and Simon Rodrigues had begun his trip from Portugal to Rome at the end of 1550. The assembled priests had approved the Constitutions; but they had decided that they should be examined once again before they were published, and that they should be tested in practice.⁸ Ignatius' proposal that they should choose another general because of his own sickness and failings had been unanimously rejected.⁹

The letters also brought Xavier news about his old acquaintances in Paris and Rome. Thanks to his labors at the Council of Trent, which had been transferred to Bologna in 1547 because of the plague and then disbanded, Laynez was regarded as one of the best theologians of Christendom and was highly esteemed by all for his learning and virtue.¹⁰ On feast days in 1548, eight to nine thousand had come to his sermons in the cathedral of Florence.¹¹ Since 1549 he had been living as visitor in Palermo, superior of all the confreres in Sicily, and preacher.¹² In 1550 he had accompanied the viceroy on his expedition to North Africa,¹³ and he had preached the Advent sermons in Rome after his return.¹⁴ As a theologian and preacher Salmerón was only a little behind Laynez.¹⁵ The church of Santa Lucia in Bologna, where he had lived during the council in 1548, could not contain all those who came for his sermons.¹⁶ In 1549 he had been sent with Jay and Canisius to Ingolstadt as a professor of theology.¹⁷ All three had earlier obtained the doctorate in theology in Bologna.¹⁸ Since

⁵ Q 4487, ed. DI II 47-49. Wicki here refers to documents 69-71, but these are not to be dated until the beginning of 1552, instead of to document 45, of January, 1551 (*ibid.* 186-188).

⁶ DI II 48.

⁷ FN I 64* and *Const.* I, p. CCXXIV.

⁸ Polanco, *Chronicon* II 10-11.

⁹ *Ibid.* 14-15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* I 214-215.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 271.

¹² *Ibid.* 375-376.

¹³ *Ibid.* II 45-48.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* I 214.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 276.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 410.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 491-492.

Ingolstadt lacked the bases for a theological faculty, Salmerón had returned to Italy in 1550 and was working with great success in the diocese of Verona, which was threatened by heresy.¹⁹ As confessor of Duke Ercole in Ferrara, Jay had striven in vain to bring the frivolous duchess back to the Catholic faith.²⁰ In 1550 he had gone from Ingolstadt to Augsburg, where he had worked among the spiritual and temporal lords assembled there for the diet; and he had tried to persuade them to found colleges.²¹ Broët had given the Exercises in Bologna to the clergy and to men and women of higher rank, among whom were thirty prominent matrons, and at times to twelve and thirteen individuals at a time; and he had brought many Lutherans back to the Church.²² In Augsburg, where he was living in the retinue of the imperial court, Bobadilla, the stormy petrel, had preached against the Interim, and had consequently been expelled from Germany. Since then he had preached and lectured to a few, select hearers in Naples, where his style was not universally approved. He had then continued his preaching and conferences in different dioceses in southern Italy.²³ As provincial of the Spanish province, Araoz spent most of his time at the court in Valladolid, but he also visited from there the other houses that were subject to him.²⁴ Francisco Strada, a divinely favored preacher, who carried all with him, was working in Spain. There was no church in Valladolid that could hold his hearers. The main church in Salamanca in 1549 had been filled hours before he gave his Lenten sermons by doctors, professors, and students.²⁵ More than a hundred individuals had entered into religious communities, and many of these into the Society of Jesus. He had enjoyed similar success in Alcalá, where he had preached in the university church and elsewhere.²⁶ He had come to Rome in 1550, where he delivered the Advent sermons with Laynez.²⁷

Of the others whom Xavier had known during his stay in Rome, Rojas had been in Zaragoza since 1547.²⁸ Since 1547 Jerónimo Doménech had been in Palermo as the confessor of the viceroy of Sicily, Don Juan de Vega.²⁹ In 1549 he had received as his companion Father Paolo d'Achille.³⁰ Doctor Inigo López had sailed from Rome with him in 1547 as the physician of the viceroy, but he had died in 1549.³¹ In 1548 G. F. Cassini and Isidoro Bellini had accompanied Laynez to Naples.³² Elpidio Ugoletti had gone to Padua in 1545. From there he had passed on to Paris in 1549, where he became superior of the community of students of the order.³³ G. B. Pezzano had been continuing the work of Favre and Laynez in Parma.³⁴

Miona, who had been Inigo's confessor in Paris, had been living in Rome

¹⁹ *Ibid.* II 69.

²⁰ *Ibid.* I 78-79.

²¹ *Ibid.* II 74-76.

²² *Ibid.* I 275 403-404; II 52-53.

²³ *Ibid.* I 292-294 389-393; II 27-28.

²⁴ *Ibid.* I 360 438-442.

²⁵ *Ibid.* I 423-425.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 435-436.

²⁷ *Ibid.* II 13.

²⁸ *Ibid.* I 248; II 104.

²⁹ *Ibid.* I 210.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 240 383-384.

³¹ *Ibid.* 242; *MI Epp.* II 394 695.

³² Polanco, *Chronicon* I 280.

³³ *Ibid.* 231 405.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 403.

since 1544.³⁵ Xavier's place there had been taken by his relative, the excellent Diego de Egúía, who, together with his brother Esteban, wrote from the Eternal City on January 1, 1551, to Nicolás, the son of Esteban in Estella, that he had just heard from Polanco that his uncle, Master Francis Xavier, had arrived safely in Japan.³⁶ A month later Diego had to inform the same Nicolás of the death of his father. During his sleep on January 28, he had peacefully passed to a better world. Ignatius had had him buried in front of the main altar at the feet of the miraculous painting of the Madonna della Strada, near the bodies of so many other saintly confreres, including those of Favre and Codure.³⁷ Two other priests who had been in Rome during Xavier's stay there had preceded him in death: Ferrão, the quiet archivist and assistant of the secretary Polanco, had died on October 20, 1548.³⁸ He had been followed in death on December 7, 1549, by Codacio, the procurator of the house. This latter had died in the arms of Inigo. In a circular letter Polanco had recommended this priest, who had deserved so much of the Society and of the Roman house,³⁹ to the prayers of the whole order.

Polanco was constantly at Ignatius' side as secretary of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁰ Nadal, who had an extraordinary capacity for work, had charge of the college in Messina. He delivered two lectures a day on the Epistles of St. Paul, gave instructions on Christian doctrine on Fridays, preached on Sundays with the great humanist Frusius—in the mornings in the church of the Society and in the afternoons in the cathedral—heard confessions, and took care of other affairs.⁴¹ Canisius, who had been one of the founders of the college in Messina,⁴² had been teaching theology in Ingolstadt under difficult conditions. Since 1550 he had been rector of the university there, assisted by Goudanus, who had been sent to replace Salmerón.⁴³

At the beginning of 1551 there were twenty houses of the Society in Europe, but only seven of these had fixed revenues and a fair-sized community. In addition to that of India, there were two other provinces of the order: the province of Spain, under Araoz, and the province of Portugal, which also included Brazil and Africa from Morocco to the Cape of Good Hope, under Simon Rodrigues. Sicily was practically governed by Laynez as visitor; all other areas were directly under the general of the order.

The only house of the Society in Rome was the professed house with its adjoining chapel of the Madonna della Strada. Despite all the additions and adjustments that had been made to the building, it had gradually become too small for the ever increasing number of residents. It served both as a novitiate and as the ruling center for the order. More entered the Society here from all parts of Europe where there were houses of the order than anywhere else. In 1548⁴⁴ there were thirty-six in the house; in 1549 up to fifty;⁴⁵ and in 1559,

³⁵ *Ibid.* 361.

³⁶ *Ep. Mixtae* II 487-488.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 499-501.

³⁸ *MI Epp.* II 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 607-608; Polanco, *Chronicon* II 362.

⁴⁰ Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu" (GS III 477-488).

⁴¹ Polanco, *Chron.* I 281-287.

⁴² *Ibid.* 252.

⁴³ *Ibid.* I 410-411; II 66 73 76 80-81.

⁴⁴ *MI Epp.* II 288.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 640-644.

because of the general congregation, the number had increased to ninety. Most of the residents were young men who would be sent to different houses of the order after their novitiate.⁴⁶

The work in Rome was the same as it had been earlier: preaching (also in the *banchi* near San Celso), the hearing of confessions, service in the hospitals (where some of the confreres were always employed), the teaching of Christian doctrine, and conferences for priests. The younger confreres were also preaching in the streets. Where they showed up, the clowns and buffoons usually departed.⁴⁷ The chapel was too small for those who listened to the sermons, and for the numerous confessors who were kept busy there. A great event in Rome had been the arrival of the duke of Gandía, Francisco de Borgia, in October, 1550. In 1546 he had been received into the Society of Jesus in strictest secrecy, and he had founded a college in his resident city. He came to Rome dressed as a layman with a retinue of twenty-five or thirty persons for the congregation of the professed. During his stay in the city, he lived in the professed house and edified all with his great humility. He designated a large sum to be given as an alms for the building of a new and larger church. He also obtained other benefactors for this project. Before his departure, at the beginning of February, 1551, the foundations for the church had been dug and building had already been started. Don Juan, the duke's son, was personally helping with it. The duke further designated twelve thousand ducats for the purchase of a piece of ground for the future Roman college.⁴⁸

A second house was founded from Rome in Tivoli, in the mountains to the east of Rome. In 1548 Ignatius had settled a dispute there between the city and the neighboring Castle Sant'Angelo. On this occasion Don Luis de Mendoza had given to the Society of Jesus a house with a chapel and a small garden in front of the city wall.⁴⁹ Since then Xavier's countryman Miguel de Ochoa, from Uztarroz in the Roncal Valley, had been working there. He had entered the Society of Jesus in Rome this same year and was teaching Christian doctrine to the children in Tivoli. He was also attracting many persons through his healing prayers. Ignatius had him ordained to the priesthood, and in 1550 he already had seventy boys in his school.⁵⁰

In Bologna Xavier was still very much remembered, and his letters from India were read with great interest.⁵¹ Broët and Palmio were now living near Santa Lucia. Palmio was also preaching there at the bishop's synod to three hundred priests. During the procession of the Blessed Sacrament, more than two hundred persons received Holy Communion despite the opposition of some friars who spoke out against frequent Communion.⁵² The prior of the Trinità, Andrea Lippomani, had founded the first college for students of the Society in Padua in 1542. It now had fifteen scholastics and a rector, who were supported by the prior.⁵³ In 1550 Lippomani had founded a second college of this type for twelve students in Venice. It was located in a small house with a church

⁴⁶ Polanco, *Chronicon* II 14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 7-8 13-14.

⁴⁸ *MI Epp.* III 256-264; Polanco, *Chronicon* II 10-13 162-164; *MX* II 159-160.

⁴⁹ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 266-267.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 269-270; II 17-20. On Ochoa, see E. Miqueliez, S.J., *Apuntes biográficos del P. Miguel Ochoa, S.J.* (Pamplona, 1932).

⁵¹ As Antonio Brandão ascertained on his trip to Rome in 1551 and wrote to Xavier on November 21, 1551 (*MX* II 159).

⁵² Polanco, *Chronicon* I 275-277; II 52-58.

⁵³ *Ibid.* II 58-60.

near the residence of the founder and not far from the Hospital of the Incurables, where Xavier had earlier taken care of the sick. Of the twelve students in the college, nine were scholastics and three were priests.⁵⁴

In 1548 Ignatius had sent ten priests to Messina, including Nadal and Canisius, in order to open the first college of the Society for externs, as had been requested by the city. According to the announcement of the college, it followed in everything the customs of Paris. Dr. Inigo López and Jerónimo Doménech had persuaded the viceroy of Sicily to suggest the founding of a college of the Society to the people of the city. The school had soon flourished. The university was also placed under the Society. So many vocations developed that in 1550 a novitate proper, the first of the order, was erected not far from the college. There were at this time in the city thirty confreres, among whom were ten novices.⁵⁵ In 1549 Palermo also obtained a college for extern students through the viceroy, Juan de Vega. In 1550 it already had an enrollment of 380. The vicereine, who died this same year, had given an example to the whole country. She had received Holy Communion every fifteen days, an unheard of piety at the time. The viceroy had been worthy of her. Through him, his confessor, Jerónimo Doménech, was able to extend his fruitful labors over the whole island: convents were reformed, dioceses visited, and peace established.⁵⁶ With the support of Dr. Inigo López, the decree of Pope Innocent, according to which physicians should cease visiting the sick who refused to confess, was published throughout the entire island.⁵⁷

Fourteen scholastics and their superior, Father Kessel, were living in Cologne. The prior of the chartreuse was a true friend of the Society, as he had ever been; and in 1548 he undertook to support eight scholastics.⁵⁸ Father Adriani was in Louvain with a small number of students of the order.⁵⁹ Twelve students of the order, including three priests, were living at the Lombard College in Paris with Viola, their superior. In 1550 the bishop of Clermont had ceded to them a house on the rue de Harpe, in the western part of the Latin Quarter, as a place of residence. In this same year Viola had pronounced the vows of profession and placed them in the hands of the abbot of Sainte Geneviève. According to an old custom, they went on Sundays and feast days to the chartreuse with other students whom they had won over to this practice; and on Sundays more than sixty students approached the Lord's table. The monks were happy to see them, for in 1550 twenty-two of these students had joined them. The letters from India aroused the enthusiasm of the students of the Society. Like the first ten companions, they went each year on a feast of the Blessed Virgin to Montmartre to renew their vows. Among the professors of the university there were some who were opposed to the Society; but Dr. Picard, the nuncio, the bishop of Clermont, and Cardinal Guise warmly interceded for those who were attacked.⁶⁰

There were some smaller residences in Spain, such as those in Barcelona, in Zaragoza (where Rojas had taken a strong stand against the archbishop, who was hostile to the Jesuits),⁶¹ in Valladolid (where Araoz was living at the court),⁶²

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 60-66.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* I 281-289; II 29-36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* I 374-388; II 36-52.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* I 240.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* II 83-84.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 84-86. His real name was Adrian Adriaenssens.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* I 417-422; II 87-94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* I 248 318.

⁶² *Ibid.* I 303-304; II 119.

and in Valencia (where ten students of the order were attending the university under Mirón's direction).⁶³ But there were now three more houses worth noting. In Alcalá the Society had lost a great benefactor through the death of Dr. Ortiz at the beginning of 1548,⁶⁴ but in 1550 Villaneuva had succeeded in acquiring a house of its own for the students of the order.⁶⁵ The Society did not gain a foothold in Salamanca until 1548. Dr. Miguel de Torres, the superior of the new foundation, was highly esteemed by his colleagues as a former professor at the university. Melchior Cano, who occupied the first chair of teaching in the Dominican monastery and was renowned for his learned writings and his talent for preaching, had earnestly proclaimed Ignatius and his companions as the precursors of the already born Antichrist in his lectures and sermons. The master general of the Order of Preachers in Rome, however, issued a circular letter towards the end of the year in which he forbade any members of his order to attack the Society of Jesus, which had been approved by the pope.⁶⁶ At the request of Simon Rodrigues, the king of Portugal recommended the accused in a personal letter to the bishop of Salamanca; and Strada's preaching had effected a change in public opinion.⁶⁷ In 1550 Torres had visited Siliceo, the archbishop of Toledo, who was hostile to the Jesuits, and tried to make him change his mind, but without much success.⁶⁸ On the other hand, the archbishop of Burgos asked for and obtained Torres as a companion on his visitation of his diocese. In Burgos Torres, like all the Jesuits, was hospitably received in the house of the rich and pious Bento Uguccioni. The latter had made the Exercises under the direction of Simon Rodrigues in Lisbon in 1541, and since then he had remained a warm friend of the Society.⁶⁹ In 1545 the duke of Gandía with princely generosity had founded the first college of the Society for extern students in his titular city.⁷⁰ In 1548 a university (the first of the order) was added to it. In the same year the new college building was occupied.⁷¹ It was due to the efforts of this thirty-seven-year-old duke that the Exercises were approved by the pope in 1548, and that, through the bull *Licet debitum*, the privileges of other orders were granted to the Society of Jesus.⁷² In 1548 the house in Gandía had thirteen members of the Society under the rector Oviedo, who was also accustomed to preach to the New Christians in the villages in the environs of the city.⁷³ During this same year Borgia had preached on one occasion to the Poor Clares, in whose convent Xavier's sister had died as abbess with a reputation for sanctity.⁷⁴

Under the guidance of Simon Rodrigues, the province of Portugal had increased rapidly: thirty-eight had entered in 1548, thirty-seven in 1549, and forty-three in 1550. In two years the number of confreres in the College of Coimbra had risen from ninety to one hundred and fifty, and these were drawn from the most talented students. Thirteen were already studying theology in 1548.⁷⁵ The

⁶³ *Ibid.* II 95-96.

⁶⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 475.

⁶⁵ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 301-302 431; II 120-126.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* I 267-268.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 423-429.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* II 106-111.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 111.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* I 64.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 311.

⁷² *Ibid.* 314-315.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 308-315.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 316.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 320-321; II 133; Q 4535.

rector, Luis Gonçalves da Camara, had been succeeded in 1548 by Luis da Grã, and the latter in turn by Urbano Fernandes in 1550.⁷⁶ Knowledge and piety were flourishing. The example of the young students of the order edified the whole city. A portion of the philosophical students had been transferred in 1550 to the college's estate in São Fins on the northern boundary of Portugal because of a lack of space in Coimbra and the better air in the country.⁷⁷ In 1549 the entrance of Dom Theotonio, the brother of the duke of Bragança, the mightiest grandee of the realm after the king, created a storm. It was only due to the protection of the king that the duke did not take the novice from the college by force of arms.⁷⁸ A year later, in October, 1550, a friend and former penitent of Xavier entered the Society in Coimbra. This was, as Luis Gonçalves da Camara wrote to Ignatius in November,⁷⁹ Lionel de Lima, whom Xavier had come to know in Amboina in 1546 and had recommended to the king. He was highly esteemed by both John III and the emperor because of his knowledge of the sea route to India. There were two communities of the order in Lisbon. One of these was at the court, where Simon Rodrigues was living as the tutor and confessor of Prince João, and where he had great influence on the king and the lords of the land. The other was that of Santo Antão, whose residents worked in the city by preaching, hearing confessions, and giving the Exercises. Popular missions were also being regularly given throughout the country by members of the Society from Lisbon and Coimbra, and these were extraordinarily successful.⁸⁰ The priests also received assistance from the Catalan Pedro Doménech, who had founded an orphanage for boys in Lisbon in 1549, which was to become a seminary for the foreign missions of the Society.⁸¹

Lands across the seas were also not forgotten. At the request of the captain of the fortress of Ceuta, Dom Affonso de Noronha, a great friend of the Society of Jesus, two priests had been sent there in North Africa. One of these, Luis Gonçalves da Camara, had soon returned to Portugal for reasons of health. The other, João Nunes Barreto, remained in the neighboring Tetuan with a lay brother, Ignacio Vogado, to strengthen his Christian countrymen who were languishing there in prison.⁸² Since the beginning of 1548 four Jesuits had been working in the Congo, also known as Manicongo, where a Christian king had been ruling since 1491. Within a few months they had baptized around five thousand natives in the capital and its environs, and they were striving by word and deed to raise the low moral standards of the blacks. The king, Dom Diogo, was only exteriorly a Christian. He did everything he could to prevent their apostolate, even forbidding the missionaries to condemn the vices of the people from the pulpit. They were finally detained in their residence as prisoners and were even threatened with death by the king. One of the missionaries therefore returned to Portugal at the beginning of 1549 in order to give a report to the king.⁸³ Rodrigues had sent six confreres to Brazil in 1549. Among these were Fathers Manuel de Nóbrega and Juan de Azpilcueta, a cousin of Xavier from Barasoain. They settled in São Salvador (Bahia) and visited the naked cannibals

⁷⁶ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 320; II 135.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* II 133-134.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* I 446; F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 439-442.

⁷⁹ Q 4532.

⁸⁰ Polanco, *Chronicon* II 135-136.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* I 447.

⁸² *Ibid.* I 327-331 448; II 136-137; F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 558-563.

⁸³ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 331-338; II 136-137; F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 542-551.

in the surrounding villages in order to win them for Christ. As a Basque, Azpilcueta quickly learned their language, which seemed to him to be related to his own mother tongue. He was thus able to preach to the savages in their own speech. The missionaries as a consequence soon made converts in six or seven villages. Four more priests and seven orphans who had been under the care of Pedro Doménech were sent there to help them in 1550. In the meantime the priests in São Salvador had founded a second station in the south, in São Vicente. In February, 1551, the first diocese in Brazil was erected in Bahia; and Pedro Fernandes, Xavier's fellow student at the University of Paris and vicar general in India, was appointed its bishop.⁸⁴

The prospects of founding a mission in Abyssinia had come to a halt.⁸⁵ Favre was to have gone there as patriarch, but he had since died. Ignatius had therefore recommended Broët for the office in 1547. But the king of Portugal would have nothing to do with a Frenchman. In March, 1548, Rodrigues had then proposed Melchior Carneiro for the patriarchate. He had also offered to go himself to Abyssinia if this would be to the greater honor of God: the pope had earlier destined him and Xavier for this mission. In both spiritual and temporal matters the College of Coimbra had made such progress that his presence there was no longer necessary. If the king wished to send him, Carneiro could take his place as confessor of the prince. He had therefore written to Father Martim de Santa Cruz, who was living in Rome, that Ignatius might decide the matter.⁸⁶ But the king was unable to make a decision and all efforts to shake him from his lethargy had been without effect, as Rodrigues wrote to Ignatius on August 15, five months later. If his going to the Preste would prevent the naming of a patriarch, he was ready to remain in Portugal. Bobadilla could be proposed for the office.⁸⁷

Petrus Tasfā Seion.⁸⁸ an Abyssinian monk, had come with some companions to the Eternal City in 1541⁸⁹ and had obtained from Paul III the church of San Stefano, near the Vatican, as a residence for himself and his countrymen.⁹⁰ Tired of the interminable delays in fulfilling the Preste's request for the appointment of a patriarch, and supported by a number of cardinals and other prelates, he suggested to the pope that he should send five bishops to Abyssinia so that one of these could be designated patriarch by the Preste. When news of this proposal reached Portugal, John III raised an objection to it through his ambassador Baltasar de Faria. The pope then promised that he would not make any changes until

⁸⁴ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 448-452; II 157-162; also Q 4496 4618 4626 4628; Leite, *Hist.* I 560-561.

⁸⁵ On January 17, 1549, Ignatius gave a survey of the developments of the affair after Xavier's death (Q 4140, ed. *MI Epp.* II 304-309). A briefer account is given by F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 572. The king did not name a patriarch until 1553.

⁸⁶ Rodrigues to Santa Cruz on March 24, 1548 (Q 3886, ed. *Ep. Broëti* 590-591).

⁸⁷ Q 3981, ed. *ibid.* 601.

⁸⁸ On him see Q 666-667 2459 3299 4083 4121b 4140 4565 4686 5059 5841; his publications 5079 5087-5088 5093 5095a 5135. He came to Rome in 1541 (Q 666) and died there at the age of forty-two in 1550 (Q 5851). See also Kammerer III 2 (1949) 524-528, in his richly illustrated section "Tasfa Seyon et la période d'activité du monastère San Stefano dei Mori (1538-1552)."

⁸⁹ Q 666 and 4140.

⁹⁰ Cf. Q 4121b, p. 500, and the bibliography on the monastery in Kammerer III 2, 515, especially M. Chaine, S.J., "Un monastère éthiopien à Rome aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles: San Stefano dei Mori," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 5 (1911) 1-36, and Mauro da Leonessa, O.Cap., *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopeiche* (Città del Vaticano, 1929) 191-216.

the king of Portugal nominated someone for the office.⁹¹ The objection of the king and the murder, on October 27, 1548, of Pier Luigi Farnese, the son of Paul III and one of the principal benefactors of Tasfā Seion, had for the moment thwarted the plan of the Abyssinian monk.⁹² But even then there was no decision on the part of the king. In three letters of October 9 and 10, Rodrigues therefore earnestly asked Ignatius that he might be allowed to sail to India with the fleet of March, 1549, even without the permission of the king. If this happened, he would leave behind a letter for the king telling him that he would remain for a year in India, until the arrival of the next mail from Portugal. If His Highness then sent a patriarch from the Society, he would be ready to accompany him; but if he chose him, Rodrigues, for this office, he should send him the required faculties. Rodrigues was certain that this would wake up the king. His own place at court could be taken over by Santa Cruz, Jay, or Jerónimo Doménech.⁹³ Ignatius wrote in reply to Rodrigues that he did not want him to leave Portugal without the permission of his prince.⁹⁴ Rodrigues then wrote to Rome that for three years he had had the permission of the king to sail to Brazil with ten or twelve companions as soon as Santa Cruz came to replace him. But in the meantime the latter had suddenly died in Rome on October 27. On January 17, 1549, Ignatius therefore wrote a letter to the rector of Coimbra, Luis da Grã, in which he set forth the history of the search for a patriarch. He noted that the king, despite all the promises he had made after his intervention with the pope in the preceding September, had not as yet nominated anyone for the office. There was consequently the possibility that Petrus, the Abyssinian monk, would insist upon his plan in Rome. He would circumvent Portugal in the question of the Abyssinian patriarch and have it resolved by the pope himself. The king must therefore be urged to designate a patriarch without further delay, and also a companion as the latter's eventual successor. He had been putting the matter off now for three years. After the news of the death of Santa Cruz, Rodrigues had probably reflected again on whether or not his voyage to Brazil was actually to the greater glory of God. As he, Ignatius, had already written to him several times, he was not enthusiastic about his many proposals for helping the souls of infidels in foreign lands. Nevertheless, since he, Rodrigues, had been persevering in this desire for ten years and had again written to him about it, his request would have to be granted. In his last letter Rodrigues had stated that the king would be happy if one of the first companions of the Society were sent to replace him, and he was further of the opinion that Jay or Jerónimo Doménech would do for this. But the former was the confessor of the duke of Ferrara, and the latter of the viceroy of Sicily and his wife. It would be difficult to obtain their release. The king would therefore have to ask the pope directly through his ambassador for one of these or for another. Success in this would show whether Rodrigues' longing for the foreign missions was from God or not.⁹⁵

If the king could not be induced to take decisive action with respect to Abyssinia, the urgent letter which Xavier sent to him and to Simon Rodrigues, and the oral and written presentations of Frey João de Villa de Conde and of

⁹¹ See the letter of Baltasar de Faria to John III of September 14, 1548 (Q 3990, ed. CDP VI 286-287), and that of Ignatius of January 17, 1549 (MI *Epp.* II 304-305).

⁹² Ignatius, I. c., on the relations of Cardinal Farnese with Tasfā Seion. See also Q 4083.

⁹³ Q 4005-4007, ed. *Ep. Broëti* 607-611.

⁹⁴ Q 4117.

⁹⁵ Q 4140.

the vicar general, Mestre Pedro Fernandes, had not been without effect. On February 27, 1550, the king had assembled his council before the departure of the India fleet in order to discuss the Indian mission. He personally attended the meeting along with the infante Dom Luis and Mestre Pedro Fernandes. Many documents, and Xavier's letters in particular, were read. The infante earnestly urged the king to give his utmost support to the missionaries of the Society. The council finally reached the following conclusions: The king should order that all the colleges that had already been founded on the Indian mission, and all that were to be founded, be given over to the Society of Jesus. The captains of the fortresses should give the priests of the Society everything they needed for their voyages and support. They should grant them all the favors which they asked for their Christians. And they should render them every assistance in their efforts to reform the morals of the people and to promote the welfare of their souls.

At the beginning of 1550 Dom Affonso de Noronha, the then captain of Ceuta and a great friend of the Society of Jesus, had been appointed viceroy of India; and he had promised Rodrigues that immediately after his arrival he would send two priests to the Preste.⁹⁶ In the king's instruction for Noronha, he had given explicit orders with respect to the protection of the Pearl Fishers, the punitive expedition against the king of Jaffna, and an inquiry into the guilt of the king of Kōttē.⁹⁷ In January, 1549, Xavier had written to the king, recommending to him, among other matters, the college of Cranganore and his Paravas. In a personal letter, the king now replied to these requests as follows:

Your suggestion that I should not permit Father Frey Vicente to relinquish his college in Cranganore as long as he lives seems good to me. With respect to his desire that a priest of the Society should be given him for teaching grammar and to preach on Sundays and feast days to the residents of the fortress and to the students of the college, since there is no one who can go there from here this year, I would be glad if you could designate one there who you think is suitable for this.

About the Paravas he wrote:

With respect to the oppression which you write to me the Christians of Cape Comorin are obliged to endure from my captains in their payments from the Pearl Fisheries, and with respect to the payments which they exact from them for the fish which they catch for their own sustenance, and from the chank, which they take from them by force, since it is a valuable object of trade in Bengal, I am writing to you what I am ordering in these matters, since I know that you will be consoled to be particularly informed about them. With respect to the payments from the Pearl Fisheries, I am ordering that they pay for only those which they fish in keeping with the regulation issued by Garcia de Sá at your request; and their payment should be made in the way that is easiest for them. With respect to the fish which they catch for their own sustenance, I am ordering that no payments whatever should be exacted for these, and that they should not be compelled to make them; and, with respect to the chank, that these are not to be taken from them.⁹⁸

During the previous two years, 1549 and 1550, it had not been possible to send men to India because of the founding of the mission in Brazil.⁹⁹ But Ro-

⁹⁶ Q 4409 and 4409a, ed. DI II 23-25 34-36.

⁹⁷ Q 4411.

⁹⁸ The letter is lost. Two fragments from it are given in Seb. Gonçalves 1, 12, and 2, 9.

⁹⁹ Cf. Wicki, "Jesuiten-Indienfahrer" 270.

drigues now made up for this neglect. He sent the desired help with the fleet of 1551: six chosen members of the Society (four priests and two brothers), six candidates for the order, and nine orphan boys who had been under the care of Pedro Doménech. Six Dominicans also sailed for India.¹⁰⁰

The letters brought further good news to Xavier from Portugal: the conversion of his relative Martín de Azpilcueta, Doctor Navarro, the famed teacher of canon law in the University of Coimbra. When Xavier was still in Lisbon, the doctor had written to him that all kinds of rumors were circulating in Coimbra about the Institute of the newly founded Society of Jesus, and that he would be glad to speak with him about them. Since Xavier was detained at court, Azpilcueta had written to the king that he might send his cousin to Coimbra so that he might manage his house. After he had retired from teaching, they would both go together to India. But Xavier, at the time of his departure, had to console him with the prospect of their seeing each other in heaven.¹⁰¹

In the debate over a former scholastic of the Society of Jesus, Pedro Luis da Fonseca, who had passed over to the Franciscans in Coimbra in 1548, the doctor had sided with the latter. He had been of the opinion that the vows of Jesuit scholastics, which were binding upon them but not upon the order, were an unheard-of novelty. He refused to accept them as such, and would thus not admit that scholastics of the Society were religious.¹⁰² But he had slowly changed his attitude towards the Jesuits. On October 25, 1550, he had published in Coimbra his *Relectio cap. Ita quorundam de Judaeis* on proscribed trade with the Saracens and the censures incurred through it. He had dedicated his work "to the most learned Master Simon Rodrigues, superior of the Society of Jesus in Portugal and in the overseas possessions of King John III on this side of the Ganges, and confessor of the prince destined to be the heir to the throne, and to the famed college of his order." The reason for this was that his essay was an answer to questions which priests of the Society had presented to him. These were Luis Gonçalves de Noronha [read: Camara] and João Nunes, who were caring for the Christians imprisoned by the Saracens in Africa; and the very learned Manuel de Nóbrega, who had earned his doctorate under him, in Brazil; and Juan de Azpilcueta, his dearest nephew. A further reason was that he wished to show all his love and respect for the Society of Jesus after having earlier shown himself rather cool with respect to its Institute, although he had been attracted by much that was in it. Its founder and general was his countryman, Ignatius of Loyola, who deserved to be esteemed for his birth, his piety, and his nobility. One of the first twelve had been "Magister Franciscus ab Azpilcueta et Xabierre," whom

¹⁰⁰ On March 14, 1551, Luis Gonçalves da Camara wrote to Simon Rodrigues from Almeirim that the following had sailed to India on March 10: Melchior Nunes, Antonio de Eredia, Gonçalo Rodrigues, and Christovão da Costa with six orphan boys. He added that they would be followed three or four days later by Manuel de Moraes and Pedro de Almeida. In addition to these three were six Dominicans and six candidates for the Society (Q 4641, ed. DI II 195-197). In his *Chronicon*, Polanco speaks of six Jesuits, ten orphan boys, and five candidates: Antonio and Melchior Dias, Madeira, Teixeira, and Jorge Nunes (II 358-359). Another candidate was Francisco Durão (see his necrology, which gives a detailed report on the history of his vocation to the Society, in ARSI: *Lus.* 58, 191). Pedro Doménech gives a long description of the voyage of his nine orphan boys (*Ep. Mixtae* II 530-536). Teixeira adds to the nine the Flemish orphan Thomas (Q 4699, ed. DI II 199). In his instruction for the count of Castanheira, who was commissioned to equip the fleet, the king speaks of only nine orphan boys (Q 4623, ed. DI II 193-194). Cf. Wicki, "Jesuiten-Indienfahrer" 270 and 337.

¹⁰¹ Vol. I, pp. 673-678.

¹⁰² *Ep. Mixtae* I 536-542.

the king had called from Rome together with Rodrigues, the superior of the Indian province of the order, famed for his holy life and the miraculous signs reported of him, and his own close relative. He had earlier shared the judgment of many about their Institute, since he had been of the opinion that the newly founded Society would be of little profit to Christendom. But its successes had exceeded all, even the most sanguine, expectations in Europe, Africa, and Asia beyond the Ganges, so that the flower of youthful students flowed to it. Formerly he had been tepid and reticent in its regard, but for some time now he had become a warm and enthusiastic admirer of it. He offered its members as a consequence this small gift as a token of his love, and he asked Rodrigues and his confreres to recommend him to their leader Jesus so that he, who with such pride counted them among his former students, might be their least companion in heaven.¹⁰³

2. NEWS FROM THE MOLUCCAS (1549-1551)

In January, 1549, Xavier had received a letter in Cochin from Nuno Ribeiro in Amboina, where he was working with great success.¹ His death seven months later had brought an end to his labors. On his return from Japan, Master Francis learned more about his works and his death from Pérez, who had known the priest in Coimbra and in St. Paul's College in Goa, where he had heard his life's confession at the time of his first Mass. Pérez had asked the Portuguese who had wintered for three months on Amboina before returning to Malacca, and others who had been with Ribeiro and had been present at his death, about him. Despite the poor food (sago and at times some rice), Ribeiro had zealously visited and instructed the Christians in their villages for a year and a half in the face of many dangers and difficulties on land and sea. Two or three times he had suffered shipwreck. Many times the Moors had sought to kill him. They once set on fire the hut in which he was staying in order to burn him to death. On another occasion they had given money to a man so that he would get rid of the priest by means of a sword or poison. But the hired assassin had become a Christian and had been baptized.² The Portuguese were full of praise for the holy life and zeal of the priest. He heard the confessions of his countrymen, instructed the native Christians, and defended them from their Mohammedan neighbors. The new converts revered him as their father and protector. He gave everything he had to them. He frequently returned home without a shirt, trousers, or jacket, since he had given these to some pauper. When he was

¹⁰³ "Postremo quod meum erga vos amorem, obseruantiam, et pietatem, vel hoc munusculo testatam esse omnibus eo magis percipio, quo pluribus olim videri potui frigidius istud vestrum viuendi institutum ab initio probare: tametsi prae multis ad id alliciebar. Nempe quod inuentum erat hominis contrerranei mei, Ignatii nimirum à Loyola, praepositi vestri generalis, viri gentilitia, pietate, nobilitateque ac multis aliis nominibus venerandi; quodque unus ex primis duodecim, qui sacrosanctae Sedi Apostolicae vos deuouistis, nempe magister Franciscus ab Azpilcueta, et Xabierre à rege, ac D.N. una tecum, Symon clarissime, Roma vocatus, et societatis vestrae Indicae praefectura, vita sancta, sanctisque signis, ut fertur, clarus cognationis iure propinquo coniunctus est." The dedication is lacking in the later editions, for example, in the Cologne edition of 1616 (cf. Q 5094).

¹ EX II 78.

² His sponsor at his baptism was Diogo de Sousa, who sailed to Ternate in 1548 with the clove ship and returned from there to India by way of Amboina in 1549 (Q 3841 3907).

sick, he had himself carried to the Christian villages by two men, slung in a hammock fashioned from a linen cloth and fastened at both ends to a bamboo pole.

On the feast of the Assumption, 1549, he had celebrated Mass with great devotion and had sung the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* with an exultant voice. It had been his last Holy Sacrifice. After he had eaten, he was seized with a high fever and severe pains in the stomach (it was rumored that he had been poisoned by the Moors). Seven days later, with his crucifix in his hands and with a lively faith, he gave up his soul to his Creator and Redeemer. In the year and a half that he had been on Amboina, he had baptized 2,086 individuals.³ He was laid to rest by the Portuguese and native Christians in a church of our Lady, which he had built himself with great efforts.⁴ Morais and Gonçalves, who had come to Amboina from Ternate, had again left it in the middle of May, 1550, in order to return to Malacca.⁵ The Christians on Amboina, who were persecuted by the Moors, were consequently now without a missionary to encourage them and to instruct them in their faith.

Beira had sent with the clove ship which sailed from Ternate in February, 1548, an extensive report to Xavier on his work in Ternate and on the Moro mission.⁶ The latter received it in Cochin in January, 1549. The bearers of the report had wintered the usual three months in Amboina. Before continuing their voyage at the middle of May, they had learned from a *korakora* which had come from Ternate a vague rumor that Beira had been murdered on his return to Moro. Before Xavier sailed from Malacca for Japan, he had sent three confreres to the help of Beira: Fathers Affonso de Castro and Manuel de Morais and Brother Francisco Gonçalves. With them he sent a letter of June 20, 1549, in which he ordained that Castro should remain in Ternate, and that the two others should work under Beira as their superior (and in the case of his death under Castro) on the Moro mission. In his letter he had given precise instructions with respect to the letters which the superior should send every year to him and to the confreres in India and Europe. He especially wanted to have news on certain matters. Beira should write in great detail about the fruit which was being produced there; the difficulties which they had overcome; whether the son of the king of Ternate had become a Christian; whether the apostate Christians on Moro had returned to the faith; what were the mission prospects,

³ He obviously kept a register of his baptisms. The Portuguese who wintered in Amboina in 1548 were able to report on five or six hundred persons whom he had baptized up till then (May, 1548) (DI I 365).

⁴ Pérez, on November 24, 1550, to his confreres in Portugal (DI II 107-109); and on November 26, 1550, to those in India (*ibid.* 117-119).

⁵ *Ibid.* 106.

⁶ The sources for events in Ternate and Moro from 1548 to 1551 are Xavier's letters of February 2, 1549 (EX II 77-78), and June 20, 1549 (*ibid.* 111-115); Beira's from the end of February, 1549 (Q 4175, ed. Sá I 602-605), of February 13, 1550 (Q 4380, ed. Sá II 12-16), February 2, 1553 (Q 6002: ARSI: Goa 8, 49-51v); February 4, 1553 (Q 6003, ed. *ibid.* 81-84); February 5, 1553 (Q 6004: ARSI: Goa 8, 52-53v, only at the end different from Q 6002); February 6, 1553 (Q 6007: *ibid.* 54-55r); February 7, 1553 (Q 6005, ed. *ibid.* 85-91); Nunes' of April 10, 1551 (Q 4650, ed. *ibid.* 48-50); Castro's of February 7, 1553 (Q 6006, ed. *ibid.* 92-101); and, from the oral data of Beira and Nunes, Frois' of November 17, 1556 (Q 6117, ed. DI III 522-564); the document of the knighting of Bernaldim de Sousa of June 13, 1551 (Q 4663, ed. Sá II 69-72); and the accounts in Rebello 231-259 335-338 402-404 446-479, and Couto 6, 8, 9-10, and 6, 9, 4. Xavier had urgently ordered the confreres whom he sent to the Moluccas in 1547 to write in great detail each year to Rome (EX I 388) and also to him. But since he was accustomed to preserve the letters he received only in exceptional instances, we are compelled to reconstruct the letters addressed to him, which must have been more extensive, from the others.

especially in Macassar, in Totole, and on the Celebes Islands; and what help was being given by the king of Ternate. He should also write at length about the individual confreres. He should address all the letters to Father Pérez in Malacca, even those which were destined for him, Xavier. And he should write to him in great detail. If he lacked the time to do so, he should send the letters for the confreres in India open to Father Pérez so that he could have copies made of them and send them to him in Japan.⁷ Letters could only be written once a year from the Moluccas, in February, when the clove ship sailed from there for Malacca and India. Xavier sailed from Malacca for Japan on June 24. The clove ship usually arrived in Malacca soon after this date, at the end of June or the beginning of July; but this year it did not arrive at all. It had been forced to turn around and to sail back to Ternate with the letters which it was bearing. Among these was one from Beira of the end of February, 1549, addressed to the rector in Goa,⁸ which was sent again the following year.

When Beira and his two companions arrived in Ternate at the end of October, 1547, they had been joyfully received by the members of the Misericordia. Nunes had then sailed off at once for Moro, before the beginning of the northeast monsoon, and Ribeira had gone to Amboina.⁹ By Christmas Beira and his companion, both ill, had returned to Ternate¹⁰ in order to ask the captain of the fortress, Bernaldim de Sousa, for military help for their Christians, who were being persecuted by the Moors.¹¹ By means of the clove ship, Beira had written at length to Ignatius at the end of 1547,¹² and to Xavier at the end of February, 1548, on the toils and fruits of his apostolate.¹³ As soon as he had regained his health, he had assisted the *vigario* during Lent, which began on February 15; and he had then, at the beginning of May, when the southwest monsoon was already blowing, returned to Moro.¹⁴ The vague rumor about his murder after his return to the Moro mission, which had been brought from Ternate by a *korakora* before the fifteenth of May,¹⁵ the day of the departure of the clove ship from Amboina, had fortunately been without foundation. The difficulties and dangers of the apostolate on Moro were, however, great. The Mohammedan kings of the Moluccas sought to prevent conversions to Christianity by every means. This was particularly true of the ruler of Djailolo, whose emissaries, the dreaded Tabarus, lurked at night in the forests, and especially near Tolo, the principal town of the mission, in order to kill the Christians by stealth. Since the frail, outriggered boats of the natives,¹⁶ were frequently wrecked at sea, the missionaries were consequently forced to make their excursions by land to the Christian villages during the day, when the heat was at its height. Nevertheless, despite all the

⁷ EX II 111-115.

⁸ Q 4175; cf. 4380.

⁹ DI I 364-365. The northeast monsoon made a voyage from Ternate to Moro impossible from November to April.

¹⁰ Q 4175.

¹¹ EX II 77; Q 4380.

¹² Sá II 12.

¹³ EX II 17.

¹⁴ Sá I 604; EX II 77.

¹⁵ The clove ship usually sailed at the end of February from Ternate for Amboina, where it wintered until May 15, and then sailed on to Malacca. In the meantime, in case of necessity, letters could be sent, and people could travel, from Ternate to the clove ship in Amboina on a *korakora*. This was the case, for example, with Xavier, who was detained in Ternate until Easter (April 10) in 1547. A *korakora* could make the voyage in one or two weeks.

¹⁶ EX II 77-78; Sá II 96; Q 6002 6004 6005, and DI III 548 556-557.

difficulties he had encountered, Beira was able to give a consoling report on the baptisms he had administered to children and adults and on his other labors.¹⁷

He wrote that he had worked for the greater part of the year with Nunes on the Moro mission so that he might then assist the *vigario* in Ternate from Christmas to Pentecost. In Ternate Beira found Sultan Hairun most amenable. He had promised Xavier that he would let one of his many sons be baptized if the governor gave the one baptized rule over the Moro Christians.¹⁸ Through Xavier's intercession, Dom João de Castro had agreed to this, and the document to this effect had come with the clove ship in October, 1548. It stated that the prince, after receiving baptism, should be lord over all the Christians who had already been baptized and also over all those whose territory he would capture with the help of his father and of the Portuguese.¹⁹ On February 25, 1549, Hairun came to the fortress and spoke with the captain and Beira. He assured them that he would keep the promise he had given, and that he had so written to the king of Portugal. He would let his son be baptized and would send him the following year with some sons of the leaders of his kingdom to St. Paul's College in Goa. He would be happy if the king of Portugal would decide that he, Hairun, should be lord of all the Christians who would be converted in the future, and that the prince whom he was permitting to be baptized should be the lord of those who had been previously converted.

Beira added that at the time, in keeping with Xavier's instruction, he was preaching one day a week to the women on the Christian faith, that he was teaching Christian doctrine every day to the children and slaves of the Portuguese and to the new converts, and that he was also working among the Portuguese in Ternate with great success. The women, although they were still new in the faith, were already in a condition to be able to receive the sacraments. A number of them went to confession and received Holy Communion on some of the feasts of the year, and many Portuguese did the same once a week. The women were a great help in converting their relatives and countrymen. Nunes was teaching the children how to read and write and how to lead a good life. Among his pupils were children of prominent Christians of the Moro mission with their slaves, who were also studying with them.

At Xavier's request, Beira had spoken with a Portuguese so that he might use a property which he had for opening up a house for the teaching of Christian doctrine. The man was happy that a college should be founded with it where all the children of the Portuguese and of the new Christians could learn how to read and write. He wanted the Society of Jesus to take over the college, and if this were not possible that the Misericordia should use the property as far as it went for instructing the ignorant and giving them food and clothing. And this should be done for the natives of Ternate and those of other islands who were willing to accept the Christian faith in the new house which was almost completed for this purpose, or in another which the priest would erect for this purpose as it seemed better to him.

Beira hoped that Hairun's firstborn son, the heir to the throne, would also become a Christian. If this happened, he was sure that his entire kingdom and the remaining islands or almost all in that area would be converted to the faith, at least as far as Macassar, where there were already many Christians.²⁰

¹⁷ Sá I 602-603.

¹⁸ EX I 386-387.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* II 77.

²⁰ Sá II 602-605.

But the letters which he wrote the following year, in the middle of February, 1550, were less hopeful.²¹

Beira had returned from Ternate to Moro with Nunes in May, 1549. The status of the mission had worsened. The sultan of Djailolo was seeking by every means, through gifts and promises and open force, to make the Christians apostatize. Visits to the villages became ever more difficult. In the course of them the priest had been shipwrecked three times. On one such occasion he lost everything but his rosary—his cassock, his breviary, and his books—and he saved himself, since he was unable to swim, by scrambling with great difficulty over the hostile shallows through knife-sharp corals which wounded and bloodied his feet, hands, arms and shoulders.²² During another shipwreck he spent two days on a plank in the sea²³ until he reached the coast. There he had to hide from his enemies, since the Moors of Djailolo were waging war upon the king of Portugal and their sultan was trying to kill him and Nunes. Twice Beira was sold to the Moors by renegades. Many times the missionaries had to spend the night in trees, or hungry and freezing on the cold mountains.²⁴ A burning fever eventually brought the priest near to death. The captain of Ternate therefore had him brought to the fortress more dead than alive and with little hope of saving his life.²⁵

Nunes had been left behind to strengthen the Christians in their time of persecution.²⁶ But in August, when Tolo, the main town of the Christians, apostatized after the king of Djailolo had won over the *sengadji*, the apostasy became universal.²⁷ The situation had also become unbearable for the brother.

²¹ The main source for the events on the Molucca mission from February, 1549, to February, 1550, is Beira's letter to Ignatius and Rodrigues of February 13, 1550 (Q 4380), complemented by his letters of February, 1553 (Q 6002-6005 6007), and those of Nunes, of April 10, 1551 (Q 4650), and Frois, of November 17, 1556 (Q 6117), and also Rebello 447-451. Frois distinguishes the two visits of 1548 and 1549 and the persecutions of both years (DI III 556).

²² Frois places these three shipwrecks of Beira on his return voyage from Moro to Ternate in 1549 (DI III 557). But Beira states expressly three times that they occurred during his visits to the Christian villages, thus in 1548 or 1549 (Q 6002 6004-6005). They were later ascribed to Xavier.

²³ Q 6005.

²⁴ Q 4650 (Sá II 49).

²⁵ Q 6002 6004 4650. "Vine a caer mui enfermo de unas febres y frios mui grandes y por muchos meses y con grandissimo fastidio. Y andandoles visitando, tres vezes hize naufragio, y andube perdido por la mar; tres vezes se anegaron conmigo las embarcaciones, y se anegaron conmigo junto y en tierra de enemigos de nuestra sancta fee; noche y dia echado por las riberas, andando ascondido y desnudo, porque la rropa, bribiario y libros ya los avia perdido... julgado fui muchas vezes más a muerte que a la vida de los que me visitavan, y así por más de nueve meses fui mui atribulado... Después que el capitán de Maluco mandó por mi, siendo más julgado a muerte que a vida, los moros fueron allá [to Tolo]" (Q 6004).

²⁶ "Fomos visitar, o Padre João da Beira e eu, as ilhas do Moro, onde elle, polos muitos trabalhos de fome e calmas e persecuções, caio mal, de humas grandes quinturas, e, com pouca speranza de vida, se veo a esta fortaleza a curar. Eu fiquei lá sustentando os christãos, onde por duas vezes fui entregado a morte, e me vierão buscar os mouros para me matar" (Sá II 49). In 1549 Frois wrote about this visit: "Despois de convalescidos, se tornarão a baptizar e agricultar a vinha do Senhor, onde de novo tiverão grandissimas persecuções e trabalhos, por verem todas as oras os mouros lhe matarem diante de seus olhos os christãos, e as molheres delles e os filhinhos se lhe vinhão lançar às portas com os rostos em terra, varrendo com os cabelos o chão, pidindo justiça dos mouros e misericordia ao Padre e ao Irmão com grandes lagrimas e gemidos" (DI III 556).

²⁷ Beira writes, according to the context, of the sultan of Ternate: "Quando me

The Moors searched for him in order to kill him. He had already been twice condemned to death, and the privations which he had endured had shattered his health. At Beira's command he too had to return to Ternate. As he was sailing there he was shipwrecked on the hostile coast in the dark of night when the sea was high and rain was pouring down. He lost his clothes and the priest's books but was able to save himself with his Mohammedan companions on a coral reef. He hid himself with them in a hollow until a passing ship of Tidorese took them on board the next morning and brought him to the captain in Ternate.²⁸ There Beira and Father Affonso de Castro, who had arrived in the meantime, had already offered Masses of the dead for him.²⁹

When Tolo apostatized, Bernaldim de Sousa had declared war on the king of Djailolo.³⁰ It was still going on when Beira sent his letter in February, 1550, with the clove ship. The persecutor of the Christians had already lost many of his men and could no longer risk leaving his capital of Djailolo. When he was finally defeated, there was hope that the Christians on Moro who had abandoned the faith would return to it. But as long as the war lasted, the missionaries were detained in the fortress of Ternate.³¹

On October 18 they had been reinforced.³² On the clove ship which arrived in Ternate were the missionaries who had been sent by Xavier—Fathers Affonso de Castro and Manuel de Morais and Brother Francisco Gonçalves—together with Jurdão de Freitas; and Christovão de Sá, the nephew of the governor, had also arrived on a caravel.³³ Since Hairun refused to recognize his mortal enemy Freitas, who was to have served his third year as captain of the fortress, Christovão de Sá, following the instructions of his uncle, assumed the office of captain for the year 1548-1549, while Bernaldim de Sousa continued the war with the sultan of Djailolo.³⁴

Hairun, who supported Sousa with his troops in his war against his rival, the sultan of Djailolo, from personal interests, had broken his promise. He sought to keep the missionaries and the Portuguese in check with empty words. There was nothing more said about the baptism of one of his sons and his being sent

truxeron enfermo a la fortaleza, todos los christianos que estavan en el Moro, a todos rebolió y engannó con muchas pieças de oro y ceda, que dió al regidor; y unas de sus hijas la tenía prometida [el regidor] para ser muger del-rei de Maluco, y ellos todos por sus vasallos, y que no avian de acoger padres ni portugueses" (Sá II 82); cf. DI III 548.

²⁸ According to Nunes (Sá II 49) and Frois (DI III 558).

²⁹ Frois (DI III 558). Since Castro arrived in Ternate on October 18, 1549, Nunes remained on Moro at least up to around this time.

³⁰ On February 13, 1550, Beira wrote: "Un rey destos [that of Djailolo] que es moro, ha perseguido y persigue los christianos, y muchos hizo retraherse de la fee. Averá seys meses que cativó a un regidor principal de los christianos, con su muger y hijos, y tomó esta fortaleza del rey de Portugal [Tolo], que en su poder tenía [Portugal], por lo qual le hizo guerra el capitán del rey de Portugal, que en esta fortaleza [de Ternate] está, en tanta manera que lo tiene puesto en mucho estrecho, porque le ha muerto mucha gente, y no osa salir de su fortaleza [de Geilolo]" (Sá II 13). The war with Djailolo had lasted for sixteen months before the beginning of the siege of the city, which began on December 25, 1550 (Sá II 69-72).

³¹ Sá II 13-14.

³² Rebello 233-234.

³³ Sá II 15.

³⁴ Rebello 233-234 446-447 450; Couto 6, 9, 4, p. 246. Freitas sailed away from Ternate with his wife and two small children at the end of February, 1550, but he left a portion of his possessions there in the hope of returning (Rebello 450). His nephew Vasco de Freitas remained behind and helped Bernaldim de Sousa in the siege of Djailolo (*ibid.* 460 462 466-467).

to Goa. Instead, it was now he who wished to take the place of his rival as lord of the Moro Christians and make them apostatize from the faith.

Since there was no present possibility of sailing to the Moro mission, Morais had gone with Gonçalves to Amboina, where the Christians had been abandoned since the death of Ribeiro. In Ternate Castro had taken over the preaching on Sundays and feast days in the principal church, the Wednesdays sermons for the women, and the daily instructions in Christian doctrine. Beira was entirely occupied with hearing confessions, preaching, and the apostolate among the Portuguese. Nunes was teaching reading and writing and moral conduct to the children. All were waiting for the end of the Djailolo war, which would cause a new flowering of the mission.³⁵

Further news was brought by a letter³⁶ which Nunes wrote on April 10, 1551, and sent with a *korakora* to the clove ship in Amboina. He apologized for writing it instead of Beira. The latter was very busy with the conversion of infidels, visits to the sick, whom he helped in their needs, with the support of widows, the settling of disputes, and the hearing confessions. Castro was gaining much through his preaching and instructions, and he, Nunes, was teaching school since his return from the Moro mission, but he had hopes that he would soon be able to visit the abandoned Christians there. On March 19, after a three-months' siege, Djailolo had finally been captured by the Portuguese and Ternatans.³⁷ The sultan had surrendered to Bernaldim de Sousa, who had become captain again of Ternate in October, 1550. He further declared that he was ready to become a Christian and to make the whole of Maluco Christian. It had only been the difficulties which the Ternatans, and especially their sultan Hairun, had caused him that had prevented him from receiving baptism before this. Hairun had refused to give the missionaries a ship so that they could return to the Moro mission to visit the Christians there. He was a great enemy of the Christians. He persecuted and slew them, and he had now brought the Moro Islands under his control.³⁸

3. THE MISSION ON CAPE COMORIN (1549-1551)

The most important news which Xavier received on his return from Japan to Cape Comorin was that of the death of the superior of the Fishery Coast, Antonio Criminali.¹

³⁵ Sá II 14-16.

³⁶ The letter was addressed to the confreres in Portugal (Q 4650: Sá II 48-50). It had reached Malacca at the beginning of July, 1551, and with it there was certainly also a letter for Xavier on the same events, as he had been ordered to write.

³⁷ The document of knighting of June 13, 1551, gives precise dates for the war and for the siege (Q 4663). Rebello, as an eyewitness, gives a very detailed description of these (448-479); cf. DI III 542-543.

³⁸ Letter of Nicolau Nunes of April 10, 1551 (Sá II 48-50).

¹ The two main reports on the death of Criminali were drawn up and signed on June 18 and 19, 1549, by the missionaries of the Fishery Coast who had assembled in Punnaikāyal. The first, for Bishop Frey Juan de Albuquerque, was signed by five of the confreres: Paulo [do Vale], Manuel [Rodrigues], Ambrosio [Nunes], Baltasar [Nunes], and Francisco [an error of the copyist for Henrique?] Henriques, and was contained in a letter which the bishop sent to the king of Portugal at the end of October, 1549. It is preserved in a copy of 1550 which the bishop of Portalegre sent to Ignatius (Q 4204: DI I 481-484). The second, the lost original, also signed by the missionaries, for the mission superior in Goa, Misser Paulo, was contained in a letter which Baltasar Gago sent to Coimbra at the end of October, 1549. It is preserved in a copy which was

At the end of May or the beginning of June, 1549,² the priest had been busy with instructing his newly converted Karaiya fishers in Vēdālai³ on the northern boundary of the mission. A short league north of it the ancient pilgrim road passed from Rāmnād to the strait of Rāmanankovil, which separated the sacred island of Rāmeswaram from the Indian mainland. Countless pilgrims from all India were accustomed to pass over to the island on boats from there in order to visit the large temple, one of the most famous in India, and to wash away their sins in the sea at one of the twenty-four bathing places, especially the most holy of these at the east end of the island. João Fernandes Correa, the captain of the Fishery Coast since 1547, had built a palisaded redoubt on the pilgrim road.⁴ There, with his thirty or forty Portuguese,⁵ he exacted a toll from the

made there in 1551 for Rome (Q 4205: DI I 484-489) and in the Spanish translation of a letter which Antonio Gomes sent to King John III at the end of October, 1549 (DI I 525-527). — The two accounts are complemented by later letters of H. Henriques to Ignatius and the confreres in Europe of November 21, 1549 (Q 4299: DI I 578-579), of Cipriano to Ignatius of December 3, 1549 (Q 4301: *ibid.* 589-594), of Lancilotto of January 25 (Q 4354: DI II 11-12) and 27 (Q 4355: *ibid.* 18), and of December 22, 1550 (Q 4554: *ibid.* 133). Further data were sent by Marcos Nunes on October 24, 1559, who had obtained valuable information from the former captain of the Fishery Coast, João Fernandes Correa, an eye-witness (DI IV 267-268). There are also those contained in the *Anotações* to Teixeira's life of Xavier in 1580 (45-46) and in his letter to Ribadeneyra of December 8, 1584 (Q 6176: FN IV 965-966), and especially in the materials which H. Henriques collected for Maffei for his history of India, which he obtained from Karaiya Christians who were present at Criminali's death, and whom he personally interviewed. Henriques sent Maffei a letter on this on December 15, 1583 (ARSI: *Fondo Gesuitico*, *Ep. Selectae* 30, f. 33, 1-3), along with a letter of Father Estevão de Goyos of December 3, 1582 (*ibid.*, f. 33, 4-5), and his account of 1579 on the confreres who had died on the Fishery Coast (Q 6178; cf. DI XI 786). The accounts of the martyrdom in Polanco (*Chronicon* I 469-471), Ribadeneyra 3, 20 (cf. Teixeira's letter in FN IV 965-966), Valignano (*Historia* 187-188), Maffei (*Hist. Ind.* 1. 14), Tursellinus 4, 4, Lucena 7, 17 (places his death in Punical), Orlandinus 1, 9, nn. 112-116. Seb. Gonçalves 6, 4, Bartoli (*Asia* 4, 3), Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 50-54), Zaleski, *Les Martyrs de l'Inde* (Lille, 1900) 90-95, Brou II 113-115, J. Castets, *The Venerable Anthony Criminal* (Trichinopoly, 1926) 19-23, and H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty* (Madras, 1927) 155-158, are not without errors. — The process of Criminali's beatification was begun in Parma, in 1897, and the informational process was already prepared for it in 1904. A copy of this was left in the episcopal curia and another was sent to the General Postulation of the Society of Jesus in Rome, where the process has not been taken up again because of a lack of historical material. One fruit of these efforts was the book of Father Enrico Massara, S.J., *Del P. Antonio Criminali. Memorie* (Parma, 1899), with nine additions in the French translation published in Zi-Ka-Wei in 1902 under the title *Le Père Antoine Criminali. Souvenirs Biographiques*. Another is the edition of letters in *Nuove memorie e preziosi documenti intorno al P. Antonio Criminali* (Venezia, 1900). — Brou's opinion that Xavier had a supernatural revelation of Criminali's death before his departure from Malacca for Japan in 1549 is erroneous (II 111-112), though it is already found in Seb. Gonçalves (6, 4). It is without any foundation (cf. EX II 134).

² According to H. Henriques, Criminali died five or six months after Adam Francisco (DI I 578), who died on January 2, 1549 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 395; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 50; EX II 78-79). The second account of the assembled missionaries is dated June 19, 1549, and one or two weeks could have passed from the day of his death to the meeting of the missionaries, who had to elect a new superior. The date cannot be more closely identified.

³ The Christian village of Vēdālai, inhabited by Karaiyas, as Marcos Nunes wrote in 1559 (DI IV 267). J. B. Dessal, S.J., has likewise identified it as such in his *Où a été martyrisé le Ven. Antoine Criminal, S.J.?* (Trichinopoly, 1905), against others who place his death in Punnaikāyal or Pamban.

⁴ Fernandes Correa was captain of the Fishery Coast from 1547 to 1550. The fortress which he built was a palisaded redoubt (*tranqueira de madeira*), as Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra in 1584. It was almost a league from Vēdālai (Q 6178).

⁵ According to the report for the bishop (DI I 482). Cipriano speaks of only fifteen

pilgrims, whom he allowed to pass only during the day.⁶ The Brahmans of the temple of Rāmeswaram had complained to the lord of the land about this, and the latter had sent seven to eight thousand Badagas⁷ to expel the intruders.

The captain succeeded in driving off their first assault,⁸ but his enemies learned from a traitor among the natives⁹ that the Portuguese were running out of powder.¹⁰ While they pretended to be making peace arrangements,¹¹ they made a sudden attack on the redoubt, wounding six of its defenders with their guns¹² and forcing the captain to flee to where his ship was lying at anchor.¹³ When they learned of the fall of the redoubt, the residents of Vēdālai sought in headlong haste to bring their goods and lives to safety on their boats. Criminali first went for a moment into the church in order to recommend himself and his Christians to God.¹⁴ When he came out, the Christians urged him to embark.¹⁵

Portuguese (*ibid.* 593), but he was writing from São Thomé. On December 25, 1547, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha had written that he had heard that Fernandes Correa had gone to the Fishery Coast with seventy men instead of fifteen, which would have been enough, in order to take possession of three hundred leagues of coast. His predecessor had had forty men (Q 3558).

⁶ Cipriano writes: "En el cabo de la dicha costa, digo donde están los últimos christianos, estaba el dicho capitán con algunos soldados para guardar un paso de mar; este por desordenados apetitos, que en los tales siempre viven, hizo algunas cosas en que injurió a ciertos bragmanes, que son los sacerdotes de los gentiles... Estos injuriados dexan su pagode, que era un grande templo y principal entre otros, que ay muchos en estas partes, al qual de todas partes vienen y concurren como a Santiago o Loreto, y quexanse de las injurias a elles hechas y a su pagode" (DI I 592). On the greed of the captain, see also Vol. II, p. 209, and EX II 53. That he exacted tolls for passage from the pilgrims, as other authors also assume, seems to follow from what has been said. H. Henriques in particular notes that he had let the pilgrims pass only during the day (Q 6178).

⁷ According to the report for the bishop. Cipriano writes: "Vienen sobre aquella parte, donde estaba el capitán con 15 portugueses, hasta 5 ó 6000 hombres (juntanse como moscas y a poco struendo o a oxeo se apartan como ellas, son para poco todos)" (DI I 592-593). All the texts speak of Badagas, by which are usually meant the Telugu-speaking residents of the king of Vijayanagar. The second report calls the attackers "people of the king of Bisnaga" (DI I 487), H. Henriques speaks of "badegas mamdados (ao que tenho alcamsado) por el rey de Bisnaga" (Q 6178). The protecting lord of the temple of Rāmeswaram and of the pilgrim road, as is already indicated by his title of *Sētupati* ("Lord of the Bridge," that is, of the mole across the strait, which was already broken in Xavier's time), was the Marava prince of Rāmnād. It is therefore possible that the Brahmans, as Castets has already suggested (21), did not turn directly to the king of Vijayanagar but to the neighboring rajah of Rāmnād.

⁸ The first report speaks of *una victoria* (DI I 482), as H. Henriques in 1549 (*ibid.* 578); though in 1579 he spoke of *algumas victorias* (Q 1678).

⁹ According to Teixeira the Badagas captured the redoubt "por treição de alguns dos naturais" (FN IV 966).

¹⁰ "Depois por saberem os ditos badeguás que elle nam tinha polvera, vierão de improviso e emtrarão-lhe" (DI I 482).

¹¹ "No principio teve victoria o capitão. Os ditos badegás vendo isto entraron por manha, dizendo que querião pax" (*ibid.* 578).

¹² Cipriano writes: "Los gentiles tirábanlos con sus spingardas (con que no son muy diestros); y como tiraban muchos sin contradicción y a montón, firieron seys portugueses, de los quales murieron a pocas horas tres, dende a ciertos días dos" (DI I 593).

¹³ H. Henriques states: "Estando o captião desappecebido, vierão de sobresalto, onde foy necessario ao capitão fugir pera o mar" (*ibid.* 578), and Cipriano: "Y como estaban desaperecebidos, no tubieron otro remedio que, dexado todo, embarcar" (*ibid.* 593). The redoubt lay north of Vēdālai, and the ship was anchored on the north, on the other side of the tongue of land. Vēdālai was in the south, on this side of the strait. The accounts of the contemporaries consequently speak of the embarkation of the native Christians and never of the Portuguese, who were not present at Criminali's death.

¹⁴ DI I 482. In 1895 Father Darrieutort built a chapel in Vēdālai which he dedicated

When he saw, however, that there were many women and children still on the beach, he remained in order to help them board the boats. While he was doing this the Badagas came up on foot and horseback. They cut off his approach to the ships¹⁶ and killed a native Christian whom Criminali had baptized and who, despite his youth, had already been of good help to him in his instructions.¹⁷

When Criminali saw what had happened, he hastened up to the attackers, knelt down, and raised his hands to heaven. The enemy, however, passed him by without doing him any harm, except that one of them took his biretta.¹⁸ When other Badagas arrived, he ran up to these as well, knelt down, and raised his hands again. These also did him no harm. They simply had him get up and then passed on.¹⁹ The priest did the same when a third group came up. This time one of them who was wearing a turban, and who was apparently a Moor, pierced the left side of the kneeling priest with his lance.²⁰ The others then rushed up and grabbed his cassock, which they ripped to pieces as they strove to remove it, even though Criminali had put his hand to his collar to help them to do so. They then tore off his shirt and left him dressed only in his trousers.²¹ They also took from him a purse in which he only had a few *fanams* for the support of the children and sundry expenses.²²

to St. Vincent, allegedly on the spot where Criminali was buried. Actually it was probably on the site of the earlier Christian church (Besse 354).

¹⁵ "Depois se foy à praya, onde lhe dezião alguns christãos que se embarcase, y elle nam quis por ver as molheres christãas ficar soos con seus filhos pequenos e desamparados; e assi estando elle alli, dezia às molheres que se embarcasem e as esforçava" (DI I 482; cf. 487 578 593). In 1582 Goyos wrote from the data of an eyewitness, the Karaiya Diogo Soveral, who saw everything that happened from a boat, that the enemy came as the priest was embarking the women. Four or five Christian rushed up to put him on a ship, but "os sacodió de si e se foi pera os enemigos." Lancilotto (DI II 12) and Teixeira (*Anotações* 45-46) state, probably without foundation, that the priest had already embarked and had then returned to the land.

¹⁶ "Nisto vendo os badeguás que jaa o Padre não se podia acolher" (DI I 482).

¹⁷ Cipriano writes: "Llegando la desventurada gente, matan primero a un christiano nuevo, que él avia convertido, el qual le ajudaba ya a enseñar tan bien como si fuera viejo" (*ibid.* 593).

¹⁸ "E, segundo parece, vendo o Padre que vinhão pera o matar, lhe foy ao encontro, e se pôs en giolhos e as mãos alleantadas, e vendo os badeguás ao Padre daquela maneyra, passarão por elle e nam no quiserão matar; mas hum delles lhe tomou o barrete" (*ibid.* 482-483; cf. 487).

¹⁹ "E dahi hum pouco vierão outros badeguás, e o Padre veio correndo a elles e se pôs da mesma maneyra que fez aos primeiros, e estando pera o matarem nam no matarão, mas alevantarão-no do chão, e aquelles passarão" (*ibid.* 483; cf. 487).

²⁰ "E à terceira vez passarão outros badeguás, e o Padre se pôs de giolhos com as mãos alleantadas como das outras duas vezes, e estando assi, hum delles lhe deu huma lançada pola parte esquerda, e este dizem que era mouro" (*ibid.* 483). "E dahy a nada vierão outros badegás e o Padre encendido de padecer antes que vise os seus morrer, se pôs em giolhos com has mãos alçadas, e hum de huma touca, que se sospeita ser mouro, lhe deu huma lançada polla parte esquerda" (*ibid.* 487).

²¹ "E sobre isto lhe deitarão mão da roupeta, e elle tambem deytou mão ao cabeça da dita roupeta; todavia lha despirão rompendo-a, e tambem lhe despirão a camisa" (*ibid.* 483), "e lhe despedaçarão tambem a camisa" (*ibid.* 488).

²² "E lhe tomarão huma bolsa com alguns fanomes pequenos, e o deixarão con ciroulas, no mais" (*ibid.* 483). In 1582 the Karaiya Diogo Soveral also told Father Goyos that there had first come two, a knight on a grey-white horse and a soldier on foot with a banner on a lance. When they came up, the priest knelt down. The soldier tore off his cassock and took his purse without stripping him. He gave the purse to the knight, who gave it back to him, probably because it contained only a few *fanams*. The soldier then gave the priest a blow on the shoulder with his halberd (*con hum aruwall*). Goyos adds that the man had slain the priest with it, and that all agreed that he was a pagan since he had a *kulāh* on his head, which was worn by pagans but not by Mohammedan Badagas.

As the enemy went on their way, the wounded priest hurried towards the church where he had offered Mass that morning. When a Badaga rushed after him, he turned around and was struck in the breast by the lance of his pursuer. He knelt down. His attacker withdrew his lance and went on his way. The priest got up and continued on towards the church.²³ A third Badaga then came up and struck him on the shoulder with a halberd. Criminali again knelt down²⁴ and then fell over on his side. More Badagas came up and completely stripped him of his clothes as he was lying on the ground. They then cut off his head—probably after he was already dead.²⁵ They brought his head and his torn, blood-drenched shirt to the redoubt and hung them both up on a high place²⁶ where the Portuguese had embarked²⁷ as a sign of their triumph. On the morning of the day on which he was killed, Criminali had offered Mass and had advised the captain to embark and to conclude a peace.²⁸ The victors captured many

In 1583 H. Henriques also interviewed two Karaiya eyewitnesses. The better of these assured him that the one who killed the priest was a Moor and not a Badaga, an account which Henriques believed to be the more accurate. The same witness told him that they had not at first taken the purse from the priest, and that they had gone on; but the Moor came up at once with the others and slew the priest with a kind of lance that was used there. It was thus that he was slain. In his report of 1579 Henriques states that, as he was writing it, he had called a Christian who had served the priest and had seen everything from the boat. He had carefully asked him about Criminali's death; and the man had told him that, when the priest was on the beach, some Badagas had come up, one of whom was on a horse, and that this latter had seized him; and shortly after this he had heard him say that he had taken from him a purse in which he had some money for his expenses and for the education of the children. Soon after this other warriors came up with five Moors on horseback and one of these had killed him and cut off his head and taken it with him (Q 6178).

²³ "E ferido daquela lançada se forão, e o Padre se foy correndo pera a igreja. Nisto veo hum badeguá, e foy após elle, e o Padre, vendo vir aquelles badeguás, se virou para elle, e en virando-se, o que o seguia lhe deu outra lançada pellos peytos e loguo o Padre se pôs en giolhos, e tirando a lança, se foy seu caminho, e o Padre se foy pera a igreja" (DI I 483). The second report has instead of this: "E lhe derão huma lançada pellos peytos. A isto se pôs de giolhos como dantes e, tirando a lança, seguio seu caminho pera a igreja" (*ibid.* 488).

²⁴ "E nisto veo outro, e foi após o Padre, e por detrás lhe deu outra lançada pollas costas; e en lha dando se pôs de giolhos com as mãos alevantadas" (*ibid.* 483). The second report states: "Veo outro badegá e lhe deu outra lançada e o Padre, não se esquecendo do costume que tinha, se pôs de giolhos, porque así ho fazia cada dia vinte e trinta vezes, tendo oração mental breve" (*ibid.* 488).

²⁵ The first report only has: "E dahi a pouco vierão outros badeguás, e lhe cortarão a cabeça. Até o presente nam sabemos se estava ainda vivo quando lhe cortarão a cabeça" (*ibid.* 483). The second report has: "Caindo neste comenos de huma ilharga, lhe cortarão a cabeça" (*ibid.* 488). Cipriano omits everything after the death of the new convert at the beginning and continues: "Dicen que quando él le vió matar, púsose de rodillas en oración; y llegando a él, danle una lançada por las tripas, a la parte del bazo, y en el hombro una cuchillada, y del todo despojado córtanle la cabeça" (*ibid.* 593). In 1549 H. Henriques is still briefer; he even omits the death of the new convert and simply states: "Logo nisto vierão os badegás de improviso, aonde tomarão ao Padre: e estando de joelhos lhe derão huma lançada ou duas, e depois lhe cortarão a cabeça" (*ibid.* 578). The priest was probably already dead when his body was decapitated (*ibid.* 483 488).

²⁶ "Lhe cortarão a cabeça, e a forão pindurar com a mesma camissa feita en pedaços na fortaleza do capitão" (*ibid.* 483-484). "E a pendurarão em hum alto com a camisa chea de sangue feita em pedaços" (*ibid.* 488).

²⁷ Cipriano states: "Y del todo despojado, córtanle la cabeça, la qual levaron a do estaban los portugueses embarcados" (*ibid.* 593). The Portuguese had thus embarked near the redoubt on the northern shore of the tongue of land.

²⁸ "E no dia que o mataram dise missa, aconselhava ao capitão que embarcassem as molheres e que fizese paz," according to the first report (*ibid.* 484). When Marcos

women and children and marched to the great temple of Rāmeswaram in order to thank their gods for their victory.²⁹

After the enemy had departed, some Christians came in tears to the place where the savaged corpse of their priest was lying and quickly buried it in the sand on the beach.³⁰ Two days later Antonio Correa, the nephew of the captain, came and buried it in a deeper grave on the same spot.³¹ When the people later wished to dig up the body in order to transfer it to the church, it could no longer be found. The monsoon wind had removed all traces of it.³²

Criminali could have easily saved himself, but he did not wish to leave his Christians in their need and had died as the first martyr of the Society of Jesus in their defense.³³ His confreres were at one in the reverence which they had

Nunes was sailing in 1559 from Cochin to Punnaikāyal in a *fusta* with João Fernandes Correa, the latter told him about a miracle which he had never reported, since another eyewitness had spoken of it during their layover in Quilon. When Fernandes Correa, the then captain of the Fishery Coast, was residing in the redoubt of Vēdālai near the shallows of Rāmanankovil and was attending Criminali's Mass with Correa and many other soldiers twenty days before the priest's death, they all clearly saw that the Host took on a bright red color; and some of those who were farther front also believed that they could distinguish the limbs of Christ in it. Correa told him this with tears in his eyes. He was grieved that he had not had a document drawn up for the king at the time in its regard, especially since some of the eyewitnesses were still living. In his letter Nunes added that God had punished them for keeping this miracle secret with the afflictions which they had suffered: he and his men had been forced to embark when they were standing up to their breasts in water; the priest had been killed; and they had suffered other troubles as well (DI IV 267-268).

²⁹ Cipriano writes: "Así quedó el cuerpo menos la cabeza en poder de la madre, nudo, como ella le avía dado; y cativadas muchas mugeres y niños van camino al dicho grande pagode a hacer sacrificio por la victoria, y dar gracias al diablo su señor" (*ibid.* 593). By this is meant the large main temple of Rāmeswaram, not the now ruined temple of Rāmaswāmimaddam only a mile west of Vēdālai, where Dessal, according to a "local tradition," has the victor bring the head of the martyr. The local tradition among the pagans and Mohammedans of that area states that the village where the temple ruins are located was made desolate as a punishment of heaven, since its inhabitants had taken part in the murder of the priest of the Karaiyas (Dessal 57, and a letter of the catechist Rafael Pillay in Pamban to Father Aloysius Gnanapragasam of June 5, 1902, which Monsignore Ettore Savazzini lent me along with other letters in Parma in 1929).

³⁰ According to Cipriano (DI I 594).

³¹ According to the first account (*ibid.* 484) and Cipriano (*ibid.* 594).

³² On December 22, 1550, Lancilotto wrote that the body had been buried in the sand and that a search was later made for it so that it could be buried in the church, but that it had not as yet been found (*ibid.* II 133). Dessal notes on this that in May and June, when the priest died, the southwest monsoon is blowing, and that it frequently alters the shape of the sand dunes along the entire coast (38).

³³ *Judgments with respect to Criminali's martyrdom*: On January 25, 1550, the scrupulous Lancilotto sent to Ignatius the account of Criminali's death with the observation: "Alcuni delli nostri de molto fervore dicono ch'el è degno de essere canonizzato et venerato intra i Santi, e così o scrivono a Portugallo. Io, per essere stato suo compagno molto tempo, do testimonio che lui foi de bonissima vita; della morte sua lasciarò iudicare a quelli che tengono più spirito; lui stava imbarcato, et seguro se desambarcò considerando che quelli inimici glhe avesseno rispetto como già altre volte facerno" (DI II 11-12). Two days later Lancilotto wrote again to Ignatius about the deaths of Adam Francisco and Criminali: "Qua sono morti duoi della Compagnia: se è licito, dirò uno martire, et l'altro confessore, scilicet Adamo Francesco.... Et fra pocci giorni doppoi ha havutto per bene chiamare etiam para sè il P. Criminale per il camino del martirio, imperochè le mori le hanno hamassato, sendo lui el scutto et defensione delli christiani" (*ibid.* 18). On November 21, 1549, H. Henriques also wrote to Ignatius: "Ca temos pera nós que morreo martir" (*ibid.* I 579). In 1583, however, he wrote, to Maffei, the historian, that it would be good if he sent a copy of his history of India to India

for the holy life of their dead confrere. In their report to their superiors in Goa, they wrote of him as follows:

This was the end he encountered and the great favor which God conferred upon him and upon us. His life was so perfect in self-abnegation that it could not have come to any other end. He was very constant in prayer and in the active life, and the one did not impede the other; but he so acted in all things as if he had nothing else to do.³⁴

Henrique Henriques, who was elected by his confreres to take Criminali's place as their superior, wrote to Ignatius that what St. Jerome said of St. Paula of Rome could also be said of him: Even if all of his limbs were turned into tongues, they would only be able to speak a portion of his praise.³⁵ In his letter to the general of the order, Cipriano a sharp critic, declared:

The said Padre Antonio went there [to the Fishery Coast] with a companion and remained there continuously for three and one-half years; and he was always superior, for he was made for this. He covered the whole coast at least once a month, almost always barefooted; he frequently slept upon the ground; he ate frugally and simply; he worked much; and he agreed with all in everything that was good or indifferent but almost never in what was evil. He was of a blameless life and truly free from guilt, of excellent manners, kind to all, a burden to no one either in word or in deed, very obedient, very chaste, poor, transparent, zealous for souls. For about ten months I was his neighbor on that coast, and I saw with my own eyes and touched with my own hands these good qualities of his which I have mentioned and many others which many sheets of paper could not contain. Apart from the teaching, which he imparted everywhere, and the decisions which he made (for there was no other means of justice), he established peace, harmony, and many other good things. He was greatly disgusted with the Christians themselves, especially with the Portuguese captain and soldiers, who are what you know, and, where they can, reach with their hand, especially when they are poor. The Christians went to him with their complaints about them like children

before it was printed so that some of the priests might examine it for greater accuracy. He then added: "Polas cartas que de Goa ao Reino escreverão os nossos acerca da morte do Padre Antonio Criminal, pregarão diante El-Rey naquelle tempo, que morrera martir o dito Padre; e pode ser que V. R. assy o tenha escrito ou espere de escrever, porque me diz na sua que do martirio do dito Padre teem sufficiente etc., todavia, posto que eu tenha ao Padre por santo, não affirmaria ser martirio." At the end of his letter he returned to the matter again and wrote: "Depois de ter escrito thé quy soube que estavam daqui huma llegua dous cristãos careás que se acharão presentes aa morte do Padre Antonio. Mamdei-os chamar: ambos estavam embarcados quomdo o Padre foi morto, e hum deles, que dava melhor rezão que o outro, affirmava que o que matou ao Padre era mouro e não badegá, e tenho pera mim que isto hé o mais certo." In 1584 Teixeira informed Ribadeneyra that he wrote what he had heard from H. Henriques and from the servant, or interpreter, of Father Criminali, who was accompanying him at the time. This person had told him in the presence of Father H. Henriques that he had not been slain by the pagan Badagas but by the Moors, who were traveling with them, in *odium fidei* (FN IV 966). In a memorial on a number of questions which the general congregation of the Society of Jesus of 1558 should clarify, Polanco discusses one with respect to the extent that missionaries might expose themselves to the danger of death, and he notes: "An declarari expediat, qui modus tenendus sit a nostris in vitae periculis subeundis vel declinandis, ne martirii sanctum desiderium, ad mortem parum discrete et utiliter obeundum, imo cum damno probabili divini obsequii, adducat; et e contrario ne nimia cautela, sub discretionis pretextu abducatur a testimonio fidei ac religionis nostrae reddendo ad Christi gloriam, vel a proximorum salute promovenda; ac peculiariter quid censendum sit de modo illo quo Pater Criminalis se morti exposuit" (DI IV 78).

³⁴ DI I 488.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 578.

to their father, and with everybody in everything he acted in a saintly and prudent manner so that there was no one who could reasonably complain about him. He never spoke except when there was need to do so. He was discreet and very spiritual, and in everything he was reserved. Men could easily see in him the virtues narrated in that familiar hymn: *Iste confessor, pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus, sobrius, castus et quietus*. I truly saw and recognized these in him.³⁶

After Criminali's death, the assembled missionaries of the Fishery Coast had elected Henrique Henriques as their superior.³⁷ His election was approved by Lancilotto, the regional superior, despite all the opposition of Antonio Gomes, who declared that the priest, who had been dismissed from the Franciscans as a New Christian, had an impediment for his reception into the Society of Jesus and could therefore not be a superior. But Lancilotto reminded him of the fact that Xavier had also appointed a new Christian, Affonso de Castro, as the superior of the Molucca mission;³⁸ and when Ignatius wrote to Xavier in 1549 that he should be lenient with Henrique Henriques, Francis had himself, at the suggestion of Lancilotto, sent a petition to Rome at the beginning of 1550 so that the pope might dispense him from the impediments to his reception into the order.³⁹

After the death of Criminali the mission had prospered during 1549 and 1550 under the direction of Henrique Henriques.⁴⁰ A practice had been introduced some days before Criminali had been slain of appointing the best Christians on the Fishery Coast to teach the prayers in their villages, to baptize infants in case of necessity, and to aid the missionaries in other ways as well. Those selected, who worked for a divine reward, had turned out to be excellent assistants. Some of them could even give talks to the Christians. They not only had a greater mastery of their language than the priests, but they also had a better knowledge of the pagan mythologies and of the weaknesses of their fellow Christians. Churches were built everywhere, and each of the villages strove to have its church the best equipped. The people took care to have their children baptized; and when they became ill, they would bring them to the local church so that the priest might pray over them. When they were in need of something or became sick, they promised *fanams* and many other gifts; and they invoked the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, for whom they had a great devotion. They also began to gradually lose their former fear of the devil. Formerly, when the evil spirit entered into a man or a woman, it often threatened, through the exorcist, to kill its victim if it were not promised a large sum of money. But the Christians now drove the evil spirit from a possessed pagan or Christian by beating his or her body with a stick without any fear of the devil himself.

The Christians were very happy to see that the missionaries were now learning their language. In the preceding year, 1549, Henrique Henriques had already

³⁶ *Ibid.* 590-592.

³⁷ Q 4306: DI I 488-489.

³⁸ Q 4572: *ibid.* II 145-147.

³⁹ Q 4399: *ibid.* 4-5.

⁴⁰ The main sources for the history of the mission of the Fishery Coast for 1549-1550 are the two detailed letters of H. Henriques of November 21, 1549 (Q 4299: DI I 575-588), and January 12, 1551 (Q 4583: *ibid.* II 153-168), complemented by a letter of June 19, 1549, probably written by Ambrosio Nunes (Q 4206: *ibid.* I 489-493); two of Lancilotto, of January 6 (Q 4572: *ibid.* II 144-149) and 11, 1551 (Q 4582: *ibid.* 150-153); the fragment of a letter of the king to Xavier of March 16, 1550 (Q 4427: Seb. Gonçalves 2, 9), and his instruction to the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha of March, 1550 (Q 4411: Andrada, *Chronica* I. 4, c. 73); Polanco, *Chronicon* II 144; and two passages in Gago's letter from the end of October, 1549 (DI I 560-561 567).

made so much progress in it that he could begin to hear the confessions of the Christians in the main village. The zeal with which the people came for this filled the priest with consolation, and he hoped that during the coming Lent of 1550 he would be helped in the hearing of confessions by his companion Father Paulo do Vale, who had made great progress in his study of the difficult Tamil language. Henriques had composed a grammar for his confreres. Thanks to his knowledge of the language of the people, he had already, during the course of several months, learned many of the fables about the gods of the pagans; and he had opposed them in a work which he had written in their own language. He had also written an explanation of the truths of the Christian faith, a manual for confession, and many other works in the language of the land. But his numerous spiritual labors, especially after Criminali's death, his frequent head- and stomach-aches, and his translation of Xavier's Large Catechism and the composition of his grammar had left him no time for further literary labors. He had also been obliged to spend much time on the translation of the prayers. The one which Xavier had made with the help of interpreters contained numerous errors.⁴¹ This work alone had cost him three or four months, since Tamil lacked terms that were necessary for Christian matters.

Francisco Henriques had gone from his confreres to Cochin. As a consequence, only one priest, Paulo do Vale, and three brothers, Baltasar Nunes, Ambrosio Nunes, and Manuel Rodrigues, still remained with Henriques. Paulo and Ambrosio had made good progress in the language and were already learning the difficult script. But more companions were needed.

A year before this Henriques had written of a *yogi* in Vēmbār, a man of good life and great learning, who opposed the idolatry of his pagan countrymen. Henriques had struck up a friendship with him when he was living in Vēmbār, and he had invited him to come to Punnaikāyal so that he might explain the teachings of Christianity to him. He also wished to obtain further information on the fables that were narrated about the gods of the pagans. His friend had stated that he would accept baptism as soon as a certain business had been settled.

Before they had received news of Criminali's death, the bishop and Antonio Gomes had sent a summons to Henriques. Since he was able to speak Malabar, they wanted him to live near the king of Tanor, who had become a Christian. But Criminali had died in the meantime, and all the missionaries declared that he could not leave the Fishery Coast.⁴²

Henrique's next letter was from Cochin, where Lancilotto had called him, and where he also encountered the viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, who had sailed from Lisbon at the beginning of May, 1550, and in November of this year had reached Cochin from Ceylon.⁴³ Henrique's letter was dated January 12, 1551, and gave a survey of what had happened in his mission in 1550.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Tenho escrito a V.R. que as orações que se ensinavão na propria lingoa da terra os tempos pasados, antes que eu soubesse a lingoa, estavam cheas de mentiras; e depois que aprendi a lingoa, as tirey com muito trabalho de novo, porque o que antes estava feyto nom aprobevava. Isto escrevi o outro ano. Saberá V.R. que ainda revendo as ditas orações achei que emendar nellas, no que tambem levey grandissimo trabalho, e causa-o a difficuldade da lingoa, porque hé trabalhosissima." Henriques wrote to Ignatius on January 27, 1552 (DI II 302).

⁴² So much from the letter of H. Henriques of November 21, 1549, from Punnaikāyal, complemented by the letters of Ambrosio Nunes and Lancilotto.

⁴³ Cf. the viceroy's letter of January 16, 1551, written from Cochin (Q 4592).

⁴⁴ The letter was sent to Simon Rodrigues and his confreres in Portugal. At this

The ten catechists whom Henriques had appointed in the villages of the Fishery Coast afforded him much joy. They manifested a great longing to serve God and were of invaluable assistance to the missionaries, who were overburdened with their labors. The catechists obeyed them in everything and were firmly resolved, if necessary, to suffer death for God. Their exemplary lives and selfless dedication to their work was a source of edification to the people. In each village there was a paid teacher who taught the children their prayers in their native tongue and the Our Father and Hail Mary in Latin. The girls came for these for two hours or more in the morning, and the boys in the afternoon. When they were able to destroy an idol without difficulty, they did so; and they also drew the attention of the priests to them.

Rain did not come in 1550 and there was consequently a severe drought. The Christians nonetheless renovated many churches and built new ones. Henriques wrote some lives of the saints⁴⁵ in Tamil and some reflections on the Incarnation. Copies of these essays, which were written on palm leaves, were given to Christians who knew how to read so that they might peruse them. Afterwards he had them examined on what they had read. Henriques had decided to visit the individual villages and to remain in each one of them for around a month so that he might explain to the Christians the mysteries of the faith, especially about the Incarnation of Christ. In most villages the Christians were not as yet sufficiently informed on these truths. The interpreters were not in a position to explain them well.

The Christians had a great affection for the priests and seemed to believe firmly what they were told. Nevertheless, in order that the truths of Christianity might take deeper root in their hearts, and that any dependence on their old pagan traditions might be rooted out, Henriques deemed it necessary to argue vigorously against the errors of idolatry, which would bring them to hell. He therefore deemed it necessary to engage some learned pagans and Mohammedans in public debates about these errors in the presence of the Christians, and in these disputations he always managed to come off victorious.

Since Manuel Rodrigues had also gone to Cochin, there were only three confreres with Henriques: Father Paulo do Vale and the two brothers that had been received in India by Antonio Gomes—Baltasar and Ambrosio Nunes. They had made such progress in learning the language, thanks to the grammar that had been composed, and also in reading and writing the difficult script, that they decided to always use the native language among themselves except when engaged in spiritual conversations. Anyone who used Portuguese had to do penance for it. This practice enabled Ambrosio to obtain a greater mastery of the very difficult Tamil pronunciation, with its many sounds unknown to Europeans, than any of the others.

At the beginning of May the captain, João Fernandes Correa, was replaced by Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, who was already advanced in age. As Henriques wrote, it would have been very difficult to find a better man in all of India than he. Coutinho proved to be a great boon for the missionaries. He helped them in everything that concerned the good of Christianity; and the Christians,

time he also wrote letters to Ignatius (cf. DI II 168) and obviously also to Xavier, as the latter had ordered, but which are now lost. He indicates this himself in his letter to Rodrigues where he speaks of the needed workers and adds: "En esto no quiero hablar mucho, porque yo creo que el P. Mestro Francisco le escribirá, y escribirá en esta materia" (*ibid.* 165).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 145.

who had never had such a captain, wished to have him remain with them as long as he lived.

The *yogi* about whom Henriques had written the previous year was baptized in Punnaikāyal on May 25, the feast of Pentecost. To honor the captain, who was his sponsor in baptism, he took the name of Manuel Coutinho. The Portuguese were greatly edified by his exemplary life, especially since they saw how he wept in prayer. It was said that there was no Christian like him on the entire coast, and the pagans were amazed and confused that a man of such knowledge and of such an exemplary life would have become a Christian. His conversion, on the other hand, was a great consolation to the Christians. When Henriques was preaching on a Sunday in the church of Punnaikāyal, one of the oldest and most respected *patangatis* stood up while the converted *yogi* was present and told his hearers that they should be glad to be Christians. If such a man as this became a Christian, they had need of no other proof for the truth of their faith. Wherever the new convert went, he reproached the pagans, instructed them, and praised the Christian faith. His wife was already dead, and Henriques was able to baptize his son in Punnaikāyal before setting out for Cochin. He hoped that after his return he would also be able to baptize the latter's wife and children in Vēmbār, and also his mother- and father-in-law, who had declared that they were ready for this. Henriques took the *yogi* with him on his trip to Cochin and introduced him to the viceroy, who received him with great kindness and affection and generously granted everything he was asked for the mission.

Thanks to the support of the new captain, Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, Henriques was able to erect in Punnaikāyal, where he took up his residence, a hospital for all the poor of the Fishery Coast and also for the poor soldiers of the captain. For these Henriques obtained from the viceroy an annual alms of one hundred *pardaus* for wine, biscuits, oil, raisins, vinegar, and similar supplies.

The missionaries of the Society on the Fishery Coast were held in highest regard by the Portuguese, Moors, pagans, and native Christians. Their exemplary lives, their love of poverty, their selfless dedication to the service of all were objects of universal admiration. The Christians in their turn were deeply attached to the missionaries. Before sailing to Cochin, Henriques had built a retreat for his confreres in Punnaikāyal where they could retire from time to time for one or two days of spiritual recollection and physical refreshment. When Lancilotto called Henriques to Cochin, he wrote to him that he should bring with him, if possible, some students between the ages of seven and twelve for his college in Quilon. Although the Christians of the Fishery Coast were reluctant to be separated from their children, many of them immediately offered their sons for the college, and eleven or twelve were sent to Henriques for it from Tuticorin. Older youths of eighteen asked of their own accord to go along. Of the more than twenty who were brought together, Henriques chose twelve of the most suitable and brought them with him to Lancilotto; and of these, nine were sent to St. Paul's College in Goa.⁴⁶

During the past year, when a number of Christians of the Fishery Coast came to Cochin, they were, thanks to the efforts of Antonio Gomes, honored and favored. Gomes also worked strenuously to obtain provisions from the governor that would be to the benefit of all the Christians. He also saw to it that wine, biscuits, oil, vinegar, and medicines were sent to Henriques for the sick.

⁴⁶ The viceroy had ordered that St. Paul's College, from which A. Gomes had expelled all the native students, should again be peopled with them (*ibid.* 181).

The mission was not without its problems. Ambrosio was arrested by the pagans and severely mistreated, and there was danger that they might kill him. Baltasar was arrested by the Badagas, but the Christians hastened up with swords and clubs and freed him.⁴⁷ Henriques himself was threatened by a Badaga with a kind of dagger,⁴⁸ but his assailant's companion interceded for the priest and saved his life.

Despite his sixty-five years, the indefatigable Father Cipriano worked strenuously in São Thomé without ever granting himself an hour of rest. Though he was as uncompromising and choleric as ever, he was called "the holy priest" by the people of the town. He was constantly engaged in works of charity for the native Christians, and he was able to report many conversions among the pagans. He had received a new companion in the person of Gonçalo Fernandes,⁴⁹ a replacement for Brother Gaspar Rodrigues, who had returned ill to Goa and had died there on March 29, 1551.

In Quilon Lancilotto was also called by the Portuguese and natives "the holy priest." Despite his constant sickness, which frequently brought him to the point of death, he preached to the native Christians on Sundays and feast days, and if his health permitted also to the Portuguese; and every day he gave instructions in Christian doctrine to both young and old. He was able to report many conversions among the pagans. Since the end of 1550 he had been helped in these by the young Brahman convert, Pero Luis, as a translator.⁵⁰ In the college, which was, like the church, an adobe building with a palm-leaf roof,⁵¹ he already had in 1550 fifty pupils. Most were native boys from the city and its environs. Since 1551 there had also been boys in it from the Fishery Coast. The college had no fixed revenues, but at the beginning of 1551 the viceroy had promised Lancilotto that he would support many of his pupils. The priest had a true helper in the school in Brother Luis Mendes.⁵²

4. NEWS ON THE BASSEIN MISSION (1549-1551)¹

In March 1548 Master Francis had visited Bassein, where in 1547 the Recollects of the Piedade province had founded a college and erected a mission station on the neighboring island of Salsette. For their support the king had granted

⁴⁷ Ambrosio Nunes wrote on June 19, 1549: "Em Cabo de Camorim prendeu hum adigar ao Irmão Balthesar Nunes e querendo o tratar mal, acudirão com suas armas dahy e de outros lugares perto, dizendo que avião de morrer polo seu Padre, e asi fugio ho adigar com medo" (*ibid.* I 492).

⁴⁸ "A mim también remetió un badegá con una arma de la tierra, que es como puñal" (*ibid.* II 167). Probably meant is the daggerlike *wagnak* (tiger-claw).

⁴⁹ DI I 520 586; II 16-17 152 179 288.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* II 381-382.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 379.

⁵² *Ibid.* I 520 586; II 16 151-152 173 178.

¹ The main reports on the Bassein mission from 1549 to 1551 are the short letters of Melchior Gonçalves to his confreres in Portugal of December 15, 1549 (Q 4315: DI I 725-727), and of January 20 and 23, 1551 (Q 4594-4595: *ibid.* II 183-185), complemented by the letters of Gago of October 20, 1549 (Q 4270: *ibid.* I 561-564); of Antonio Gomes of October 25, 1549 (Q 4274; *ibid.* I 522-523, and Q 4276: *ibid.* 529-530), and January 16, 1551 (Q 4591: *ibid.* II 178); of Lancilotto of January 27, 1550 (Q 4355: *ibid.* II 15), January 11, 1551 (Q 4582: *ibid.* 151), and January 12, 1551 (Q 4584: *ibid.* 173); of Frois of December 1, 1552 (Q 4922: *ibid.* 459-460); and of Gil Barretto of December 16, 1552 (Q 4929: *ibid.* 540 546); also by the documents on the purchase and building of houses: Q 4272b 4564a and 4564b, and the decrees in favor of Christianity: Q 2018 3415 4183 4230 4253 4266 4318 4424 4442 4495.

them the former revenues of the mosques, which amounted to around three thousand *pardaus*. But since one of the six Franciscans had died and three had returned to Portugal, their superior, Frey Antonio do Porto, had asked Xavier to take over the direction of the college and to administer the revenues granted by the king since they were forbidden by their rule to touch money.² In November, 1548, Xavier had consequently ordered Father Melchior Gonçalves to be sent with a brother to Bassein for this.³ When he returned there in March, 1549, he had taken over the college at the earnest request of Frey Antonio.⁴ Before Master Francis sailed in June, 1549, from Malacca for Japan, he had further ordered Antonio Gomes to send a preacher to Bassein if any of these came from Portugal.⁵ On November 5, 1549, he had written to him from Kagoshima that he should send him detailed information on Melchior Gonçalves, the college in Bassein, and the friars who were there. He should also let him know if other friars had come from Portugal, and if the college now belonged to the Society of Jesus.⁶

After Xavier's departure from India on September 5, 1549, a ship had arrived from Portugal with nine Franciscan missionaries and an order from their superior general that the priests of the Piedade province should from then on be subject to the guardian of the Observants in Goa.⁷ Since Frey Antonio had remained alone in Bassein, the guardian of the Observants in Goa, Frey Antonio do Casal, had immediately sent a priest to help him. The Franciscans now wished to take the college over for themselves. Gonçalves therefore thought it best to return to Goa, but he was detained by the city and by the governor, Cabral.⁸ At the request of the latter, a compromise was reached with respect to the college, as Gonçalves wrote on December 15, 1549: The three thousand *pardaus* destined by the king for the Bassein mission, but of which only two thousand were paid by the officials in India, would be divided up among the Franciscans and the Jesuits.⁹ The Franciscans received the college with its students, and the Jesuits received from the governor in the name of the king 1,500 *cruzados* so that they might purchase a site and a house for a new college in order to take other pupils into it.¹⁰ At the end of September or the beginning of October, Gago had sailed with this compromise from Goa to Bassein.¹¹ He had purchased a site and two houses¹² for the new "Jesuit college," as the school was named, and Gonçalves and his companion had taken up their residence in it. Since they had no pupils, they used their revenues for poor new converts.¹³ Frey Antonio, however, wrote to the king that the earlier college should be given back to the Society of Jesus;¹⁴

² See Vol. III, p. 410.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 612.

⁵ EX II 129.

⁶ *Ibid.* 225.

⁷ DI I 529-530 563 726.

⁸ Gonçalves speaks only of a priest (*ibid.* 726); Gago states that the guardian had immediately sent two priests (*ibid.* 563).

⁹ The officials gave only 2,000 (DI I 531). On the division see Q 4270 4274 4276. In the division the Jesuits received 800 *cruzados* (DI I 523), over 800 (*ibid.* II 178), 1,000 (*ibid.* 565; II 173).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* I 726-727. A. Gomes speaks of 1,300 *cruzados* (*ibid.* 522-523).

¹¹ Seb. Gonçalves 3, 22; DI I 566.

¹² On October 24, 1549, Cabral ordered that the houses of Antonio de Sá Pereira and Luis Godinho should be purchased with their gardens for the founding of a college of the Jesuits in Bassein (Q 4272b). According to Gonçalves they cost 1,500 *cruzados* (DI I 727), according to Gago 1,550 (*ibid.* 563).

¹³ *Ibid.* 530 563 727; II 173 178.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* I 564.

and in 1551 John III had sent a letter with the fleet in which he ordered the two colleges in Goa and Bassein to be handed over to the Jesuits with all their revenues.¹⁵

In October, 1549, Gago had already extolled the apostolic labors of Father Melchior. He was greatly esteemed and universally loved in Bassein. He preached at time to the Portuguese and also to the new converts. He did much good through hearing confessions. Among those who had confessed to him were individuals who had not received this sacrament for many years. He had persuaded many to cease committing serious sins and to make peace with their enemies. On Wednesdays and Fridays he went with a bell through the streets and recommended to the prayers of the people the souls in purgatory and those who were living in mortal sin.¹⁶ On January 11, 1551, Lancilotto could write to Ignatius: "Father Melchior Gonçalves has been for around two years in Bassein, and he has given the people there such a good example and has produced so much fruit in that area that it could never be described. And this is evidenced by the many letters which I have seen from the people and captain of that fortress and from other private individuals."¹⁷

In 1549 Brother Simão de Vera and Francisco Lopes,¹⁸ who had been received by Antonio Gomes and had been ordained to the priesthood in October, 1549, had been sent to Gonçalves, and in October, 1550, the scholastic Luis Frois.¹⁹ With this added assistance, Gonçalves could now enlarge his field of labor and devote himself particularly to the conversion of the pagans.

On October 28, 1547, Dom João de Castro had issued a decree according to which the new converts in the territory of Bassein were freed from forced labors and obtained their liberty.²⁰ His successors, Garcia de Sá²¹ and Cabral, had renewed this edict,²² and on August 2, 1549, Cabral had forbidden the rebuilding of pagodas and mosques in the territory of Bassein, the impeding of conversions to Christianity, and the return of Christians to their former paganism or Mohammedanism. This edict was proclaimed on Salsette in November.²³ On March 15, 1550, the bishop had written to the captain of Bassein, Francisco Barreto, that the king had sent an instruction in 1546 which forbade the service of idols in his territories.²⁴ He, the bishop, therefore ordered Father Melchior Gonçalves and the other Jesuits, and also the *vigario* and the Franciscans there, to destroy all the pagodas in the territory of Bassein; for, in virtue of his office as shepherd, he deemed it his duty

¹⁵ Q 4622.

¹⁶ DI I 561-562; II 184.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* II 151.

¹⁸ On December 26, 1548, Lancilotto wrote that during these days two had gone to Bassein: Melchior Gonçalves and a lay brother (*ibid.* I 442). On October 20, 1549, Gago declared that two of the laymen accepted by A. Gomes had gone to Bassein, and that they were now with Melchior Gonçalves (*ibid.* 563-567). Probably meant are Brother Simão de Vera (cf. Seb. Gonçalves 3, 22, and DI I 563, n. 74) and Francisco Lopes, who was ordained to the priesthood at the beginning of October (DI I 567-568).

¹⁹ On January 11, 1551, Lancilotto stated that Gonçalves was in Bassein with a companion (*ibid.* II 151); and on January 16, 1551, A. Gomes declared that Gonçalves was in Bassein with a brother (*ibid.* 178). The brother was Luis Frois, who wrote on December 1, 1552, that when Barzaeus came to Bassein on his voyage from Ormuz to Goa (in October, 1551), "omde avia hum ano que eu estava com o P. Belchior Gonçalves," he had accompanied him to Chaul (*ibid.* 460).

²⁰ Q 3415.

²¹ Q 4183.

²² Q 4226.

²³ Q 4230.

²⁴ Q 2018.

to root out the sect of Mohammed and paganism and all that was contrary to the faith of Christ within his diocese. He therefore asked the captain and his successor to support him vigorously in this.²⁵ The captain had then published this order of the bishop within the same month.²⁶

From the very outset the Franciscans had destroyed Hindu temples, mosques, and sacred pools.²⁷ Melchior Gonçalves had also not remained idle. He had destroyed many temples and had caused many to be destroyed. Among these had been one that was greatly revered and dedicated to the Hindu trinity of Shiva, Brahma, and Vishnu.²⁸ It was adorned with sculptures of these deities and was an object of pilgrimage from the whole of Cambay.²⁹ In Thāna, where Cabral's edict of August 2, 1549, had been proclaimed on July 30, 1550,³⁰ Gonçalves had moreover obtained a piece of property in the best section of the city, where there had earlier been a Moorish fortress with numerous ponds and trees. A better site could hardly have been found in the whole of India;³¹ and there, in 1550, he had erected a college for native boys³² and had built a large church dedicated to the Mother of God.³³ In a few months he had baptized there four hundred Moors and pagans.³⁴

5. ONE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS IN ORMUZ (1549-1550)¹

In his instruction which Xavier gave to Barzaeus for Ormuz in April, 1549, he had ordered him to send regularly a detailed account to the college in Goa (for

²⁵ Q 4424.

²⁶ Q 4442.

²⁷ In this regard, see the very interesting letter of the Hindu Azunaique, who had grown grey in the service of Portugal and had been ordered by John III to become a Christian. He wrote his reply to the king with his own hand in Portuguese from Bassein on December 28, 1549 (Q 4318: SR IV 450-461).

²⁸ Gonçalves gives the names of the three gods of the Hindu trinity of the temple: "Ispér [Ishvara=Shiva], Bramaa [Brahmā], Vismāa [Vishnu]" (DI II 184). The *Desenhos orientais*, from Xavier's time, give the Hindu Trimurti on pls. 92-93 under the names: "Hispar [Ishvara=Shiva], Visno [Vishnu], and Bramā" (GS II 113, and pl. IV).

²⁹ The temple lay in Vehar, the later mission station of Trindade, whose site has now been occupied by Lake Vehar, on Salsette southwest of Thāna.

³⁰ Q 4495.

³¹ According to the bill of sale of 1550, Gonçalves purchased the site, which had earlier been a fortress of the Moors, from Agostinho de Teive, a *casado* living in Thāna, for 480 *pardaus* (Q 4564b; cf. Q 4591).

³² Q 4594.

³³ Q 4591 4594 4714.

³⁴ Q 4591 4594.

¹ The main sources for the activities of Father Gaspar Barzaeus in Ormuz in 1549 and 1550 are his accounts: the first, of September, 1549, extant only in an extract of Father Gago (Q 4256: DI I 500-507); the second, of December 1 (first *via*: Q 4304: *ibid.* 595-638) and December 10, 1549 (second *via*: Q 4306: *ibid.* 639-698); the third, of November 24, 1550 (Q 4538: *ibid.* II 71-95); and the fourth, of December 16, 1551 (Q 4713: *ibid.* 245-267); also the original text of his disputation in the synagogue of Ormuz (Q 4305: *ibid.* I 698-725) and the extract from his disputation on the Messias (*ibid.* II 98-103). The third account also gives the text of eight more letters to and from Barzaeus (Q 4437-4439 4505 4513 4515 4518 4529). Complementing these are the following letters: of Bishop Albuquerque, of around October 20, 1549 (Q 4271: DI I 536); Thomé Serrão, of November 24, 1550 (Q 4539: *ibid.* II 95-98; *Gavetas* V 38-40); D. Alvaro de Noronha, of November 25, 1550 (Q 4541: DI II 111-116); Pantaleão de Sá, of January 25, 1551 (Q 4598); Simão Botelho, of January 30, 1552 (Q 4758); Frois, of December 1, 1552 (Q 4923: DI II 452-459); and Paul of the Holy Faith, from Ormuz on February 13, 1553 (Q 6008: *ibid.* 621-625); cf. Q 4270 4355 4582 4591. See also Schurhammer, "Die Trinitätspredigt Mag. Gaspars in der Synagoge von Ormuz 1549" (GS II 413-435).

the letters which went every year to Rome and Portugal) on the results of his labors in that city. He should also write to the bishop and Cosme Anes and at great length to him, Xavier, on all the ships that sailed from Ormuz to Malacca. These letters should be addressed to Father Pérez, who would forward them to him in Japan.² His letters from Ormuz would be forwarded from Goa to Malacca in April and September, and from there to China and Japan in June.

Barzaeus had reached Ormuz in June, 1549, and he had sent his first report on the preceding months to Goa in September. Later, in a second, long letter, which he sent to his confreres in India and Europe in two, for the most part identical, exemplars on December 1 and 10, 1549, he had given a precise account of his labors up till then.⁴

The voyage, which had lasted two months instead of two weeks because of the opposing winds and had brought the travelers to Ormuz by way of Calhât and Maskat,⁵ had been difficult because of the hunger and thirst which they had had to endure. In Ormuz Barzaeus and his companion Reimão Pereira were received with great honors by the Christians and non-Christians since the bishop had written that they should be received as he himself. Two boats were already waiting for them in the harbor. On one of them Tristão d'Orta, the *guarda-mor* of King Turân Shâh, sent them a rich noon meal. In the second the *vigario* of the city⁶ came with his four beneficiaries.⁷ They brought the new arrivals to the hospital and then to the fortress, where the captain, Dom Manuel de Lima, received them with a great show of honor and offered them a dwelling in the fortress. From there the *vigario* brought them to his own house,⁸ which he put at their disposal; but he was then astonished to hear the priest say that they would live in the hospital.⁹ Since during the hot period of the year the people usually slept on the flat roofs of their homes, the captain had an airy, straw hut erected on the roof of the hospital for the two guests.¹⁰

The reputation of the Society had preceded Barzaeus. When the people saw his poor, torn, and spotted cassock, they offered him rich silk materials for a better garb and many other gifts. But he refused to take anything, nor would he, in keeping with the rule of his order and to the great astonishment and edification of all, accept any money for Masses, sermons, or confessions.¹¹

On Pentecost Sunday, the first Sunday after his arrival, Barzaeus mounted the pulpit¹² in the parish church¹³ that was located in the east bulwark of the

² EX II 92 98.

³ Only extant in an extract of Gago. The letter arrived in Goa on October 10, 1549, and must have been written in September, since ships usually made the voyage with a favorable wind in two weeks (Q 4256, ed. DI I 500-507).

⁴ Q 4304 and 4306.

⁵ DI I 502 602 604 650-655; II 249.

⁶ Antonio de Moura (*ibid.* I 660).

⁷ *Ibid.* 668; cf. Botelho, *Tombo* 96.

⁸ In 1547 the captain gave the *vigario* a house outside the fortress (Q 3206).

⁹ On their reception, see DI I 604-605 655; II 251.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 506 605 656. The hospital was a miserable tenement opposite the Baluarte Redondo west of the main gate (Q 568). "Huas casas d'aluguer muito pequenas e royms" so inadequate that in 1550 Botelho had to purchase another house for the sick for 1,050 *xerafins*. The hospital was under the direction of the confraternity of the Misericórdia (Botelho, *Tombo* 92).

¹¹ DI I 503 605 655-656.

¹² *Ibid.* 605 656.

¹³ The parish church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição was in the southwest, octagonal bulwark of the fortress, which flanked the main gate on the side towards the sea. It had been constructed by Albuquerque in 1515 and the church had been erected in it

fortress. For the people of the city this was an unusual event.¹⁴ They all came to hear the foreign preacher; and the deep emotion which they manifested, and the tears which they shed as they listened to his words, were proofs of their efficacy. A natural phenomenon proved to be of assistance to the priest. Soon after his arrival the earth began to tremble and a horrifying noise came up from the depths of the lower world. This terrified both Moors and Christians, who interpreted it as a warning from heaven of imminent divine vengeance because of the sins of the city. The earthquakes kept repeating for nine days,¹⁵ and a new and violent trembling came on the following Sunday, the feast of the Most Blessed Trinity, the sixteenth of June, when Barzaeus again mounted the pulpit. Both Christians and Moors were greatly excited and shouts were raised on the streets that all, Christians, Moors, pagans, and janizaries, should come to hear what the preacher had to say about their religion.¹⁶ With many citations from

with a bell from the church of the Conceição in Lisbon, which King Manuel had given for this purpose (Correa II 439-440, with picture). In 1554 Eredia wrote that the main church was within the fortress (DI III 103). In 1544 Luis Falcão (captain of Ormuz from 1544 to 1547) stated that he had replaced the bulwark which surrounded the church of the fortress with a new and stronger one (Q 1313). In 1546 he rebuilt the wall of the fortress from the bulwark of the church to that of the *alcaide-mor*, that is, the whole eastern side of the fortress, 820 feet in length (Q 1829).

¹⁴ Barzaeus writes that there had never been a preacher before him in Ormuz who had preached even three times (DI I 606; cf. 643 657). In 1547, however, the captain of Ormuz wrote that the *vigario* preached, but he was too young and imprudent for this position (Q 3206).

¹⁵ Barzaeus writes: "The earth quaked around thirty times when I came, four times on one day" (DI I 505). "There are frequent earthquakes on the island. This was the case especially at the time of my arrival. The Moors and Christians had a great fear of them since they said that they were the result of their sins. I believe it was so, for they occurred at a different time than that which natural philosophers ascribe to them" (*ibid.* 599). "Since my arrival, the earth has quaked many times. They were more than usual and for a long time and outside the time for them, seven, eight, and nine times, which I used to good advantage, and sometimes before my sermon to remind me of what I had to say" (*ibid.* 623). "The earth frequently quaked, especially this year after my arrival. And this happened so frequently that all, both Moors and Christians, were afraid of dying, something which Master Francis had greatly feared because of the shameless sins which they committed. These earthquakes occurred at a time when they are excluded by natural philosophers. A very populous city, a stone's-throw from here sank where now there are many fish. And these earthquakes occurred eight or nine times in two months" (*ibid.* 645-646); "two or three times a day" (*ibid.* 671). "There were so many earthquakes during two or three months that the whole world was amazed" (*ibid.* 690). In his letter of October 20, 1549, the bishop declared: "Magister Guaspar has just written to me... that the earth there [in Ormuz] quaked violently for a quarter of an hour. All the Portuguese were so frightened that they hastened to go to confession and receive Communion as quickly as they could. We find it strange that the earth quaked in these regions, since among the oldest Moors and pagans there is no one who remembers an earthquake or who ever heard of one from his parents or grandparents" (*ibid.* 536).

¹⁶ In his letter to Ignatius of December 16, 1551, Barzaeus wrote: "E desembarcando-nos no porto fomos com grande solenidade recebidos de toda a igreja, assi sacerdotes como leigos e muitos mouros, e assi com grandes lagrimas... E não tardou muito o Senhor de amostrar os seus poderes acustumados com que despom ao pecador à pinitencia, e comesou a ilha a tremer com grandes terremotos, lançando de ssi grandes soidos de tempestades que das comquavidades saiam, cousa mui espantosa ao povo. E isto duraria por espaso de nove dias, e meteo o povo em muyta confusão e grande duvida na sua lei; e no cabo destes terramotos, no dia da Sanctissima Trindade, estando pera subir no pulpito pera pregar, tremeo muito a terra como ha remate dos tremores pasados, do qual nacco grande alvoroço no povo, asi christão como a gentio, bradando pollas ruas, que fosem a ouvir a pregação pera ver o que sentiam de sua lei, assi mouros como a gentios como a judeos como a jenizaros" (*ibid.* II 251).

the Old and New Testaments, Master Gaspar explained the truth of the Christian faith, which taught that there were not three gods, but one God in three Persons, and he pointed out the errors of the other religions, of the Jews, Moors, Turks, pagans, and barbarians, who knew nothing about the Most Holy Trinity.¹⁷

On week days Barzaeus gave instructions in Christian doctrine to children and slaves, whom he summoned for these by going through the streets of the city with a little bell.¹⁸ On Sundays he instructed from five to six hundred native Christians, male and female slaves, and children in the same teachings in the parish church.¹⁹ He also preached three times a week, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays;²⁰ and he was astonished by the impression which his words made on the people. They were completely changed.²¹ The hospital where he lived was always filled with visitors. Some came with complaints, others asked for advice, others were looking for instruction; and those who wanted to confess to him were so numerous that he could not free himself from them by day or night. At times he had to hear six general confessions in a single night.²² There were also the sick, to whom he gave spiritual and temporal assistance,²³ the prisoners, whom he visited on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays.²⁴ Christians and non-Christians alike were all drawn towards him. Because of the excess of his labors, he did not know where to begin; he was often unaware whether he was sleeping on the floor or on his bed, and he hardly had time to eat or sleep.²⁵

Xavier had advised him to explore his field of battle so that he might obtain a clear picture of the condition which it was in. He now began to do so, and he also obtained information on the city from experienced men. His first impression was: Ormuz was the most immoral place that ever existed or could exist in the world, and what he heard about it seemed to him to be incredible.²⁶ Four vices in particular were flourishing in the city:²⁷

The first of these was immorality.²⁸ Truly, if there was a second Sodom in the world, this was it.²⁹ Every kind of lust and bestiality that could be invented was discovered here, especially among the Moors. The Christians had sinned more through ignorance than malice, since they had never had a preacher. By the end of 1549, thanks to the fear which Master Gaspar had instilled into them through his preaching, they had already become much better. They lived together with Moors, Turks, Jews, and pagans. There were Portuguese men living with Mohammedan women and Mohammedan men living with Portuguese women, and

¹⁷ On the contents of his sermon on Trinity Sunday, see *ibid.* I 682-683, and more briefly II 251.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* I 503 612 623-624 675 682.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 624 674-675.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 503.

²¹ *Ibid.* 606 656.

²² *Ibid.* 605-606 612 656 664.

²³ *Ibid.* 625 676.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 625 677.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 612-613 665.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 606 656-657.

²⁷ The fourth vice was feuding among the soldiers, which will be discussed later. We follow here the division into four main vices found in the first *via* of the letter of December 1, 1549 (*ibid.* I 606-612), and in the letter to Ignatius of December 16, 1551 (*ibid.* II 250). In the second draft of the letter of December 10, 1549 (*ibid.* I 657-663), he changes the enumeration: (1) usury, (2) trade in weapons, (4) vices of the soldiers. Immorality was mentioned earlier and skipped over in the enumeration.

²⁸ On immorality, see *ibid.* I 505-506 606-607 609-610 612 638 657-658 661-662.

²⁹ *Ibid.* II 250; cf. I 657.

their children had frequently become Moors.³⁰ The Mohammedans had consequently believed in 1549, when Barzaeus came to Ormuz, that the Christians would now accept their faith.³¹ Master Gaspar at once attacked this energetically. Since Portuguese openly practiced sodomy with Moors, he declared from the pulpit that he saw himself constrained to order the *ouvidor* and the judges to attend to this: They should arrest those guilty both according to civil and ecclesiastical law and to burn them as heretics.³² As soon as his work granted him the time for it, he would go from house to house to drive out the prostitutes.³³ This created a wholesome fear in a good many. Moors and Christians no longer dared to commit publicly the proscribed sins. Christians confessed their transgressions with many tears; they did public penance; they scourged themselves at the doors of the churches during holy Mass on Sundays and feast days; and they also performed other great penances in private. Some dismissed their concubines; others married theirs or found husbands for them.

Many were moved by the fear of death to confess to the priest. One of these made a general confession. Barzaeus imposed a nocturnal penance upon him and promised to absolve him on the following day. About midnight, when the man was performing his penance, he saw his room filled with cats, rats, and all kinds of black things. He was so terrified that he feared that they wanted to carry him off body and soul. He grabbed a picture of Christ and cried for help. The frightful apparition vanished with a great racket. The following day the man received absolution. Whereas before, he had been the greatest sinner in the world, he lived from then on as a saint, full of longing to accompany Master Gaspar to China and to die there for God. Another penitent had not been to confession for many years, and he had sworn that he would sooner fight with a whole army and, if necessary, die than to speak with the priest. He planned on sailing to India but as he was boarding the ship he fell seriously ill and had to return to his home, where it seemed to him that God was threatening to kill him. When he heard a gun go off, he believed that someone wanted to shoot him. He then found the strength to confess to the priest and to dismiss his concubine.³⁴

The clerics in Ormuz did not have the best of reputations.³⁵ One of the four beneficiaries, who had great wealth, lived together with two concubines and had sons and daughters from them both without the bishop being able to remedy the situation. Even Gaspar's admonitions were without effect. On the contrary, the cleric sought his company so that he would not reproach him. He sent him many gifts. He invited him to dinner, decorated his house with carpets and greenery for the occasion, and hid his two concubines when the priest came. One day in a sermon, when he could discover no other means, Barzaeus reproached in general the scandal caused by the clergy. After the Mass the priests were waiting for him. They were extremely agitated and accused him of blaming them in public. Master Gaspar finally, in order to calm them, fell on his knees and asked their pardon for having pained them. But even this was not enough. He therefore preached before Mass again on the following day. The priests were

³⁰ *Ibid.* I 606-607 612 620.

³¹ *Ibid.* II 250.

³² *Ibid.* I 657 (autograph: "E este peccado aqui hera tão devasso dos portugueses com hos mouros"). The first *via*, extant only in a copy, has: "portugeses com as mouras" (*ibid.* 606). Sodomy was punished at the time by burning to death.

³³ *Ibid.* 610.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 505 606-607 609-610 657-658.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 670.

so moved by his words that they could not restrain their tears. After the Mass the chief culprit threw himself on his knees before him, placed his face to the earth, and asked forgiveness with many tears. He promised to change his life, to do penance, and to marry off the two women; and from then on he became Barzaeus' best friend.³⁶

The second great vice in Ormuz was the proscribed traffic in arms with Moors and Turks, which was forbidden under the penalty of excommunication by the bull *In Coena Domini*. In Ormuz this consisted principally in the sale of weapons, steel, and sulfur to enemies of the Christian faith.³⁷ Sulfur, which was needed for the making of gunpowder, came from the Persian hinterland lying opposite Ormuz;³⁸ and the latter was the harbor where Mohammedans, and also Indians, obtained it.³⁹ The most profitable trade in the city was in steel and sulfur.⁴⁰ Merchants, even those who were Portuguese, sold more sulfur to the Mohammedans, for example, to the sultan of Cambay, than they did to the Portuguese. This was why Diu, and with it the whole of Christendom in India, had been within a hair of being lost in the siege of 1546.⁴¹ Barzaeus found many in Ormuz who were guilty of this crime through ignorance. He consequently dealt with it in detail in his sermons and instructions.⁴²

The bull *In Coena Domini* imposed excommunication on all who delivered offensive or defensive weapons, or iron, steel, and sulfur to enemies of the Christian faith; and it granted absolution only on the condition that the person guilty of such an offense gave all that he had profited from it for a crusade or, if one was not being conducted, to the Apostolic Chamber. Previously priests had, without authority, granted absolution by appealing to the bull *De Sacramento*, or to other privileges granted to the faithful through papal bulls. The Dominicans had further maintained that the excommunication was not incurred by one who delivered war materials from one Moorish land to another, and the bishop had not intervened. But Master Gaspar showed his hearers that all eventual privileges had been rescinded by the extravaganza *Ad futuram rei memoriam* of Gregory X. All those who delivered war materials to the Moors were therefore excommunicated by the bull *In Coena Domini*, and they were obliged to make restitution of all

³⁶ *Ibid.* 638 661-662. The priest was probably Pero Rodrigues, beneficiary of the parish church, whose house in 1550 was fifty-five fathoms (*braças*) from the ditch of the fortress (Botelho, *Tombo* 94). In 1541 he spoke in favor of Sultan Salghar Shāh as a witness at his trial (Q 834).

³⁷ Cf. DI I 610-611 662-663; II 261-262.

³⁸ On December 15, 1545, the factor Lopes Lobato wrote to the governor from Ormuz that a Jew had a monopoly on the trade in sulfur (Q 1790). On January 15, 1546, he noted that instead of the Jews an Armenian now had the monopoly on trade in sulfur (Q 1850); and on February 3, 1546, he explained to the governor that two Armenians had leased from the king of Lār the mountains where sulfur was obtained. These were seventy leagues inland from Ormuz, and these Armenians sold it at a high price to the Moors who sailed to Cambay and other regions of India. One of these had died in the hospital of Ormuz. There were many harbors on the Persian side of the gulf where sulfur was obtained. These were fifteen to thirty leagues from Ormuz (Q 1909).

³⁹ DI II 261.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* I 610.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 611; II 261-262. In his letters to the governor D. João de Castro of 1546, the factor Lopes Lobato described his desperate efforts to obtain sulfur (Q 1850 1909). On December 24, 1546, he wrote: "I attempted to obtain sulfur in accordance with your command. But it is often said that there are more Portuguese here who take it to Cambay and other Moorish lands than there are who try to provide it for our king. This is true" (Q 2629).

⁴² DI I 610 662.

that they had gained.⁴³ In 1546 the bishop of Goa had received the privilege of absolving from cases contained in the *In Coena Domini*,⁴⁴ and he had communicated all his faculties to Master Gaspar when the latter sailed for Ormuz.⁴⁵ Barzaeus however refused to absolve anyone guilty of such offenses who had been absolved elsewhere by the Dominicans. His explanation had proved to be effective. The consequence of this was that, despite all the difficulties, many went to confession and did penance; and large sums were given in restitution. Barzaeus in turn kept these fines until the bishop would provide for their use.⁴⁶

The third grave vice in Ormuz was usury.⁴⁷ The "usurers of Ormuz" had become proverbial. If there had still been left any of those whom the Lord had driven out of the temple, they would have chosen, according to Gaspar, this city to live in, so numerous were their tricks and subtleties in their exchange and lending of money; and his study of these practices cost the priest more effort than his preaching. In Ormuz the practice of usury was the life of the Christians as it was of the non-Christians, Moors, Jews, and pagans. If a person lent out ten *pardaus*, he could live for a whole year on this, and at the end of the year he would still have the money which he had lent out.⁴⁸

For three months, starting with the beginning of September, Barzaeus therefore delivered a sermon on Saturday evenings in the form of an instruction on greed and usury.⁴⁹ His preaching was not without effect. If previously the people in the bazaar had been thinking from morning to evening about new means for deceiving others, the topic of conversation now consisted of cases of conscience. The people were amazed at their former way of life. They praised God and made many restitutions to Moors, Jews, pagans, and Christians—to the astonishment of the non-Christian merchants. One who did not restore property belonging to another was no longer considered to be a Christian. People brought sacks full of money to the door of the hut in which the priest was living. Wealthy merchants gave him an accounting of the way in which they had acquired their possessions. They made large restitutions, some six hundred, and others eight hundred *pardaus*; and many of Barzaeus' penitents gave more than twice that which they were obliged to restore. By the end of 1549 he had already distributed eight thousand *pardaus* obtained in alms and restitutions for pious works: for the marriage of orphan girls and those who had fallen, for the conversion of pagans, and for the confraternity of the Misericordia; and he still had from seven to eight thousand to dispense.⁵⁰

An extremely rich merchant feigned to be ill so that the priest would come to hear his confession, since the latter could only help at the time those in the greatest need because of his own many occupations. The merchant had him

⁴³ *Ibid.* 610-611 662-663; II 261-262.

⁴⁴ Q 2471.

⁴⁵ DI I 604 654.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 610-611 662-663; II 261-262.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* I 504 607-609 657-660 671 686 690; II 458-459.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* I 504 607 658. In 1564 Manuel Cabral wrote from Ormuz: "The cases of conscience in this land are not as they are elsewhere. Doctor Martín Navarro [Azpilicueta] would have reason for boasting if he started his studies all over again and solved the cases here and in this way gained his doctorate. The devil can produce more doubts and difficulties than the doctors can invent or resolve; but the people here are worse than the devil himself and discover instances and ways for stealing and sins and contracts which the devils all together, if they were called to a council, would not be able to invent, ... all of which a child could confess here" (*ibid.* VI 208).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* I 607 686 690; II 250.

summoned, threw himself at his knees, and asked him not to be abandoned. "Father," he said, "I am the greatest sinner in the world. I want to be saved. I have never made a complete confession. I have here three thousand *pardaus*. I am placing them at your feet along with all my possessions—houses, ships, male and female slaves, and my body; and on the other side my soul!" Many rich merchants spoke in a similar fashion and gave him an account of how they had obtained their wealth. One of the most prominent merchants of the city came to Barzaeus about this same time and told him that he was handing over to him his house, wife, children, female slaves, all his possessions, and even himself. The man had an annual income of two thousand *pardaus* and he did not desist until the priest had heard his confession, controlled his possessions, and indicated how he should use them. Barzaeus also had to give the Exercises to him and his wife and to many others.⁵¹

The moral conversions among the Portuguese and especially the many restitutions made a deep impression upon those of other faiths—Jews, Mohammedans, and pagans. They were astonished and edified, and they called Barzaeus "the great *caciz* of the Franks," "John, the son of Zacharias," "one of the three Saints of the Koran"; and many were near to being converted. Christians, Jews, Moors, and pagans burdened with the payment of excessive interest came to him in order to obtain justice. They showed him great affection and reverence and said that he had not come to Ormuz simply through love for the Christians but in order to teach them all.⁵²

There were very many Jews in the merchant city. Some were Oriental Jews from the time of the Babylonian captivity, others were Portuguese or Spanish Jews who had returned to the faith of their fathers and had come to the Persian Gulf from Spain by way of Venice. They had a number of synagogues in Ormuz.⁵³ Most of the Jews of the city were rich and had assets of from ten to fifteen and twenty thousand *pardaus*, which had been obtained through usury,⁵⁴ which was not forbidden by their law. Their two main representatives were Rabbi Salomon, the most learned rabbi in the city, who had already disputed with Xavier in Malacca,⁵⁵ and Rabbi Joseph in one of the other synagogues.⁵⁶

In his sermon on Trinity Sunday, Barzaeus had used texts from the Old Testament and others to prove the Trinity in God. Some Jews were present for it or had heard of it. They came to the priest's residence with Rabbi Salomon

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* I 607-608 658-659 671 686 690; II 250 458-459.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* I 608-609 659-660.

⁵² *Ibid.* 608 612 660. *Caciz* here means a priest. According to the Koran 6, 85, Zacharias, John, Jesus, and Elias were all just men.

⁵³ On the Jews in Ormuz, see Schurhammer, "Die Trinitätspredigt" (GS II 413-435; and DI I 698-725); also Walter J. Fischel, "The Region of the Persian Gulf and its Jewish Settlements in Islamic Times," *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1950) 203-230; "New Sources for the History of the Jewish Diaspora in Asia in the Sixteenth Century," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. 40 (Philadelphia, 1950) 379-399; see also DI I 503-504 599 626-628 647 650 677-683; II 77 98-103 251-252.

⁵⁴ DI I 677-679. In 1519 they had, for example, the production of palm wine in hand. This was forbidden to the Mohammedans (CA VII 202). In 1546 they also had control of the trade in sulfur.

⁵⁵ On Rabbi Salomon, see Vol. III, p. 242; DI I 504 626-628 677 679 681-683 700; II 99. When the Turks came to Ormuz in 1552, the residents of the city fled with their possessions to the neighboring island of Qishn, where Rabbi Salomon was imprisoned with his wife and children and lost all his possessions: eighty thousand gold *cruzados*, pearls, jewels, and other valuables (Couto 6, 10, 4, p. 428).

⁵⁶ On Rabbi Joseph, see DI I 626 677 680-681; II 99.

and Rabbi Joseph in order to dispute with him about it. They were particularly concerned about *Elohim*, the name of God, and the passages from Scripture: "Let us make men," "You will be like gods," and "Holy, Holy, Holy."⁵⁷ When they cited their own authorities for a contrary explanation of these texts, Barzaeus not only explained the words of the citation but also the entire chapter of their author. After his second reply, his adversaries, though they knew their Hebrew bible almost by heart, declared that they could not answer his difficulties without first consulting their books at home.⁵⁸ In strict confidence a Jew informed Master Gaspar about the consequences of that first disputation. On the following Sabbath Rabbi Salomon had been asked in the synagogue how the debate had turned out. He replied that he had already met many learned men, but never any so learned as those from the Society of Jesus. They were so subtle in their expositions that this could only be explained by a special grace from God, and this was why they were victorious. At this Salomon's hearers had remarked: "How do you think that they will conquer you if not by knowledge and subtleties?"⁵⁹

One result of this sermon and the following private conversations was an invitation which Master Gaspar received from Rabbi Salomon to engage in a public debate in his synagogue the following Sabbath. This invitation was extended with the approval of the other rabbis and the debate would be about the Trinity and its proofs from the Old Testament.⁶⁰ Barzaeus accepted the invitation, and the disputation was held in the presence of Rabbi Salomon, Rabbi Joseph, the other rabbis, and many of their fellow Jews. Many Portuguese and native Christians also attended it.⁶¹ The priest answered the objections which had been raised in his home against his sermon on the Trinity. In a brilliant discourse filled with citations from the Old Testament, from its oldest translations, and from the Jewish glossaries, he showed how the true faith alone could explain the disputed passages, and how the Jews had lost the true faith along with their priesthood, royalty, temple, and kingdom. He showed how the passages on the unity of God did not deny the Trinity. At the end of his discourse, he produced three arguments from reason and two analogies in support of the dogma; and he challenged his opponents to reply to his arguments from Sacred Scripture on the following Sabbath.⁶²

Barzaeus' speech made a tremendous impression. The Christians were outside themselves with joy at their triumph and ascribed it all to the Holy Spirit. The Jews were, on the other hand, confused. They deliberated together and decided not to answer him the next Sabbath. If he came to their synagogue, they would leave it; and instead of entering into a dispute with him, they would only listen to him and pose ever new questions and excuse themselves by plead-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 628 682-683; II 251.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* I 504 626-628 681-683.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 627-628 682-683.

⁶⁰ The text of this disputation, corrected in many places by Barzaeus with his own hand, is preserved in the letter which he sent to his confreres in India and Europe on December 10, 1549 (Q 4305: DI I 698-725). We published it with an extensive introduction and commentary in *AHSI* 2 (1933) 44-55, and again in 1963 in *GS* II 413-435. We have concluded that the lecture was given in Salomon's synagogue from the fact that this latter always appears as a special friend of the priest, and that the latter addresses him in his talk before Rabbi Joseph.

⁶¹ DI I 625.

⁶² For the invitation to the next Sabbath, see the conclusion to the disputation (*ibid.* 725).

ing ignorance.⁶³ Rabbi Joseph even came to the priest and asked him for the love of God not to publicly embarrass them any further, especially him. Though he was their teacher in Biblical knowledge, he still did not know enough to be able to answer him. He assured him that he and many Jews would become Christians if converted Jews were not so badly treated after they had adopted the new religion. They now received so many honors from the Christians because of their money. If they became Christians, they would have to restore it all to their original owners, since it had been gained through usury, which was allowed by their own law. They therefore preferred to die in their erroneous teachings. If he, Joseph, could become a preacher among the Christians such as he, Master Gaspar, was, he would already have become a Christian, even without money. Rabbi Joseph also said this to all the other Christians with whom he spoke, and many other Jews also said the same of themselves.⁶⁴ Others however remained stiff-necked and declared that it was a great evil to leave the law of their fathers.⁶⁵

Many Jews, however, like Rabbi Salomon and Rabbi Joseph, did not weary of the performances of the learned priest, and they sought to show him their friendship. Rabbi Salomon finally urged him to come to his house in order that he might dine with him, his wife, and his children. If he did not have twenty to thirty thousand *pardaus*, he would never abandon him.⁶⁶ Rabbi Joseph also invited the priest to dine with him.⁶⁷ The captain of the fortress, Dom Manuel de Lima, and other Portuguese urgently advised him against accepting the invitation. They were afraid that he would be poisoned. But Barzaeus could not bring himself to disappoint his friends. When the *vigario* wanted to accompany him, he declined the offer since the Jews would not then be free to argue with him without an extern as a witness. He was solemnly received into the home of Rabbi Salomon. His friends had prepared a great banquet, and the only guests that they had invited to it were the other rabbis, both Jews and Turks.⁶⁸ During the meal there was a disputation, for which the doctors had brought their Hebrew and Latin books with them.⁶⁹ Barzaeus posed many questions to them, but they were never able to reply.⁷⁰ Rabbi Salomon told Master Gaspar that he asked God to enlighten him since he greatly desired to become a Christian and to give him his son so that he might follow him.⁷¹ The disputation continued on late into the night, and it was decided that they should come again together and that the priest should explain to them the passages in the Old Testament referring to the Messiah.⁷²

⁶³ *Ibid.* 503 625-626 680. This was consequently the first and last public disputation held by the priest (*ibid.* 625). All the others were of a private character.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 626 680-681.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* II 251-252.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* I 626-627 677 681-682.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 626 680-681. This has reference to the same banquet, since Barzaeus wrote in 1551 that the Jewish doctors had arranged the banquet and had invited the priest to it (*ibid.* II 252).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* I 677-678.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* II 251-252.

⁷⁰ In his letter of December 10, 1549, Barzaeus gives a number of points which were discussed during the disputations (*ibid.* I 678-679).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 679.

⁷² "Fiquamos nesta disputa, que durou ata noite, e ho povo andar em minha busca, de nos ajuntarmos todos e que lhe avia de amostrar pella Escritura Velha todo o que está do Mexias, desde o nascimento ata o juizo pera se converter, e que lhe hei de enterpretar o que lhe amostrase na Escritura por outras authoridades da mesma Escritura"

Barzaeus later gave his exposition of these texts, but his work among the Christians then became so demanding that it left him no more time for his mission among the Jews. Nevertheless the daughter of a Jew asked to be baptized. Because of this her father refused to give her the share of property that belonged to her. Nevertheless, when Master Gaspar went to his house, the man threw himself at his feet and gave him everything for her: gold, silver, and other riches.⁷³ It also happened that Barzaeus met one day a sick Jew on the street. He took him to his home, and the sick man told him that he wished to become a Christian.⁷⁴

This was the situation in Ormuz at the end of 1549 when Barzaeus wrote his account of the preceding year. If Antonio Gomes sent a priest to help him, he added, he wished to take up again his apostolate among the Jews; and he hoped that after another year had passed he would be able to report the conversions of Rabbi Salomon and Rabbi Joseph.⁷⁵

The many restitutions which had been brought about through Barzaeus had also made him popular among the pagans and Hindus of Ormuz,⁷⁶ where there were many astute Gujar merchants who looked upon him as their savior. In addition to worshipping the Hindu trinity, they had countless other gods and endless ceremonies. They let the sacred cows run unhindered through the streets with a charter about their necks, and they had founded their own hospital for these animals with a large endowment. If anyone wished to kill a bird or any other living being, they purchased the creature from him and gave it its freedom. Indian *yogis* had established a cave monastery in the mountain a half a league in front of the city. They smeared their naked bodies with ashes and came every day in their saffron-colored robes to the edge of the city without entering it. There they blew a horn. At the sound of this their followers would come out and fill their begging bowls. Barzaeus also established relations with them, and they indicated their readiness to become Christians. Their superior was at the time in Arabia, where he was visiting the hermitages of his order. When he returned, they said, they would do what he would decide in this regard. They showed a great affection for the priest since his life resembled theirs. Barzaeus would have been delighted to go with them, dressed as a *yogi*, into pagan lands in order to herald the true faith. This seemed to him to be the best way to convert their fellow worshipers, and they assured him that he would be more highly esteemed there than they since he was white.⁷⁷ He also had the hope of eventually dying there as a martyr.⁷⁸ But he would never carry out this plan unless Master Francis or, if he should die, Antonio Gomes permitted it.⁷⁹

In Ormuz the Mohammedans were more numerous than the followers of any other religion. These were divided into two sects—the Shiites and the Sunnites. The sect of the Shiites was that of the Persians, and the king and most of his grandees belonged to it. Every year they were accustomed to bewail the death

(*ibid.* 679). The text of this second, private disputation is preserved only in extracts in Lucena 10, 6-7 and Trigault (Trigault's text is given by Wicki in DI II 98-103; Barzaeus sent it at the end of 1550 to Europe).

⁷³ *Ibid.* I 627-628 682-683.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 627 682.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 677-678.

⁷⁶ On the Hindu population and their religion, see *ibid.* 504 625 629 646-647 676 684.

⁷⁷ On the *yogis*, see *ibid.* 505 629 676 684-685; II 253-254.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.* I 629-630 685-686.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 676.

of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, in their main mosque, which was called Gilalabata; and to honor him they would cut themselves with knives.⁸⁰ The Arabs and the Turks, on the other hand, belonged to the Sunnite sect; and they had their mosque near the fortress. With its lofty minaret, it was considered to be one of the largest and most beautiful mosques in the world.⁸¹ Among the Mohammedans living in the city there were many rich merchants.⁸² When Barzaeus passed through the streets, the Mohammedans, like the Jews, bowed down to the ground before him,⁸³ since they were astonished to see how he had persuaded the Portuguese to return the money which they had taken from them through usury. They also had in him an influential advocate with the captain of the fortress in the difficulties which they encountered in their business affairs.⁸⁴ If anyone of them thought he was in trouble and the priest wrote a letter of recommendation for him, the Moorish merchants were also ready to assist him.⁸⁵ A Turkish merchant who saw Barzaeus walking through the streets in his old, worn cassock wanted to send him a piece of silk so that he could have a better garment made from it, but he refused the offer.⁸⁶ On one occasion at about midnight, the Moors came with many lanterns and brought him to the top of the minaret of their mosque with many manifestations of respect. They told him that someday all religions would have to become one, though at the time the priest feared that they would hurl him down from the tower.⁸⁷ They refused, however, to argue with him. They pleaded their ignorance and the commandment of the Koran that they should defend their faith with the sword rather than with words.⁸⁸

At first Moorish children also came to the lessons which the priest gave in Christian doctrine. When one of those who attended his classes had himself baptized, the parents of the Moorish children stopped their going to instructions so that they would not become Christians. In order to neutralize the propaganda of the Christians, they even imitated them. When they entered the mosque, they took holy water; and at night, like the priest, the muezzin ordered the faithful from the minaret to pray for the deceased.⁸⁹ But already in September, 1549, Barzaeus could write that many were becoming Christians;⁹⁰ and in December he informed his confreres that every day there were many conversions—of Turks, Moors, Jews, and pagans, and of renegades and prisoners of many nations, whose confessions he heard, if necessary, through interpreters. Among these were Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, janizaries, Genoese; and there were also Italians and Greeks who had fled from Turkey. All these were received by Master Gaspar with open arms.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* II 70 88. Every year during Muharram, the first month of the Mohammedan year, the Shiites celebrated the memorial of the martyrdom of Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, and that of his son Husain, Mohammed's grandson, who was murdered in 680 A.D. Cf. L. Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque* (London, 1932) 124.

⁸¹ DI I 646.

⁸² In 1552 twenty thousand residents of Ormuz fled to the island of Qishn. Among these were thirty merchants with assets of 20,000, 30,000, and 40,000 *cruzados* (Couto 6, 10, 4, p. 426).

⁸³ DI I 628 683.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 503.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 628-629 684.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 637.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 677 690.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 649 690; II 252.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* I 624-625 630 680 684 686.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 503 660 686.

If they had apostatized, he reconciled them with the Church; if they had been imprisoned, he obtained a release for them; and he helped them in every way so that they did not return again to the Moors or Turks. Some of these he sent to St. Paul's College in India.⁹¹ Among these was a Genoese who had been a renegade, janizary, and *lascar* of the Great Turk for twenty-four years or more; and in Baghdad had held a high dignity as a confidant of the Turkish sultan. God had moved him to abandon all his wealth and to return to the Church. He had fled to Basra. A Jew, a great friend of the priest, had secretly brought him from there to Master Gaspar in Ormuz. The latter had at first refused to receive him, since he feared that he was a Turkish spy. But the many tears of the fugitive had convinced him of the man's integrity, and he had sent him to Goa so that he might be received again into the Church there and be given the opportunity of returning to Europe.⁹²

In the beginning, when Barzaeus began his apostolate in Ormuz, a Moor, a servant of the king Turān Shāh, had also come to his sermons and had given an account of them to his lord. The king, who was only seventeen years old at the time, had the priest summoned; but the captain of the fortress had restrained him from going. Nevertheless, by the end of 1549 the young prince was close to becoming a Christian. He would already have received baptism if he had not feared that this would cause a turmoil among his leaders and a rebellion among his people. Barzaeus was therefore only waiting for a favorable opportunity for his conversion.⁹³

In the meantime the thoughts of the apostle were already flying farther, far beyond the narrow limits of the small island of Ormuz, which, according to Xavier's instructions, he could not leave for three years. He was thinking of the neighboring Persians, whose mountains could be seen in the distance. At the end of 1549 he wrote that since he found no followers of the Prophet in Ormuz who were willing or able to dispute with him about their faith, he was thinking of sending a letter to Shāh Tahmāsp, the mighty prince of that realm, who was being supported by the Portuguese in his war with the Great Turk.⁹⁴ In his letter he would point out the errors of the prince's religion and the truth of the Christian faith, and he would ask him to have some of his doctors come to Ormuz for a discussion about their beliefs. If Master Francis would give him the permission for it, he would gladly go himself to the Persians and would take the opportunity on this occasion to visit the Poles, Russians, and Armenians who were living within his lands. Like the Christians in Turkey, they had to give him one out of every ten of their sons in tribute, and they complained about the weakness of the Christian kings who failed to make war upon the Turks.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 601 649-650 671 686; II 256-257. In his letter of October 19, 1549, to his confreres in Europe, Barzaeus had added at the end: "I am sending a New Testament with the whole life of Christ depicted in it in the writing of the Gurzis [Georgians], a Christianity on the Persian border which is tributary to the Great Shāh Tahmāsp. Have fifty Masses read, for I am in much need of them, and also for him who gave me the book" (DI I 698). Up until recently the book mentioned was thought to be lost, but it has recently been discovered by Dr. Robert Gulbenkian in the St. James Monastery of the Armenian patriarch in Jerusalem. The manuscript, n. 2583, is not written in Georgian but in Armenian, and is proved to be the manuscript under discussion by a note added to it by Master Gaspar himself (cf. *Studia* 29 [1970] 45-55).

⁹² *Ibid.* 601 650.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 506 602 650.

⁹⁴ Cf. Q 819 909 3969 3982 4505 4512.

⁹⁵ DI I 601 649.

At first Barzeus had divided up his time for the various religions according to the different days of the week. He gave his Saturdays to the Jews, his Sundays to the Christians, his Mondays to the pagans, and his Fridays to the Mohammedans. But he soon saw that he would have to limit himself to the Christians.⁹⁶ With the first ship which sailed from Ormuz for Goa, he had to send back his single, ailing companion, Reimão Pereira. June and August were the hottest months of the year on the island of Ormuz, and the heat was almost unbearable during most of the other months as well. The Portuguese spent their days during the hottest months, May to September, in bathtubs with only their heads above the water; and at night they slept on the flat roofs of their homes. The island had the reputation of being the hottest place in the world, a barren, sterile isle of salt without drinking water and with hardly any vegetation. Books on a table, and the table itself, seemed to be on fire; and one could hardly lay one's hand upon them.⁹⁷ Though the cold-blooded Hollander was able to work without difficulties in such conditions, the hot-blooded brother with his ailing breast could not endure the heat in the hospital. At times he was on the verge of suffocating, and his condition did not improve when Barzaeus sent him to the cooler house of the *vigario*, and from one home to another. He finally had to give him permission to sail back to Goa, and from then on he had to do everything with the sole help of an Arab servant.⁹⁸

Barzaeus had in the meantime reformed the Christian community in Ormuz. The example of his poor, strict, mortified life, his restless apostolic labors, and the extraordinary force of his eloquent preaching had stirred up the priests and people of the city which had become sunk in vice. Everyone greeted him on the streets. He consequently had to hold his biretta in his hand until he finally asked the people not to uncover their heads when they met him. When he went through the streets with his bell in his poor, torn cassock in order to call the children to their lessons, women, Mohammedans and Christians alike, hastened to the windows of their homes and were amazed by his poverty; some even wept from compassion. When he entered a house, all fell to their knees to kiss his cassock; and some did not even dare to touch his hand, since they looked upon those of the Society of Jesus as being saints. Nevertheless he finally had to give in to the insistence of the people and exchange his worn-out garb for a better one.⁹⁹

In addition to teaching Christian doctrine for two hours each day, he preached three times a week: on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. Sunday mornings he preached to the Portuguese in the parish church; and in the afternoon he explained one of the articles of the Creed, from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment, to the slaves, children, and new converts; and these instructions were followed by an explanation of the Small Catechism.¹⁰⁰ At first the men were ashamed to weep during the sermons and covered their face to conceal their emotions, as they confessed to the priest. Later, however, they gave free

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 599 647.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 502-503 598-599 603 617-618 644-645. In 1554 Eredia described the heat in Ormuz. According to him it could only be compared to the fire of purgatory, and the people there lived under fans and in the water (*ibid.* III 102). See also the *Desenhos orientais*, nn. 29-30, where the Portuguese in Ormuz took their meals with their feet in water (GS II 112, pl. I 2).

⁹⁸ DI I 617-618 669. On October 14 he was again studying in Goa (*ibid.* 568). On December 1, 1549, Barzaeus sent greetings to him and the other confreres there (*ibid.* 636).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 612 637 664.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 503 625 674-675.

vent to their feelings. Barzaeus' sermons on sins of immorality, proscribed trade, and usury had changed the people. Whereas before, the Christians had been ashamed to speak to the Moors about the passion of Christ, they were now proud of their faith.¹⁰¹ Whereas earlier, during the hottest months of the year, from May to September, the men had been accustomed to assist at only one Low Mass before dawn and did not come to the church for the High Mass because of the great heat, and the women never came to church at all—in the summer because of the heat and in the winter because of the filth—they all now came to it, even the women. The men were no longer content with a Low Mass; they also all came to the High Mass, even when they were drenched with perspiration in the narrow parish church; and they looked forward to Sunday as to a great feast. The instructions in Christian doctrine on Saturday afternoons were also so popular that the church could at times hardly contain all that attended. At the time of Master Gaspar's arrival, the reception of the sacraments was in great decline. People were ashamed to receive Communion so as not to be taken for hypocrites. Confession was neglected for many years on end, and those who went to confession and received Communion were ridiculed. Barzaeus sharply rebuked such attitudes in his sermons. He persuaded the people to make a detailed confession every week and to receive Holy Communion on Sundays and feast days. In the end the crowds that confessed on Saturdays and received Communion on Sundays were as great as those in Coimbra. Almost all had made a general confession, and they shed many tears at the time of Communion. Those who did not lead a virtuous life were no longer regarded to be good Christians.¹⁰²

The earthquakes, which were repeated for two or three months after Barzaeus' arrival, and his preaching and example did not fail to make an impression on the *vigario*, Antonio de Moura, and his four beneficiaries, who did not enjoy the best of reputations. They had now changed their ways, and every Saturday they went barefooted in procession, chanting the Litanies with Barzaeus, to the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, a half a league from the city. They now conducted divine services with great solemnity and devotion and were most zealous, and they were held by the people in high esteem.¹⁰³

Another effect of Barzaeus' labors was of particular importance—the conversion of the captain, Dom Manuel de Lima. He had previously had the reputation of being a tyrant. He ruled over the church without any concern for the bishop or the *vigario*, or for the commandments of the Church and its excommunications; and he once became furious with Master Gaspar when this latter corrected him. Barzaeus asked God to enlighten him, and eight days later the captain saw in his sleep a wonderfully fair priest with a companion, who said to him: "Sinner, why do you not confess to Father Gaspar? Do you not see how fair he is?" When the captain tried to seize the priest, he disappeared and his companion said to him: "The priest is in the hospital to offer Mass for the sick." When the captain rose in the morning, he could not restrain his tears. He had Master Gaspar summoned, threw himself at his feet, and asked him to hear his confession, telling him: "I am the greatest sinner in the world. I have so many thousand of *pardaus*, so many ships, possessions, and slaves. You have here my body and my soul. Save them! I shall give up everything which you think I should, even if you take away my shirt and put me in a cave to do penance for

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 622 672-674.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 506 622-623 664 674-675.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 506 622-623 660 670 674. On the *vigario*, see also *ibid.* VI 16-17.

the rest of my life. But only save my soul!" The captain made a general confession with great compunction and gave large alms that amounted to five thousand *pardaus*. He made the first week of the Exercises, and from then on he made a weekly confession; and together with Master Gaspar he wished to expel all those who were leading evil lives from the island. He sent most of those who came to him with their difficulties to the priest, who pleaded for all with the captain. The latter also gave Barzaeus a rich antependium, a silver chalice, and all the vestments for celebrating Mass when he should go to China or any other pagan land; and he always showed himself to be a great friend of the Society of Jesus.¹⁰⁴

If the new apostle was so successful in the notorious trading center, he still encountered in September an obstacle that offered him the most tenacious resistance. These were the Portuguese soldiers, especially two hundred men whom the governor had sent to the city in March, 1549, under the command of his nephew Pantaleão de Sá to be of assistance to the three hundred who were already stationed there. The reason for this was that an Abyssinian captain had obtained through treachery the important fortress of Manūjan in the province of Magostān, which belonged to the kingdom of Ormuz. This fortress, twenty leagues distant from Ormuz, lay upon the great caravan route on the opposite coast of the Persian peninsula. He was now preventing the caravans from coming to Ormuz. This not only caused a severe loss to the Portuguese tolls in that city, but it was also a threat to the entire kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Gaspar had never seen such a wretched mob as were these soldiers. They were barbarians without a law, king, or captain; renegades, blasphemers, thieves, and highwaymen, who killed others for money. Among them there were German Lutherans, men who lived with Christian, Mohammedan, Jewish, and pagan prostitutes, and even with women who were already married to others. Some of them took two or three prostitutes with them wherever they went. The Portuguese soldiers confessed and received Communion at most once every ten years. Among them were also former friars who had shed their habits and become soldiers.¹⁰⁶ Feuds, bloody brawls, duels, and manslaughters were the order of the day. On Sundays, after his sermon, he fruitlessly established peace at the church door or in their homes. What took him a whole day to settle, they again destroyed in half an hour. In vain he asked them for the love of God to pardon their adversaries. They replied that Christ was God and they were men who held their honor high and preferred to go to hell than to reach heaven without revenge. In vain he asked the captain to expel them from the island. This was impossible since there were more than five hundred of these soldiers.¹⁰⁷ Since kindness proved to be of no avail, Barzaeus decided to employ severity. In a sermon on the love of one's enemies, he held a colloquy with God in which he asked Him to punish those who refused to pardon their enemies by taking away what was dearest to them so that they might save their souls. He should take their goods, their reputation, or even their lives from them. He should crush their hands, feet, or arms. And for this he asked his hearers at the end of his sermon to say three Our Fathers and

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* I 503 627 673-674 693-694. On D. Manuel de Lima, see Q, index; *Studia* 9 (1962) 199-234; and Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões* III 100-105.

¹⁰⁵ On the expedition to Manūjan in September-November, 1549, see DI I 611 614-622 663-673; Pantaleão de Sá's letter of January 25, 1551 (Q 4598); Correa IV 673; and, less reliable, but with new data, Couto 6, 7, 3, p. 87, and 6, 7, 7, pp. 110-115.

¹⁰⁶ DI I 611 616 620-621 663-664 669 671.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 611 663-664.

Hail Marys for these sinners. This created a wholesome fear in some of the soldiers. When they complained about what he had said, Barzaeus reminded them of the saying of the Savior: "It is better to go with one eye or one foot into heaven than to go with both into hell."¹⁰⁸

The threatened divine punishment was not long in coming. Two hundred men had already been sent against the rebels in Manūjan, and two hundred more had now to be sent under the command of the nephew of the governor with five thousand native troops under the command of a Moorish captain. Barzaeus vainly sought to persuade the soldiers to go to confession before they left. Only some twenty had been disposed to do so. When the captain came with many of his men and asked for his blessing, Gaspar let him know what wretched Christians he was taking with him, and what he consequently feared on their account.¹⁰⁹ After their departure, he conducted a penitential procession at ten o'clock every night to the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Esperança with his boys who taught Christian doctrine. They walked with burning candles and many lanterns; thirty to fifty of the older students scourged themselves; and they were accompanied by all the priests. The Portuguese also joined the procession, men and women and their sons and daughters. They all walked barefooted, and for half an hour they cried with tears to God so that He might have mercy on those who were fighting. At around midnight the priest preached to them.¹¹⁰

When the first two hundred men lay siege to Manūjan, they were unable to capture it, and an epidemic broke out among them. Forty-five of these died like animals. All were ill, and there was no one there to bury them. When the second group of two hundred arrived, they also were taken with the pestilence. Barzaeus was later told that every day, hour, and moment all cried out for him, even in their fevered deliria. During the siege itself, their captain, Pantaleão de Sá, wrote to Barzaeus a heartrending letter. But the latter, to his great distress, could not go to them. Xavier had forbidden him to leave the island during the first three years that he was there.¹¹¹

The epidemic forced the troops to withdraw. They returned to Ormuz, almost all deathly sick, to confess and to die. Among those who suddenly disappeared before Manūjan without uttering a word was one of the chief sinners. He used to take three Moorish concubines with him, and he was the greatest blasphemer in the world. At the time of his death there came a sandstorm which lasted for half an hour. The soldiers believed that it had come on his account. They were all afraid of dying, and many were converted.¹¹² The fortress, however, which the soldiers in their pride were unable to capture, later came back into the possession of the king of Ormuz without a battle.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 614-615 666-667.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 615-616 667. Couto has Pantaleão de Sá sail to Ormuz already at the end of November, 1548. He has Aleixo Carvalho first move against Manūjan with 120 Portuguese. He also has Pantaleão de Sá come up later with 280 more Portuguese and 2,000 Moorish soldiers, and he has Sá remain there for more than two months (6, 7, 3, p. 87, and 6, 7, 7, pp. 110-113).

¹¹⁰ DI I 616-617 668-669.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 615-616 667-668. Pantaleão de Sá gives as the reason for the pestilence the fact that the vizier of Ormuz, Ra'īs Rukn-ud-dīn had poorly equipped the troops and had given them poor provisions. He was later arrested for this (Q 4598).

¹¹² DI I 620-621 672.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 667-668. Couto describes this. D. Manuel de Lima sent a Galician to Manūjan who claimed to be a deserter and had a *firman* of the king of Ormuz according to which the latter promised pardon to the rebels. The Galician shot the leader of the rebellion, the Abyssinian Bislalá; his followers then gave back the fortress (6, 7, 7, pp. 113-115).

The men who returned from Manūjan went for the most part straight to the hospital. When they encountered Master Gaspar there, they threw themselves to the ground and praised God with lifted hands that He had permitted them to see him again; and they all immediately asked to go to confession. After they had confessed, they had no other desire than to die or, if God should grant them their lives, to do great penance in order to save their souls and to serve God—some among the Franciscans, others among the Dominicans, still others as hermits or servants in the hospital. The priest embraced them all, and all shed abundant tears. He consoled them, telling them that he would do everything he could for them. But he could not hear the confessions of them all, since there were four hundred individuals, counting those who were being maintained in private homes. The five clerics would have helped him, but the men wished to confess only to Barzaeus, and on no condition to any others. Most, or at least the greater number of them, made general confessions of their whole lives. All, when they saw him, wept like children who had returned from afar after suffering much and had now come into the presence of their father. Forty-five had died during the siege; a hundred had been wounded; and another hundred who had returned sick died in Ormuz. They wept so much that they even caused tears to come to the eyes of the priest. They seized his hand, his cassock, and asked him not to abandon them: their only wish was to save their souls. There was nothing else that he could do than to take the whole work upon himself. He began with the weakest, with those who were already dying, even though their captain, Pantaleão de Sá, who was also sick, had him repeatedly summoned to his house. He heard confessions day and night, seven in one night. Only after he had heard these confessions did he go to the house of their captain and to the other *fidalgos* who were being tended in private homes. In the course of a month he had heard almost all of their confessions. When he wrote his letter of December 10, 1549, there were still a few more to be heard, but he hoped that he would be finished with them by Christmas.¹¹⁴

With the conversion of the soldiers, the last impediment for the reform of Ormuz had been removed. In the first six months of his stay in the city he had heard from six to seven hundred confessions,¹¹⁵ and he could look back upon this period with gratitude towards God. His daily order was as follows: He was living in the hospital, where there were still sixty who were ill. Every day he offered Mass for them, heard their confessions, and administered the other sacraments to them. He consoled them, bathed them, and prepared them for death; and when they died, he laid their bodies out for burial. In his residence he had a dispensary with marzipan, preserves, and fruit which were sent to him by his spiritual sons and daughters; and he distributed these among the sick. He also took care that they received their pay, and when they left the hospital he gave them an alms. On Sundays he preached to the people in the morning and took dinner with those who had the most need of him, and the invitations to dinner were so numerous that he could not accept them all. After his noon meal he would baptize any candidates for this sacrament. He then went through the streets with his little bell to call the people to the instruction in Christian

¹¹⁴ DI I 616 618-621 668 672. In his letter of December, 1549, Barzaeus gives a series of details on confessions and cures (*ibid.* 634-635 637 670 694-696). In 1552 Frois wrote that Barzaeus' companion, André Fernandes, who was sailing to Europe, could tell of the "milagres evidentissimos" of the priest in Ormuz (*ibid.* II 457-458).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* I 618-619.

doctrine. He did the same also in the evening in order to invite the people to pray for those who were dying and those who were in mortal sin. The rest of his day was filled with the hearing of confessions, the settling of feuds or disputes, visits to the sick and imprisoned, and the collection of alms for the poor.¹¹⁶ Because of his many labors with the soldiers, Barzaeus had had to suspend his apostolate among the non-Christians. Nevertheless in December he could report a great victory—his dispute with a Moorish philosopher from Persia and the conversion of his wife and daughter.¹¹⁷

After long and fruitless attempts had been made to find a Mohammedan who would be able to join in a dispute about the true faith, one was finally found. He was a Persian, a great scholar and philosopher, physician, astrologer, and magician by the name of Zaid Maduny. He had gone to the Nizām in India as the ambassador of the Shāh, and he had returned by way of Chaul to Ormuz. Since the Koran forbade a regular dialog about the faith, it had been proposed that he and his adversary should fast together at the same time on a barren mountain in Persia. The one who could abstain longer from food and drink would thus prove the truth of his law. Master Gaspar had replied that it was proof enough of the falsity of the law of Mohammed that it permitted no argumentation. Since he was sure of his own position, he would easily accept the challenge, but he was obliged by obedience to remain on the island of Ormuz for three years. Moreover, the object of scientific knowledge was to clarify what was doubtful and to reject what was false. One should not tempt God and wait for a miracle when the truth could be better determined through knowledge. If a debate brought no results, the proposed route was still open. But the Persian scholar refused to become engaged in a disputation.¹¹⁸

The wife of the philosopher was a very intelligent and prominent woman. Like her husband, she was of the Zaid sect¹¹⁹ and thus related to the Prophet. She was the daughter of the governor of Shīrāz, one of the chief provinces of Persia, and a niece of the sherif of Mecca, the king of Arabia. She saw the weakness of her husband, who did not have the courage to defend his religion. She therefore decided to become a Christian with her daughter. They both came at night and asked the priest for baptism. He brought them about midnight to the home of one of his penitents, where he closed their apartment with his own hands so that their coreligionists, who were highly excited by their flight, would not take them away by force. There the woman and her daughter were maintained in keeping with their social condition and were instructed for many days by the priest in the Christian faith, but they were not immediately baptized through concern for the woman's husband. This latter also came to Master Gaspar and asked for an opportunity to speak with his wife and daughter. The priest finally persuaded him to agree upon a compromise: he should publicly dispute about the true faith before his wife and daughter. If he, Gaspar, could not prove that

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 625 674-677.

¹¹⁷ On this disputation and its results, see *ibid.* 600 625 648-649 677 691-693; II 78-80 91 252-253, also Serrão's letter of November 24, 1550, from Ormuz (Q 4539).

¹¹⁸ DI I 625 677; II 78 252.

¹¹⁹ Zaid bin 'Alī, grandson of Husain, the grandson of the prophet, who died in 740 A.D., was the founder of the Shiah sect of the Zaidites (*Handwörterbuch des Islam* [Leiden, 1941] 817-819; H. Lammens, *Islam. Credenze e Istituzioni* [Bari, 1948] 128 134-135). On November 24, 1550, Serrão wrote that the Persian Ceide Maduny had fled the preceding year, around March, 1550, and had come with his wife from Chaul to Ormuz (DI II 96; cf. 52). This is an obvious error for 1549, as is indicated by Barzaeus' letter of December, 1549.

the law of Mohammed was false and that his was true, he would return his wife and daughter to him; and he would himself become a Mohammedan. But if he proved that the teaching of Mohammed was false, then he, Zaid, should become a Christian. After consulting the *vigario* and a notary, the philosopher finally accepted the proposal. The disputation took place, as agreed, in the presence of the woman and her daughter and of the *vigario* and a notary, who composed the protocol on the questions and answers. Garcia de la Pehna, the interpreter of the king Turān Shāh, who had a perfect command of Persian and had already served the priest before as an interpreter in his disputations, acted as the interpreter. Barzaeus' opponent was a well-trained and skillful philosopher. He denied that Christ was God, but admitted the virginal birth of Christ, who, according to him, was only a man conceived by the Breath of God. He also admitted that Christ would come to judge the world, but he denied His death upon the cross.

On the basis of what Maduny had said, Gaspar then proved to him the Trinity of God, which his adversary finally had to admit. The priest then told him that he was very close to becoming a Christian. Confused by this, the philosopher asked that the dispute be postponed for a day: he would have to study other books before he could continue with the disputation. But instead of returning, on the advice of his fellow Mohammedans, he fled from Ormuz so as not to further compromise their religion. He sought refuge with the king of Lār on the Persian mainland. He was well received by the ruler, though he was also reproached by him for having disputed with the priest, who was a great magician. A few days later the refugee wrote from Lār to his coreligionists in Ormuz and warned them that they should avoid the priest since he had a charm in the little bell with which he called the children to the instructions in Christian doctrine. The king of Lār, however, sent his guest on a camel into the interior of Persia with the order not to return, and not to engage in any more disputations.

Through their conversion to Christianity, Maduny's wife and daughter had lost possessions worth from three to four thousand *pardaus*. Master Gaspar baptized them with great solemnity, in which the whole city took part. At baptism they both received noble titles and Christian names, the mother that of Dona Maria, and the daughter that of Dona Catarina. Barzaeus then married them at once to two very worthy Portuguese with a dowry of eight hundred *pardaus* which he had collected through alms and restitutions. Dona Maria married Jorge Vieira,¹²⁰ a widower, and her daughter João Bautista, who had earlier been a dealer in books in Coimbra. The consequence of all this was that every day many Moors followed their example and became Christians, since they had looked upon the philosopher Zaid Maduny as their greatest scholar.¹²¹

In his letter of November 24, 1550, Barzaeus gave an account of the progress of his labors in 1550.¹²² Soon after he had baptized the wife and daughter of Maduny, he had baptized another relative of the caste of Zaid, a niece of a king of Arabia who had swept the Holy House in Mecca, a great distinction. Gaspar also married her off to an honorable Portuguese with a good dowry. The effect of these conversions was, on the one hand, an increase in the number of baptisms

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 96.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* I 691-692; II 79-80 252-253.

¹²² His letter to the confreres in Portugal, Coimbra, and the entire Society (Q 4538: DI II 71-95) are complemented by his letter to Ignatius of December 16, 1551 (Q 4713: *ibid.* II 245-267), and also by some other letters like those of Macedo, of August 23 (Q 4505: *ibid.* II 50-54); Serrão, of November 24 (Q 4539: *ibid.* 95-98); and D. Alvaro de Noronha, of November 25, 1550 (Q 4541: *ibid.* 111-116).

among the Moors; but, on the other, there was also an increase of opposition on the part of his adversaries. Many carefully shunned an encounter with the priest, who was defamed as a magician; and they stopped their ears when he summoned the children to instructions with his little bell, since they said that his magic did not lie in his dress and in his words but in his little bell.¹²³

Barzaeus' private disputations with the Moors, pagans, and Jews were however taken up again, and one of their results was the conversion of the superior of the *yogis* who lived in front of the city.¹²⁴ He had completed his round of visits in Arabia and had returned to the cave monastery which he had founded. He was the superior of twenty or thirty *yogis* and had the reputation of being a great philosopher, and he was also held in high esteem by the Moors. People would kiss his feet and would drink the water with which he washed his feet as being therapeutic, and the king of Ormuz and his people provided him with a generous income. He was intelligent, rigorous in his fasts, chaste and poor in his way of life; and he constantly preached on death.¹²⁵

Master Gaspar visited him and repeatedly disputed with him about the true faith. After their last dispute on chastity, the *yogi* told the priest that he was already convinced in his heart. He only asked for some thirty days of reflection before he made a definite decision. Master Gaspar advised his friend to give himself five blows with his staff for the love of Christ, and to ask Him for light on what religion he should choose. The *yogi* followed his advice and one night, as he was meditating on the perfection of God, he heard while he was awake a loud voice which said to him: "What are you doing? Follow the path which they are teaching you, the true law of the Christians!" He then saw numerous ecclesiastical vestments like those used in a solemn Pontifical Mass. The following day the king of Ormuz came to visit him, but he hid himself until his would-be visitor went away. He then hastened to Barzaeus and told him what had happened and asked for baptism. This was conferred upon him with great solemnity, and it caused a great sensation, especially among his earlier companions. At baptism he received the name of Paul of the Holy Faith of Ormuz, and a large portion of his *yogis* followed his example. He handed over his cave monastery to the priest so that he might erect a college in it. The latter removed the pagan idols and consecrated it as a church with a large cross which was erected in it. Barzaeus was offered numerous alms for the erection of a college, one person offering a

¹²³ *Ibid.* I 692; II 80 253.

¹²⁴ The sources for Paul of the Holy Faith of Ormuz, as he was called after his baptism, are: (1) his two letters of January 14 and February 13, 1553 (DI I 621-625), and of December 20, 1558 (*ibid.* IV 162-164); (2) Barzaeus' letters of December 10, 1549 (*ibid.* I 676 685), November 24, 1550 (*ibid.* II 61-82 94), and December 16, 1551 (*ibid.* 254); Frois' of December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* 456). In 1552 he sailed with D. Manuel de Lima to Portugal, wrote to Ignatius from Coimbra in February, 1553, went that same year to Rome, where he gave Cardinal Cervini interesting details on some ceremonies at the royal courts of Ormuz and South India (Bibl. Vat. *Ottob. lat.* 797, fasc. 1, ff. 1-8v; cf. EX I 204*-205*). He returned to Portugal (Q 6035) with a letter of recommendation from the general of the order of August 22, 1553 (Q 6020: DI III 16-17). He did not draw the expected profit there, since he decided to marry and serve the Society in this state. (Polanco, *Chronicon* III 398). In 1554 he sailed back to India with an annual income from the king (*Litt. Quadr.* II 679). We encounter him in Goa in January, 1555 (Q 6071: DI III 211). In the same year he helped Father Eredia in Ormuz as an interpreter for seven or eight months. There the priest preached through him on the Pelourinho and in the bazaar to two thousand Moors (*ibid.* III 348-349 370; IV 162-164). The last news of him is his letter from Goa, of December 20, 1558, to the Portuguese provincial.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* I 676; II 81 254 624.

thousand *pardaus*, another five hundred, and another even four thousand. Others sent him all that they had for it. But the captain, Dom Manuel de Lima, declared that he wished to pay for everything by himself.¹²⁶ From then on the priest lived in his Bom-Jesus College, as he called it,¹²⁷ instead of in the hospital.

Master Gaspar had pointed up the contrast between the hot-blooded Portuguese soldiers with their interminable enmities and the calm fatalism of the Moors.¹²⁸ But he now had to learn something about the latter's fanaticism. The baptisms of the relatives of Mohammed had struck the Moors as the greatest humiliation which they had ever received, and it was one which their founder had suffered on only a few occasions.¹²⁹ The letter of Zaid warning them of Barzaeus as a magician had changed the affection of many into hatred.¹³⁰ The conversion of the *yogi*, who had also been revered by the Moors, had added new oil to the flames, especially since the Portuguese had carried the heavy cross through the Moorish city to the cave monastery so that it might be erected there.¹³¹ During Lent the Christians zealously conducted penitential processions with groups of flagellants, during the course of which the Litanies were chanted. The Moors, to prevent further conversions to Christianity, held their own processions, in which they cried out: "God is only one, only one is God!" And matters reached such a pitch that they frequently threw stones at the nightly processions of the Christians.¹³²

A new event caused still further agitation among the Moors. The conversion of the *yogi* had made an impression upon Turān Shāh, the young king. Lent had begun on February 19, and Master Gaspar was preaching one day in the parish church, as he was accustomed to do three times a week, when the king had him summoned. The priest immediately broke off his discourse and went to the neighboring palace, where the prince was waiting for him with his grandees. He brought the priest with his interpreter, Garcia de la Penha, into a separate room, where he insisted that his visitor seat himself upon his throne; and he strove to kiss his hand, as he himself took a lower seat. He confessed to him that he wished to become a Christian, but he feared the his grandees would try to poison him to death. It was therefore decided that he should have them summoned under the pretext of a disputation. It was hoped that during the course of this the priest would bring them to acknowledge their errors so that they would not oppose the conversion of the king. When they heard of this, there were around twenty thousand Moors¹³³ who were ready to be baptized with him, and many great lords had already chosen sponsors and Christian names for this.¹³⁴ Master Gaspar immediately wrote the joyful news to Cabral, the governor of India, and to the bishop so that they might strengthen the king in his plan. He also recommended to the governor his new college, and he asked Antonio Gomes to send some old priests for it.¹³⁵

But as Barzaeus was waiting for an answer from India, a rumor spread through

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* II 81-83 87 254 622-624.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* II 65 70 87 94.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* I 630 685.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 692.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 253.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 82 254.

¹³² *Ibid.* 81 255.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 86. According to the original. The copies have at times other numbers: 2,000, 2,500, and even more than 25,000.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 86-87 255.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 82-83 255; cf. the replies, *ibid.* 26-33.

the city that the king had already become a Christian. Five of the most influential barons of his kingdom, including the vizier Ra'is Sharaf, as a consequence, did all that they could to dissuade the king from his resolve. They sent him learned Mohammedan preachers to explain the sins which he would commit if he abandoned the law of Mohammed. He had them stoned and forever banished from his kingdom. His leaders then threatened him. They would abandon him and the Shāh would take his kingdom away from him. The king resisted them for a month, but he was finally moved through the fear of losing his throne and the tears of his mother from persevering in his earlier resolve. This also restrained his followers from taking such a step.¹³⁶ The king now sought in vain to speak with the priest. His leading men placed guards at the palace and prevented Barzaeus from approaching him. As an excuse for this, they said that he was a magician and had charmed the prince.¹³⁷ They also sent complaints about the priest and the Portuguese to the neighboring kings in Persia in order to stir them up against them. They were determined to prevent any apostasies from Islam in the future, and to bribe the Moors and others so that they would ridicule the Christians from the mosque on the mountain above the college where the priest was living.

As an antidote to this, Master Gaspar had repeatedly conducted large processions, with from fifty to sixty flagellants, through the Moorish city; and now, after the latest challenge of his adversaries, and his sermon on the Passion,¹³⁸ he led a new procession through the city with a large cross borne by two men. He planted it on the highest spot where the mosque stood, and he fixed it in place with stones and lime. When the Moors saw the next morning that their mosque had been seized by the Christians, they came together by thousands and cried to Mohammed for revenge against the Kaffirs, and they abandoned their mosques in the city, especially the Gilalabata mosque of the Shiites. Barzaeus nevertheless converted the temple of the Moors into a chapel of Nossa Senhora da Penha with a Portuguese sacristan as its guard.¹³⁹

From the very beginning of his stay in Ormuz, the constant cries of the muezzins from the minarets had disturbed Master Gaspar, especially the one of the chief mosque of the Sunnites, which was located near the Portuguese quarter and fortress. His singsong left him no rest by day or night. The calls to prayer were now louder and more frequent, since they often delivered fiery sermons against the Christians from the minaret in order to show that the law of Mohammed was better than theirs. The priest was asked to find some remedy for this. He had the king presented with a request that, since he had not kept his word with respect to his conversion, he should at least forbid the muezzins to shout from the minaret. There were moreover many reasons for his doing so. First, the land was in the possession of the Portuguese, and this shouting was an insult to the Christians. Secondly, the Sunnite Arabs to whom the mosque belonged, were on treacherous terms with the Turks and wanted to hand the country over to them. The prohibition should endure until the king of Portugal decided the matter. When the Moors ridiculed the priest's request, he threatened

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 87 255-256 457.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 87 256-257.

¹³⁸ Was the sermon on Passion Sunday, March 23, or on Good Friday, April 4, 1550?

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* 87-88 255. In 1550 Barzaeus places the king's decision to be baptized before the changing of the mosque above the college into a church. A year later, in 1551, he places his baptism after this change. We follow the first dating since his memory would have been fresher in 1550.

to occupy their mosque with his students and to raise a cross upon it. He gave an order that five crosses should be made, and that they should be brought in procession to the mosque on the following day and planted upon it, and that the building should be converted into a Christian church.¹⁴⁰ The threat fell upon the royal palace like a stroke of lightning. The Moors fled, and the priest was summoned as soon as possible. In order to show him honor, the king received him below on the steps and brought him and his interpreter, Garcia de la Penha, into his reception room. He forced him to sit upon his throne and knelt down to kiss his hand. He asked his pardon and promised one day to keep his word. And he immediately issued an order that no more calls should be given from any of the minarets on the entire island. He had the main mosque of the Sunnites immediately walled up, and he gave the priest some gifts for his college. This caused a great uproar in the city. The leaders declared that it would cause Ormuz to be deserted, which now had revenues of 120,000 *pardaus* instead of the former 40,000¹⁴¹ and received tolls from ships sailing to Mecca. They further maintained that this would cause the Shāh to declare war upon them. But since the minaret which had been closed off pertained to a mosque of the Sunnites, enemies of the king of Persia, there was no need to fear an angry reaction from him on this account.¹⁴² When the Moors submitted a complaint in writing to the *ouvidor* Serrão, he decided that the matter would have to wait until the new captain, Dom Alvaro de Noronha, entered into office.¹⁴³

In the middle of April the auxiliary fleet had come from India because of the threat to the city from the Turks, who were drawing ever nearer. With it came Lima's successor, Dom Alvaro de Noronha,¹⁴⁴ though he was not to take office until June. The mail from Goa also arrived with the ships. Among the letters was one from the governor, Cabral, of March 25, 1550, in which he ordered the king of Ormuz to become a Christian¹⁴⁵ (unfortunately too late!),¹⁴⁶ and a second from the same for Barzaeus, in which he gave him five hundred *pardaus* for his college. He also ordered that those who entered the Society of Jesus in Ormuz should continue to be paid their salaries.¹⁴⁷ Among the letters there was also one from the bishop which granted the priest all the faculties he had requested.¹⁴⁸ There was also one from Antonio Gomes, who ordered the work on the college to be suspended until priests came from Portugal for this.¹⁴⁹

The peaceful weeks consequent to the arrival of the fleet still brought Master Gaspar, despite his disappointments with respect to the king and to the college, much consolation. Many Christians who had lapsed were being daily reconciled

¹⁴⁰ Valignano errs in writing that Gaspar had placed six crosses on the minaret of the main mosque, and that it was desecrated by these and remained closed for a long time (281).

¹⁴¹ Cf. DI I 89, and Botelho, *Tombo* 89-91.

¹⁴² DI II 88-89 97-98 111-112 262 457. The superior of the Dominicans accused Barzaeus of walling up the minaret. The latter replied that he had not made any forced conversions by this, and that he had not prevented the Moors from holding divine services in their mosques (DI II 262).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁴⁴ During good weather the voyage usually lasted two weeks. According to Couto the fleet sailed from Goa at the end of March (which is also confirmed by the letters of Cabral and the bishop) and arrived "em poucos dias" in Ormuz (6, 8, 5, pp. 159-161).

¹⁴⁵ DI II 21-30.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 255.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 26-28.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 30-33.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 83.

to the Church: janizaries, Mamalukes, Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Armenians, and New Christians who had fled to Ormuz from different lands. The priest had also confined in his house for some time seven or eight Lutherans who held from fifteen to sixteen different doctrines. Some of these rejected the Roman church, others purgatory, and others the immortality of the soul; but Barzaeus brought them all back to the Church through his argumentations.¹⁵⁰

On June 20 Dom Manuel de Lima handed over his office as captain of the fortress of Ormuz to his successor Dom Alvaro de Noronha. The Moors now attempted to obtain from the new captain the reopening of the immured minaret. Its closing was considered to be the greatest insult which had ever been rendered to their Prophet Mohammed. The king and his leading men had a petition to this effect delivered to the captain, and he was also offered a bribe of twenty thousand *pardaus*. A few bad Christians who had been won over to the cause also supported the request. Noronha was willing to satisfy them, but he was afraid that the Christians might create a turmoil in the city because of their great affection for the priest. He therefore invited him to dinner so that he could speak with him about the matter. But he had hardly begun to talk when he suffered a sudden stroke.¹⁵¹ He consequently did not dare to mention the walled minaret again. Instead, he was even ready to have it torn down. He took counsel from his *fidalgos* and *caballeiros*, and all thought that the case should be presented to the king of Portugal. Noronha declared the same in his written reply. In a matter of such importance the king of Portugal would have to decide. He would present the case to him, and the latter would decide what was right. He wrote the same to the neighboring kings of Lār and Shīrāz.¹⁵² Tempers were thus quieted and peace was reestablished; but a new storm rose in October that threw the city into considerable confusion.¹⁵³

The vizier of Bahrein was sending somber letters about the advance of the Turks on Basra. They wished to capture al-Katif, which lay in Arabia opposite Bahrein and was the final station for caravans coming from Mecca to the Persian Gulf.¹⁵⁴ In the meantime, Antonio Mendes de Oliveira had come to Ormuz as a messenger of Henrique de Macedo,¹⁵⁵ who had been sent by Cabral, the governor of India, as an ambassador to the Shāh, so that the treaty of peace between Portugal and the king of Persia might be renewed. Oliveira had brought with him from Tabriz letters from Macedo for the governor, the *vedor da fazenda*, the captain of Ormuz, and Master Gaspar. The letter for the priest was dated August 2, 1550, and it contained the following report from Macedo: In Shīrāz, where he had stopped on his way to the Shāh, King Ibrāhīm Khān had asked him to

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 256-257 458.

¹⁵¹ This is how we have explained the words: "Começando-me a dar conta da sua tentação que tinha de abrir ho alcorão, deu-lhe loguo subitamente hum accidente mortal" (*ibid.* 90).

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 90-91 98 112-113. Simão Botelho, who had been with Noronha in Ormuz in 1550, wrote of him on January 30, 1552, to the king of Portugal that he had permitted the smuggling of pepper to Basra during the time that he, Botelho, was in Ormuz. He had engaged in black-marketing with Reixel (Rishār), and if anyone said something to him, he replied that his predecessor, a Lima, had taken 140,000 *pardaus* with him from Ormuz; he, a Noronha, had a right to more (*Cartas* 50 30-32).

¹⁵³ We suspect that the letter of Macedo of August 23, 1550, did not reach Ormuz until October, since the answer was composed on October 24 and sent at the beginning of November.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Noronha's letter of November 25, 1550 (Q 4541).

¹⁵⁵ Macedo had sailed from there to the Shāh before the arrival of the fleet in Ormuz, that is, before the middle of April, 1550 (DI II 113).

write a letter to Master Gaspar and to the captain of Ormuz with respect to the wife of Zaid, who had become a Christian in that city. While he, Macedo, was in Tabriz waiting for the Shāh's answer to his embassy, Zaid, her husband, had come to the court and had complained to the Shāh that the Portuguese had taken four to five thousand *pardaus* from him in Ormuz and Chaul, and that they had taken his wife away from him in Ormuz. They had forced her to become a Christian and had slept with her before his eyes in a wine tavern. The Portuguese had told him that they had done this because she was a relative of Mohammed. The Shāh had become raging mad at this and had informed him, Macedo, through the leaders of his council that he should write to Ormuz and to India that the woman, whether she was a Christian or not, should be sent at once to him. He the Shāh, would not let him, Macedo, and his companions depart until she had come.¹⁵⁶ And if the woman did not come, he would order the kings of Shīrāz and Lār and the lord of Kirmān¹⁵⁷ to blockade the lands of the king of Ormuz and to cut off the importation of food and water into his capital. Macedo added that the people in Persia were very proud, and that they worshiped the Shāh as a god.¹⁵⁸ Whenever Ibrāhīm Khān wrote to the Shāh, he said that heaven and earth were upheld by him; and all his chief men did the same. He, Macedo, was there with nineteen Christian Portuguese and slaves. He did not know how he could support them since he had already exhausted everything that he had brought with him for gifts and bribes. In a postscript he noted that Barzaeus should keep the contents of the letter to himself since there were many Moors in Ormuz who knew Portuguese. The Shāh had informed him that he should advise the woman to be sent, and that he did not wish to do anything which would cause the loss of his friendship with the Portuguese for so many years. At the same time the kings of Shīrāz and Lār wrote to the captain through their ambassadors about the orders which they had received from the Shāh. They were distressed by these since they wished to preserve their peace and friendship with the Portuguese.¹⁵⁹

The situation was critical. Noronha summoned his counselors, including Master Gaspar, and presented them with the problem. Barzaeus cited the passages from Scripture: "Do not give what is holy to dogs!" and "Deliver not up to beasts the souls that confess to thee!"¹⁶⁰ And all decided that they would die before they handed over this woman. On the other hand, they did not wish to break with the Shāh, which would have been a severe blow to Ormuz. They knew, moreover, that the Shāh had need of the Portuguese, especially of their artillery and firearms, in his war against the Turks; and he had even hinted that he did not wish to see his old friendship with Portugal destroyed. A way out was consequently devised. Zaid's former wife and her husband were immediately sent to India, and on October 24 Barzaeus replied to Macedo's letter. In Ormuz the people were seeking to call God's blessings down upon him through processions, litanies, sermons, disciplines, and fasts. Zaid's request was not just; his complaints were false; and the grievances of Shāh Tahmāsp were unreasonable. A delivery of the woman was excluded since she had become a Christian. The captain would write in greater detail, and the bearer of his letter, Mendes Oliveira, could give him

¹⁵⁶ Q 4505: DI II 50-54.

¹⁵⁷ Kirmān is a province of Persia east of Lār, opposite Ormuz.

¹⁵⁸ Barzaeus adds: "All took the water with which he washed his feet as a relic in order to cure every ill with it" (*ibid.* 89).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 50-54 91 96-97 111-116.

¹⁶⁰ Matt. 7:6; Ps. 73:19.

further information by word of mouth. The minaret of the Moors was walled up until an answer came from the king of Portugal. Calling from the minarets was forbidden on the whole island since it belonged to Portugal. This provision had been made because of the many injuries which the Moors had inflicted upon the new converts, and because of the many treacheries which, it had been discovered, had been committed by the leaders of the land, who wished to hand it over to the Turks. The Shāh should be happy since it had been a Sunnite mosque. When their treacheries were discovered, they returned to the sect of the Shāh. If it was said there that the Zaidas had been defiled by immoral acts and that such acts had occurred even in the mosques, they should know that Christians did not do such things, and that it was against their law, which required instead a love for all.¹⁶¹

Noronha wrote to the Shāh that the woman was no longer in Ormuz, that she had become a Christian of her own free will and not through any alleged compulsion. The captains of the Portuguese king had been advised by their supreme lord not to permit any force to be used upon, or any harm to be done to, the subjects of the Persian king, but to treat them with great benevolence. He further reminded the Shāh of the many proofs that the king of Portugal had shown of his friendship for him, and of the embassies which he had sent to him; and he asked him to release the ambassador who was at his court. To his letter he added a gift for the Shāh and sent both back with Mendes Oliveira at the beginning of November.¹⁶² The captain further had the king of Ormuz and his leading men write to the prince, and the ambassadors of the kings of Lār and Shīrāz were given a most cordial reception and sent back to their lords with similar letters. The dispute was thus ended in an amiable manner, since neither did they want a war with Portugal. The Shāh renewed the treaty of peace and Macedo was able to return to Ormuz.¹⁶³

While peace was being thus established with Persia, a new harvest was beckoning on the other side in Arabia. There were four very populous cities¹⁶⁴ in Omān. They were very old and were among the first which Mohammed had led astray with his false teachings. They were inhabited by simple people, who were inclined to good; and they were under a virtuous lord. Within their country there was a temple of Jupiter from the time when they were still pagans. While Barzaeus was thinking on the prospects for the Gospel in that land, he received a letter from Pero Lobato, the factor of Maskat, who wrote to him that he could nowhere produce more fruit than he could in neighboring Omān. Two or three worthy individuals had written to him, and others had come, from there; and they had told him that all would become Christians if Master Gaspar went there or sent someone in his place.¹⁶⁵ Two residents of that country, moreover, had come from there to Ormuz after wandering for two months overland. They had asked to be baptized, and they had spoken of the readiness of their country. But Xavier had feared that Barzaeus would go to Persia and die there as a

¹⁶¹ DI II 66-71.

¹⁶² Serrão wrote on November 23, 1550: "e são yaa todos partidos desta cidade averrá vimte dias" (*ibid.* 97).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 91 97 114-115 253. Botelho states that Mendes de Oliveira returned to Persia with all the written replies "até o meio do caminho" (*Cartas* 42). The Shāh had thus returned halfway to Ormuz with Macedo from Tabriz in the farthest northwest. This explains why Barzaeus could write on November 24, 1550, that Macedo had already returned (DI II 91).

¹⁶⁴ Probably the cities of Nezwa, Azka, Behlā, and Rastāk (DI II 92-93).

¹⁶⁵ The letter is dated September 14, 1550 (Q 4515: DI II 58-59).

martyr. He had therefore forbidden him to leave the island of Ormuz for three years.¹⁶⁶ In 1549 and 1550 Barzaeus had vainly asked his superior, Antonio Gomes, that help be sent to him.¹⁶⁷ He had consequently been compelled to obtain helpers for himself in Ormuz after his sole companion, Reimão Pereira, had been forced in 1549 to return ill to India. Xavier had granted Barzaeus permission to receive eventual candidates, and these were not wanting. At the end of 1549, he had already sent a *fidalgo* to study in St. Paul's College, while he kept others who had not as yet made any studies with himself. Other candidates had presented themselves in 1550. On November 24, 1550, he had written: "There are so many who wish to enter that I am astonished at the great esteem in which the Society is here held. I have accepted only six, five of whom are grammar students; and they are now studying grammar here." He then added: "Twelve men of the first rank and many others wish to enter the Society, but I am determined not to accept any more until the college is completed."¹⁶⁸

The daily order followed by the priest and his novices was as follows: One hour before dawn one of the companions wakened the others with a candle and rang a bell for meditation. This was followed by Mass, which Barzaeus offered there every day. A bell was then rung for school, where they remained until eleven. They then had dinner followed by an examination of conscience. Classes were again conducted in the afternoon until four o'clock. After supper there was another hour of meditation and another examination of conscience before they went to sleep. On Fridays they took the discipline for the Church and its increase, and the Litanies were recited for the Society and its benefactors. On Sundays and feast days there was an hour of recreation at night, during the course of which, like the Early Fathers in the wilderness, they conversed about spiritual things, for example, on remedies for temptations. For the practice of penance, some went into the city to beg for alms from the Portuguese or from the Moors, others served in the hospital, others preached to the Moors, others mortified themselves at home. They had a great longing to die for Christ, and they asked to be sent to Persia or Arabia.¹⁶⁹

On November 24, 1550, Barzaeus completed his long letter to his confreres in the Society of Jesus. While he was writing it, an epidemic was raging through the city because of the heat. One of the clerics had died; the others were all sick, including the *vigario*, who was nigh unto death. All their labors consequently fell upon Barzaeus, and he hardly found time to eat. Paul of the Holy Faith of Ormuz was to take the letter with him from Ormuz to Goa, since the departing captain, Dom Manuel de Lima, wished to take the converted *yogi* with him to Portugal. Before Master Gaspar folded his letter, he added a short postscript to it:

We have here in this Persian Gulf great wars with the Rumes,¹⁷⁰ who are seeking to take this land and Ymdia from us. They captured some of our ships which went

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 92-93.

¹⁶⁷ No Jesuits came from Portugal to India in 1549 and 1550.

¹⁶⁸ DI II 84-85. In his residence of Bom Jesus there was hardly room for more. His successor Eredia described it as follows: "In this city the Society has no college or house but only a hermitage. It is not a league from the city on a barren mountain, with three small cells which Father Master Gaspar made for the meditation of a famous *yogi*, who had a cave and a little house in which he lived on that site, and who was converted to our holy faith" (DI III 102). According to Eredia the place was entirely unsuited for the works of the Society.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* II 85 86.

¹⁷⁰ Turks.

in the fleet against them, and they slew many Christians, our soldiers. I have need of some confessors of our Society to go with these fleets. Do not fail to send confreres here every year, and pray much for us.

Inutilis frater,

Gaspar.¹⁷¹

6. THE DEEDS OF ANTONIO GOMES (1549-1551)

Before sailing for Japan, Xavier had taken care as best he could that during his absence he would always be well informed about his Indian mission. He had appointed Misser Paulo as superior of the mission, and he had ordered him in virtue of holy obedience to write to him regularly and at length by means of the ships which sailed in April and September for Malacca. He was to write to him about himself; about the peace that existed between Antonio Gomes and the College of St. Paul; about Lancilotto and Crimalini, the local superiors in the south; about all the missionaries on Cape Comorin; about Cipriano in São Thomé; and about the confreres who came from Portugal. Domingos Carvalho or another Portuguese confrere in the college should assemble for him all the news with respect to the house, the confreres in India, and Master Gaspar in Ormuz.¹ In a letter from Malacca to Misser Paulo, to Antonio Gomes, the rector, and to Gago, the skilled scribe and minister of the college, he had again given instructions on the writing of letters. Misser Paulo was again advised to give a long account about his own activities and a very detailed report on the college and all its priests and brothers, and upon all the new confreres who would be coming from Portugal, and about everything else at length, on two or three folio sheets of paper. All the priests and brothers should also write to him about themselves in great detail. Diogo of Mozambique, one of the pupils, should give a very detailed account in the name of the native students and in much detail on whether they were peaceful and content and on how they were serving God their Lord. Misser Paulo should further write him in precise terms about all the confreres on Cape Comorin, in Quilon, São Thomé, Ormuz, Bassein, and Goa, so that he would be as well informed about everything as if he saw it all with his own eyes. And each one of the confreres in the college should write to him personally. Gago should send him all the news about the confreres in Coimbra, the priests in Rome, the mission to the Preste, the confreres who were coming to India, Master Simon, and all the confreres who were in India. He should do this in virtue of holy obedience, and he should inform him, Xavier, about the work being done by the Franciscans and Dominicans and about his friend Cosme Anes and his entire house.²

¹⁷¹ DI II 93-94. On November 25, 1550, Captain D. Alvaro de Noronha completed his long letter to the king, in which he informed him that there were two thousand Turks in Basra. The Gizares (Jaza'ir) on the delta of Schatt-el-Arab had already submitted to them. He had sent Dom Francisco de Almeida with seventy men in four ships to help al-Katif threatened by them. The news had then come that the Turks had already sailed around Cape Rozalgate (Ras-el-Hatt) and had sacked Calhât. Now, on November 23, D. Francisco de Almeida had returned wounded by the shot of an arquebus. He had told him that he had arrived at al-Katif ten or twelve days after its fall. The Turks had taken it by treachery: the vizier had surrendered the fortress to them without a fight. They had captured one of his, Almeida's, four ships and had killed all the twenty men on it. It was feared that the vizier of Bahrein would do the same (Q 4541).

¹ EX II 106-107.

² *Ibid.* 125-130.

On November 5, 1549,³ he wrote again to Misser Paulo from Kagoshima about the information which he wished to obtain from him. In addition to this he sent on the same day a letter written by his own hand in which he asked him to write fully about all the confreres in India, Portugal, and Rome, especially about the college in Bassein and the friars who were there, about Lancilotto in Quilon and his college, and most of all about himself and his inner life and whether all the confreres in the college and outside of it loved him, for he would thus free his heart from a grave concern that burdened it.⁴ In addition to all the letters already mentioned, there were others of the bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque, who was accustomed to write at length to Xavier as the latter did to him as his shepherd. Before sailing for Japan, he had written to the bishop two further, lengthy letters in which he included the request that the recipient write to him in detail about the affairs of the Society.⁵

The choice of Antonio Gomes by Simon Rodrigues as rector of St. Paul's College in Goa with the authority of a mission superior during Xavier's absence had been anything but fortunate. It was only because he had been forced to do so that Master Francis had left him as rector in Goa, but he had restricted his office to the affairs of the college and the activities of mission procurator. He had designated Misser Paulo as vice-superior of the mission; and in his instruction for him, he had implored him as urgently as he could to avoid any conflict with Antonio Gomes.⁶ Immediately before sailing from Malacca for Japan, he had warned Antonio Gomes that he should treat all with great humility and love, and that he should strive to win their love in return.⁷ He had also written to Simon Rodrigues that Antonio Gomes had much talent for preaching but little for ruling his confreres and the college. Such an office was dangerous for those who were not very perfect, and he should therefore send him someone else for the position of superior.⁸ The concern which Xavier had expressed in his letter from Kagoshima accompanied him on all his journeys in Japan. That it was not without foundation would now be shown by the correspondence from India which he read on the *Galega*.

The bishop, Gago, and Antonio wrote about the main event of 1549—the visit and confirmation of the king of Tanor in Goa.⁹

When Xavier called on the bishop in Goa before setting out for Japan, the

³ *Ibid.* 217.

⁴ *Ibid.* 222-226.

⁵ DI II 33.

⁶ EX II 105.

⁷ *Ibid.* 128-129.

⁸ *Ibid.* 154-155.

⁹ The sources on the king of Tanor in 1549 are: the letter of the bishop of Goa of October 20-25, 1459 (Q 4271 and 4273: DI I 532-548), which also contains the letters of the king of Tanor (Q 4189: *ibid.* 539-540 and 4234: *ibid.* 541); Gago's letter begun on October 14 and finished at the end of October, 1459 (Q 4269-4270 4296-4297: *ibid.* 548-570 571-575), and Antonio Gomes' of October 25, 1549 (Q 4276: *ibid.* 523-532); also the accounts in Correa of 1551 (IV 673-674 684-689 691-697) and Couto (not always reliable) 6, 7, 5. For 1550-1551 (the Pepper War), the sources are: the letters of Cabral of February 21, 1550 (SR IV 488-499); of the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha of January 16, 1551, which gives a survey of the war (Q 4592), and of January 27, 1552 (Q 4747: *Gavetas* V 325-329, where *Albuquerque* is to be read instead of *Noronha*); of Botelho Pereira of July 15, 1551 (Q 4672: SR V 24-29); of D. Manuel de Lima, of July 17, 1551 (Q 4674); and of Diego Bermudez, O.P., of December 31, 1551 (Q 4719: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 571); the hearing of witnesses of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda of January, 1551 (Q 4575-4578: *Gavetas* V 379-402); the documents for knightings of 1550 (Q 4530-4531 4533-4534); and the accounts in Correa IV 704-710 717-719 721-724, and in Couto 6, 8, 1 8 9 11 13, and 6, 9, 1.

latter had shown him a letter which had been written to him by the king of Tanor on March 28, 1549. In it the latter informed him that he had been secretly baptized. He was now asking that for the coming rainy season he should be sent some soldiers and a priest of the Society for his instruction in the faith. At the end of April,¹⁰ shortly after Xavier's departure, Antonio Gomes had gone to the king with Pedro Luis, the Brahman student in St. Paul's College, as his interpreter.¹¹ At the end of October, 1549, he had briefly reported that he had been five months with the king, whom he had instructed, and to whom he had explained the Our Father and the Commandments. The king was a clever and educated man, and he apparently sought for nothing except the salvation of his soul. He hoped that many of the kings of Malabar would follow his example and become Christians. Though he was not as yet publicly known as being a Christian, he, Gomes, had nevertheless obtained letters for the governor from the kings of Chale¹² and Chetua¹³ in which they wrote that they were only waiting for the king of Tanor to openly profess himself a Christian so that they might follow his example. The younger Garcia de Sá, whom his uncle the governor, Garcia de Sá, had sent with more than fifty men¹⁴ to help the king of Tanor, had been very busy during the winter since the country was at war.¹⁵ The bishop also wrote a brief letter in which he informed Xavier that Antonio Gomes had gone to the king of Tanor at his own request and that of the governor so that he and the vicar, João Soares, might strengthen and instruct him in the faith. Together with Frey Vicente de Lagos, who also went there with them, they had erected a small church covered with palm leaves.¹⁶ Frey Vicente had also secretly baptized the wife of the king and had given her the name of Dona Maria.¹⁷

Gago gave a fuller account from data provided by Antonio Gomes. According to him the priest had remained in Malabar from April until September 16, when he again entered Goa. He persuaded the king of Tanor to come to Goa and to publicly profess himself to be a Christian there.¹⁸ According to what Gomes told him, he was an outstanding Christian; and the priest marveled at his constancy and meekness and the thousand tears which he shed over his crucifix. He was a brave *cavalleiro* to whom the whole of Malabar belonged. Gomes had also spoken with the Zamorin, the Pepper King, and other kings, and with the king¹⁹ and *lambarim*²⁰ of Cochin, and they had given their word that if they saw the king of Tanor a Christian, they would all themselves become Christians. As far as his own person was concerned, the *lambarim* had assured him of this in writing. Despite the war, Antonio Gomes had gone by land as far as Cochin, some 250 leagues, from king to king in order to reconcile them with each other. Gago here indulged in some exaggerated dreams for the future. The king of Tanor had built a church and had erected a large cross at the entrance to his

¹⁰ DI I 555.

¹¹ *Ibid.* IV 154-155. According to Correa, the governor sent A. Gomes with some Malabar students of St. Paul's College who already understood Latin (IV 674).

¹² Chaliyam.

¹³ Chēttuvāyi, between Chale and Cranganore (Innes 451).

¹⁴ The bishop (DI I 540) and Correa (IV 674) have sixty men.

¹⁵ DI I 528-529.

¹⁶ Correa speaks of a stone church with three altars (IV 684).

¹⁷ DI I 540-541. According to Correa she was baptized by A. Gomes (IV 684).

¹⁸ Cf. Correa IV 688-689.

¹⁹ The king of Cochin was at the time fourteen or fifteen years old (Q 3092).

²⁰ *Lambarim* stands for *nambyādiri* = prince, crown prince (Dalgado II). The crown prince of Calicut is probably meant.

city. When the king returned to his own country from Goa, he would be accompanied by the governor Cabral, the bishop, and Antonio Gomes so that they might make the whole of Malabar Christian; and this conversion of the Malabars to Christianity would be pursued without any personal interest.²¹

On August 14, 1549, the king of Tanor had written to the bishop that as soon as he received a reply to a letter which he was sending to the governor, he would sail for Goa.²² Garcia de Sá had died on July 13,²³ and when his successor Cabral received the king's letter, he summoned a council to which he invited thirty *fidalgos*, the *vedores da fazenda*, some *letrados*, the bishop, and the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal. He presented them with two questions: (1) Would it be good for the governor to sail in person to Tanor to support the king? (2) Could the king as a secret Christian continue to wear the Brahman cord? The bishop later wrote that the first question was immediately approved by all.²⁴ With respect to the second, there were two opinions. The bishop suggested that the king should be permitted to continue wearing the holy cord, the exterior mark of a Brahman, since he was at heart a Christian. Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and Gamaliel had also been disciples of Christ in secret; and St. Sebastian, as a secret Christian, had worn the military garb customary at his time. In the same way, Dom João, the king of Tanor, was still wearing the dress of his pagan subjects in order to convert many great men and Nāyars of his kingdom. After their baptism, he would tear up his Brahman cord, put aside his Hindu garb, and wear Christian, that is, Portuguese clothes, as St. Sebastian had done. This opinion was approved by the assembly, though one or other made exception to it.²⁵

On September 12,²⁶ four days before the return of Antonio Gomes, D. João Lobo had been sent by the governor with seven or eight *fustas* in order to fetch the king.²⁷ An account of the voyage of the king of Tanor to Goa was written by Gago at the end of October, 1549.²⁸ As soon as he had heard of the arrival of Lobo in Chale, the king of Tanor went there in secret. When the Zamorin heard of this, he sent him a messenger to ask him why he had left his kingdom. The king sent him an answer in which he stated that he had left his kingdom since he, the Zamorin, had taken his lands from him, and that he wished to live as a *yogi* in the pagoda of Marabia,²⁹ as he had vowed to do. When he received this answer, the Zamorin sent a brother of the prince with a thousand Nāyars³⁰

²¹ DI I 555-559.

²² *Ibid.* 541; cf. Correa IV 689.

²³ According to his tombstone (Q 5795). According to Correa, he died on Saturday, July 6 (IV 679); according to Couto, on June 13 (6, 7, 10, p. 134).

²⁴ See however Correa IV 689.

²⁵ DI I 542-543. According to Seb. Gonçalves, A. Gomes was against it (6, 5); but he was not as yet in Goa.

²⁶ Correa IV 690.

²⁷ DI I 543-544. According to Correa, Lobo sailed in a large, well-equipped *fusta* with twelve other, well-armed *fustas*. Correa adds that the majority of the assembly were opposed to the trip of the king of Tanor to Goa. At their request, Cabral wrote to the king, Garcia de Sá junior, A. Gomes, and the captain of Chale that they should try to dissuade the king from his plan to sail to Goa (IV 689).

²⁸ Gago's account of the king's voyage to Goa (DI I 573-575) is filled out by Correa's more detailed report (IV 691-693).

²⁹ Meant is Mādāyi, also called Pazhayangādi, north of Cannanore, near the foothill of Mount Deli (Elimala), with the main temple of the Kolattiri rajahs, who ruled in Cannanore, and the old fortress of the family that stood close by it (Innes 397-398).

³⁰ Gago refers to a *senhor principal*, a kind of duke, a lord of several thousand Nāyars, who wanted, with many Nāyars, to prevent his sailing. Correa notes that the crown prince of the Zamorin was the son of the king of Tanor and of a sister of the

overland to the said pagoda to prevent the king, if need be, from going farther on from there. He moreover wrote a second letter to the king of Tanor, which the latter received while he was still in Chale. In it the Zamorin relinquished all of the controverted lands to him, and he promised him still more if he would return. The king of Tanor wrote a letter in reply to this, attempting to calm his overlord. He then embarked for Goa with Lobo.³¹ On their way there, the king landed on the promontory of Deli and went to the pagoda of Marabia, where the captain of the Zamorin was waiting for him with his Nāyars and handed him a third letter from the king of Calicut. In this letter the Zamorin asked him to return by land. He would give him all of his lands on the Panane River³² and everything he wanted. When all attempts to dissuade the king from continuing on his way were rejected, the captain shut him up in the fortress there. During the night, however, the prisoner unrolled a large turban and fastened an antler to the end of the strip of cloth. By means of this he succeeded in escaping over the triple wall that surrounded the fortress. As he was crossing the last, and highest, wall he hurt his head and leg. He looked for the river,³³ with his crucifix tied to his turban, and found there a bark which brought him to Lobo's *fusta*. He had already embarked when the captain of the Zamorin came with his people. They threw themselves in tears to the ground and asked him to remain, but without effect. Only at Lobo's request did the king return in order to take his leave from them. He landed once again on his voyage to Goa at a place where he was recognized. There the people surrounded him; and they ridiculed and reproached him until their lord, informed of what was happening, intervened on his behalf.

The bishop later gave a description of the reception and stay of the king in Goa: On October 22 Dom João Lobo came with the king to Goa. Dom Francisco de Lima, the captain of the city, and many *fidalgos* received them at the bar with trumpets, kettledrums, and shawms and accompanied them in numerous flagged *caturs* and *fustas* up the Mandovi River to the house of Antonio Pessoa outside the city, where the king spent the night. The next morning he donned rich Portuguese clothes for his solemn entry into the city—crimson trousers and a jacket of silk and damask, black velvet shoes and a cap of the same material with a white feather, a richly engraved sword and dagger at his side, and a gold chain about his neck. He was greeted by the booming of artillery as he sailed up the river with the captain of the city and the *fidalgos*, and at the quay all the guns of the fortress were fired off. The governor and the entire city was waiting for him there. After he had landed, he was conducted under a canopy made of crimson velvet with a fringe of twisted red silk held aloft on gilded poles. On the Rua Direita there were numerous mime, gypsy, Moorish, and other types of dances. The street had been swept, sprinkled with water, and adorned with green fronds; and from the windows hung countless carpets and precious materials. The bells of the cathedral and of the other churches were rung, and music was

Zamorin, and that the Zamorin had sent a brother of the crown prince overland to Marabia with one thousand Nāyars (IV 692-693).

³¹ "E logo s'embarcou com dom João Lobo, e comsigo embarcou duzentos nayres seus, que erão de sua priuança, mas nenhum sabia que era feyto christão. E por se encobrir d'elles fazia todas suas cirimonias como gentio, e seu vestido a seu costume; antre os quaes sómente auia tres que sabião que era feyto christão. E vindo assy embarcado saya em terra a se lauar e comer nas casas de pagodes, com todas as cirimonias de gentio" (Correa IV 692).

³² Ponnāni.

³³ The Kawai (Kavvāyi) River separates Mount Deli from the mainland.

played along with the sounding of the trumpets which the king, in keeping with the custom of his country, had brought with him. All the secular clergy of the city, the cathedral chapter, the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the priests of St. Paul's College assembled with the bishop in his pontifical robes before the cathedral. They then marched in procession from there to the Sabayo Palace, where they waited for the king with a crucifix. The throngs of Portuguese and native Christians on the roofs and at the windows and on the steps of the palace were so numerous that the king and governor, as they approached, seemed to be wafted along in the air. The king came up to the crucifix and kissed and embraced it with great devotion. The people then filed into the cathedral, which had been decorated for the occasion, to the singing of the *Te Deum*. It was already half-past nine and very warm, and the king and all were tired. Within the cathedral a Low Mass was celebrated. The king assisted at it in an armchair with a velvet cushion upon a balustrade, as did the governor on his left. During the Mass he kissed the Gospel and the pax. After the Mass had ended, he was taken with the same solemnity to the Sabayo Palace, the house of the governor, where he rested for half an hour. He was then carried back to the house of Antonio Pessoa in a sedan chair accompanied by the governor and *fidalgos* on horseback.

In the afternoon the king had the governor and bishop told that he would like to speak with the two of them alone. The governor had him fetched and brought to his residence. When the bishop, governor, and Dom João Lobo entered the room where the king was waiting, the latter took off his cap, knelt down, and kissed the hand of the bishop and asked for his blessing. He thanked them through his interpreter and then spoke alone with the bishop for four and one-half hours. The latter found him to be an alert, intelligent, and mature individual, with all the qualities that behooved a king. He discovered above all that he was very firm in his Catholic faith, and when the king spoke of it and of Jesus Christ, he saw tears roll down into his beard. The king explained to the bishop why he wished to retain his Indian dress and Brahman cord even after his return, and why he wished to keep his conversion secret. He had a younger brother who had once wished to become a Christian with him, but who had then fled. If he now openly declared himself to be a Christian, he was afraid that this brother would rebel against him with the help of a neighboring king and would take away a part of his kingdom and thus prevent him from making his entire land Christian. He asked, instead, for a priest who could speak Malabar for his court so that he could always confess to him. In the evening a bullfight and tilting at the ring were held on the square in front of the Sabayo Palace in honor of the royal guest.

On October 24, the governor showed the king the monasteries of the city, and Antonio Gomes brought him to St. Paul's College, where he spent the night.³⁴ The next day he was confirmed with all solemnity by the bishop in the chapel of San Jerónimo in the garden of the college. On October 27 the prince, enriched with the gifts of the governor, boarded the *fusta* of Dom João Lobo, which was accompanied by four other *fustas*, for his return voyage.³⁵ Before he reached Chale, the governor received a letter from the captain of that fortress informing him that an administrator of the king of Chale and a *kaimal*³⁶ had received

³⁴ Correa IV 695.

³⁵ DI I 544-548; Correa IV 694-695. Couto erroneously has the king remain for ten days in Goa. He places the confirmation in the governor's chapel, that is, in the Sabayo Palace (6, 7, 5, pp. 104-105).

³⁶ Prince.

baptism.³⁷ On November 10 the governor himself sailed for Tanor, where the bishop, who had accompanied him, baptized a son of the king and his mother.³⁸

More recent news about the king of Tanor than that contained in the letters of the bishop, Gago, and Antonio Gomes had also come with the mail from India.

Three months after his visit to Tanor³⁹ Cabral had written from Cochin to the king in Portugal that the kings of Calicut and Tanor had asked him for permission to send pepper to the strait of Mecca, as they had been permitted to do the year before by Garcia de Sá. The king of Tanor had further written that the Zamorin, "his great friend," was ready to pay him five hundred *cruzados* a year for this. He, Cabral, deemed this to be very detrimental to the service of His Highness. Such a permission would make it practically impossible to obtain the necessary pepper for Portugal. He added that he had handed the fleet for patrolling the Malabar coast over to Fernão de Sousa, and that he was now sending him to guard the coasts of Calicut and Cannanore in order to squelch the hopes of the Zamorin and of Khoja Shams-ud-din of sending pepper and ginger to the strait. He was further ordering him to winter with his fleet in Cochin during the rainy season. He was afraid that the conversion of the king of Tanor would lead to agitation and discord between the king of Calicut and that of Cochin, indications of which were already beginning to appear. The priests, moreover, who had had such great confidence in him already confessed that they had been deceived. At the end of his letter he added that the Pepper King⁴⁰ was in Calicut, to the disservice of His Highness. He had surrounded his residence with a palisade of palm-tree trunks to discourage an attack upon it by the king of Cochin. He, Cabral, was afraid that war would break out between the Pepper King and the King of Cochin during the coming winter. He had sent Antonio Correa to the former, and he had written to him that he would help the king of Cochin against him if war broke out. He should therefore keep the peace. The Pepper King wrote an answer to this in which he maintained that he was a great servant of His Highness. But he had allied himself by adoption with the Zamorin because of the injuries which he had received from the king of Cochin.⁴¹

Cabral had been right in his premonition. The rainy season had hardly set in when war broke out between the Pepper King and the king of Cochin. The former occupied the island of Bardela⁴² three leagues from Cochin, which had for a long time belonged to that city. The captain of the fortress, Francisco da Silva, ordered him to leave the island. When he refused to do so, a battle ensued in which both the Pepper King and the captain were killed.⁴³ According to the

³⁷ According to Gago (DI I 572-573).

³⁸ Correa IV 696-697. On October 25, the bishop had written that the governor and he, the bishop, would follow the king with the entire fleet five or six days after the latter's departure. (DI I 548).

³⁹ On February 21, 1550.

⁴⁰ The rajah of Vadakkumkur.

⁴¹ SR IV 488-489 497-498; cf. Correa IV 685-686 and Q 4592.

⁴² Varutela.

⁴³ Correa IV 704-709; Q 4592. The precise date of the battle in which the Pepper King and the captain of Cochin were slain is not known. According to Correa, it was on a Saturday after the onslaught of the southwest monsoon, since there was a cloudburst, and thus in June (IV 708-709). The news of it reached Goa on June 20 (Q 4575). According to Zinadim, the amuck runners, who had to avenge the death of their king, attacked Cochin on June 24 (67). He also states that the first part of the Pepper War lasted till the death of the king, from May 18 until June 16 (66), but in 1550 this was a Monday.

custom of the land, the Nāyars of the Pepper King and his relatives were obliged to avenge the death of the prince. The kings of Calicut and Tanor were related to him through marriage and adoption,⁴⁴ and were thus also drawn into the war. On June 20, 1550, news reached Goa of the unfortunate outcome of the battle of Bardela and that the king of Tanor and the princes of the king of Calicut had immediately come to the help of the new Pepper King and were already on Bardela and threatening Cochin, and that the Zamorin himself was on his way. On July 27, despite the monsoon, Cabral therefore sent Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda with three *fustas* to the help of the city.⁴⁵ When he arrived in Cochin on August 3,⁴⁶ the king of Tanor was already on Bardela with ten thousand Nāyars and the new Pepper King; and the Zamorin was in Chembe, on the mainland, ready to pass over to the island.⁴⁷ Strengthened by the crews of twelve more *fustas* which arrived later, Sepúlveda kept watch over the strait with his ships and, despite the constant battles, prevented the enemy from passing over to Cochin. He also cut off the arrival of provisions on Bardela. After the rainy season had passed, the governor came with twenty ships. On his way he burned in the territory of the Zamorin the towns of Tiracole, Coulete, and Panane⁴⁸ and all the vessels he found near them; and at the beginning of November he anchored at Bardela. There the king of Tanor strove to detain him by negotiating for peace until Cabral, tired of the delay, gave an order that the island should be taken by storm on the following day. But that night he received a letter from the viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha, his successor, ordering him not to take

⁴⁴ According to Zinadim, the Pepper King concluded a treaty with the Zamorin in Calicut on January 20, 1550. By means of this they became allies. The Zamorin promised him his kingdom as an inheritance if he, the Pepper King, declared his brother (the Zamorin's) heir in the fourth place to the Pepper Kingdom (after the death of both brothers of the Pepper King) (66). According to Sepúlveda, the new Pepper King was the brother of the one who had fallen in battle (*Gavetas* V 379). According to Correa, he was the son of the king of Tanor, since the deceased had been his brother (IV 710 718). Also, according to him, the king of Tanor was married to a sister of the Zamorin, and his son was consequently the crown prince of Calicut (*ibid.* 685 692) and, through adoption of the Pepper King by the Zamorin, the heir also of the latter's kingdom (710).

⁴⁵ He went on board ship in Goa on June 26, but he could not sail until July 27 on account of the monsoon (*Gavetas* V 379-380).

⁴⁶ According to Sepúlveda (*ibid.* 380). Noronha errs in not having him come to Cochin until the beginning of September (Q 4592).

⁴⁷ Correa IV 718; cf. the documents of knightings of October 24 and 25 (Q 4530-4531).

⁴⁸ Tikkōdi, Kollam and Ponnāni (Correa IV 721-722; Couto 6, 8, 13; Q 4533 4534). Tiracole (not to be confused with the Tiracol River and the fortress at its mouth on the northern boundary of Goa) was two leagues south of Puthupattanam, which lay on the Kotta River, which divided the kingdoms of Cannanore and Calicut (Barbosa II 85; Couto, who identifies it with the neighboring Kizhūr, 6, 8, 13, p. 211). In Pires Tiracole is given as *Tiricorij* (I 74), in Barbosa as *Tircore* (II 85); and it is the Tikkōdi described by Barros (4, 7, 21, pp. 316-317). Kunhāli Marakkar, the admiral of the Calicut fleet, transferred his seat there when the governor drove him out of Pantalāyini-Kollam in 1525 (Innes 433). Tikkōdi lay immediately north of Cape Kotta, Kollam immediately south of it, near the two other villages of Pantalāyini and Quilandi. Instead of Kollam, Zinadim has *Pandarane Kollam*, since the two practically comprised one village, the modern Pantalāyini-Kollam. The same is true of the neighboring Coulete (the modern Quilandi or Koilandi), which Correa (IV 722) and Couto (6, 8, 13, pp. 211-212) name instead of Kollam. Panane is the modern Ponnāni in the south of the kingdom. According to Zinadim, Cabral burned Tiracole on October 26, 1550; two days later he burned Pandarane-Kollam, and five days after this Panane (67). On these villages, see Yule 666-667 and Innes 433 436-438 454-456. — The bishop (Q 4592), A. Gomes, Gil Barreto (**Responso Nadal* II 241v; DI II 249), and Pero Luis sailed with Cabral, the last as an interpreter (DI IV 394).

any measures for peace or war. As soon as the king of Tanor learned that the viceroy had come, he wrote and asked him to let him go with the prince of Calicut to Chembe in order to persuade the Zamorin to make peace. The request was granted and peace concluded. The loading of pepper which had been prevented by the war could thus be recommenced.⁴⁹

But the pepper came slowly and the future was more dire than what Noronha wrote to the king. According to him the adversaries had agreed to a peace against their will. The old hostility between the Zamorin and the king of Cochin was glowing beneath the ashes; and, since the death of the Pepper King, the amuck runners had been making the land unsafe. Three hundred of these had burned Upper Cochin in order to avenge the death of their prince. They had fallen to the last man in battle; but, as Noronha observed, four thousand of them still remained. The young king was therefore living in mortal anguish; and in the Portuguese city, where there were from four to five hundred *casados*, the people were prepared for the worst. The judgment of the viceroy in such circumstances on the king of Tanor was unfavorable. He believed, as he wrote, that the king had become a Christian more to bring the country into a state of turmoil than to save his soul, for he was the guiding genius for the regime of the weak Zamorin.

Noronha finished his long report to the king on January 16, 1551.⁵⁰ At the end of the month, after taking contingent measures for a revival of the war, he had sailed off for Goa. His fears had not been without foundation. Cabral, his predecessor, had remained behind in Cochin in order to take care of the loading of the pepper. The ships were not ready for sailing until February 24, and Cabral wished to set sail for Portugal the following day. During the night news came that eight thousand amuck runners had invaded Upper Cochin and had wrought great havoc upon it. The Portuguese city itself was now threatened. The captain therefore sent Sepúlveda with fifteen hundred Portuguese and other native troops to drive out the enemy. In the raging battle which followed, two thousand of the enemy and more than fifty of the Portuguese lost their lives, but the invaders were expelled and Cabral could set sail the following day on his return voyage to Portugal.⁵¹

The old Gaspar Correa, who had come to India with Affonso de Albuquerque, had finished his chronicle, the *Lendas da India*, in Goa in 1551 with the Pepper War. In it he maintained that the chief reason for the king of Tanor's becoming

⁴⁹ Correa erroneously states that the king of Tanor had detained Cabral for four days with negotiations (IV 723). Noronha states, however, that Cabral had received his letter three or four days after his arrival in Bardela (Q 4592). Couto consequently writes that the king of Tanor had detained him for three days and that on the third day the letter of the viceroy had arrived (6, 8, 13). Noronha writes that he sailed from Ceylon on October 27, and that in Quilon the factor had come to his ship and informed him that Cabral had sailed from Goa to Cochin and was still on the way. When he learned this, Noronha immediately sent a boat on ahead with a letter in which he ordered Cabral to make no decisions about peace or war until he came (Q 4592). According to D. Manuel Lima, the viceroy arrived in Cochin on November 5 (Q 4674), according to Botelho Pereira on the sixth (Q 4672), and according to Seb. Ferreira on the seventh (Q 4596). On November 3, Cabral dubbed two more knights at Bardela and noted in the documents that the enemy already wished to conclude a peace (Q 4533-4534). Correa's statement, that Noronha's letter was not handed over to Cabral until the night of November 28, the vigil of St. Andrew's, is therefore erroneous, since Bardela is only two leagues from Cochin, and the viceroy would certainly have communicated his arrival at once to Cabral (IV 724).

⁵⁰ Q 4592.

⁵¹ Couto 6, 9, 2, pp. 232-235.

a Christian had been his quarrel with the Zamorin, who had wished to take from him the lands along the Panane River. He had consequently sought the help of the Portuguese.⁵² Diego Bermudez, the vicar general of the Dominicans, moreover, held that the whole history of the conversion of the king of Tanor was a fraud, and, as he wrote to the king in Lisbon,⁵³ he had on this account incurred the enmity of the bishop and of the viceroy.

Such was the state of affairs in September when the Banda ship sailed from Goa with Dom Alvaro de Ataide, taking with it the latest news on the king of Tanor to Malacca. After his return from Malabar on September 16, 1549, Antonio Gomes had again taken up his preaching with great zeal and had delivered sermons to large crowds on Wednesdays in the Misericordia and on Sundays in the cathedral.⁵⁴ He preached, as the bishop wrote,⁵⁵ "like an angel," and was "a plant that is bringing forth much fruit in these regions through his life, his reputation, his example, and his teaching." Cabral, the governor, was also enthusiastic about Antonio Gomes, and he granted him whatever he asked. The friendship between the two was, in fact, so great that many attributed the errors committed by the governor to the influence of the rector of St. Paul's College.⁵⁶ At his request, Cabral ordered all of the hidden revenues of the pagodas to be determined and a register to be drawn up in their regard.⁵⁷ With his assistance Gomes was also able to continue with the erection of the college⁵⁸ and to build a small church for the three hundred Christians on the island of Chorão.⁵⁹ This friendship with the governor was also of help to Gomes as mission procurator of the Fishery Coast and of the Moluccas.⁶⁰ Henrique Henriques praised the zeal with which he cared for the needs of the Christians on the Fishery Coast.⁶¹ But on the other hand the rector, who was working hard to expel the Brahmans from the island of Goa,⁶² showed little understanding for the mission. Against Xavier's express command he wanted with the bishop to call Henriques from the Fishery Coast in order to make him the confessor of the king of Tanor. Only the death of Criminali and the universal rejection of his plan by the missionaries prevented him from carrying it out.⁶³ When the missionaries, after the death of Criminali, unanimously elected Henriques as their superior and Lancilotto, the regional superior in the southeast, approved of this election, he was severely reproached by Gomes on the score that he had appointed as superior a New Christian who, according to the rules of the Society of Jesus, could not become a member of the order.⁶⁴ Lancilotto, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the priest not only deserved a dispensation so that he could enter the order and be a superior, but that he also deserved to be professed.⁶⁵ Further, whereas Xavier, who was fully aware of the marriage practices of the natives, only forbade mar-

⁵² Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 571.

⁵³ Correa IV 684-685.

⁵⁴ DI I 569-570.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* II 123.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 140.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* I 497-498; II 38-42 44-47.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* I 522 569.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* II 292.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* I 519-520.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* II 165-166.

⁶² *Ibid.* I 530 569.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 587.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* II 147.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 134-135 145-146.

riages within the second degree of kindred but tolerated those within the third and fourth degrees, Gomes sought to oblige the missionaries on the Fishery Coast to forbid marriages even within these grades.⁶⁶

If already in 1549 after Xavier's departure, the rector of St. Paul's College had intervened in the affairs of the mission superiors, he was further strengthened in his position by a letter from Rome in 1550. In September, 1550, the ships from Portugal brought a document of the founder of the order which appointed Xavier provincial of India. In an accompanying letter Ignatius declared that the provincial could grant the favors and faculties connected with it to his subjects. If Master Francis happened to be at a distance from the college, he could delegate his authority and the faculties connected with it either in whole or in part to the rector of St. Paul's College at the time.⁶⁷ Before his departure Xavier had appointed Misser Paulo the mission superior, and he had limited the jurisdiction of Antonio Gomes to St. Paul's College. Gomes now maintained that by this new letter the general of the order had appointed him to be the deputy mission superior during Xavier's absence. As a reply to this, he was told that Ignatius, who had known nothing about Xavier's instructions when he composed his letter, had not intended to cancel his orders. It was therefore decided that all should obey Misser Paulo as mission superior, as they had in the past, until Master Francis had made a decision in this regard.⁶⁸

Antonio Gomes' administration of his office as rector of St. Paul's College was to fully justify the concern which Xavier and his confreres had about his lack of prudence. Master Francis was especially informed about what he was doing through the letters which he received from Lancilotto, who attentively followed what was happening from Quilon and wrote regularly about it.

A stone of contradiction for the new rector was the chanting of choir by the students of St. Paul's College. On Sundays and feast days they chanted the ecclesiastical hours in the church, as was customary also in the other churches of Goa. This practice had been introduced by Mestre Diogo and the other founders of the college, and it had also been approved by Ignatius. The citizens of the city used to come in great numbers to hear the sermon and the choir. Gomes declared that such singing was contrary to the rules of the Society of Jesus and, despite the opposition of the people, he abolished the practice with a single stroke. The result was that the people thereafter avoided the college church.⁶⁹

At the beginning of 1550 Lancilotto sent further news. The college had been exclusively founded for native students, and their selection had not always been happy. Many were already grown and were veritable barbarians. Lancilotto as a consequence had his own fears about them, and these eventually proved to be founded, since some instances of immorality were discovered.⁷⁰ Antonio Gomes, who wished to make of the college a second Coimbra, declared that the Indian students were unsuitable for this. He therefore decided to send them all away and to take in Portuguese instead as candidates for the Society of Jesus, especially since no further confreres of the Society came from Portugal in September, 1549. But he was so opposed in this by the authorities that he could only partially execute his plan. He dismissed twenty-seven of the native students and took in

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 126-127; cf. Polanco, *Chronicon* II 144; Brou II 269, n. 1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* I 736-738.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* II 171-172.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* I 594-595.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* II 170.

their place a similar number of Portugese as candidates for the order. These were all grown men who could hardly read and were without any higher education. The native students were completely segregated from them and had their own refectory and dormitory. This disturbed them no little, since they were being treated as second-class Christians and students of a lower caste and race. Lancilotto was of the opinion that Gomes was taking too many into the order without making a proper choice, and that he was having them ordained to the priesthood too easily.⁷¹ With respect to marriages within the forbidden grades, he believed that a dispensation in this regard should be obtained in Rome, as had already been granted for the New Spaniards.⁷²

A year later, at the beginning of 1551, Lancilotto sent further news:

In the college in Goa there is now not a single Indian. Padre Amtonio Guomez dismissed them all and took Portuguese men for our Society, twenty and more, as I am told. This year a viceroy came from Portugal and when he saw the condition of this college, he was not in the least edified by it but ordered that this college should be immediately peopled with boys since this was a matter which the king and queen had much at heart. Amtonio Guomez did this on his own account since Micer Paulloo and I spoke against it, and so much so that he took it ill that we wished to prevent him from doing so. The same thing which he did could have been done with more moderation and no scandal if he had dismissed some and taken others, and provided some form of livelihood for those whom he dismissed; but the priest is so fervent and so zealous for the Society (*Companhia*) that he is unable to act except in this manner. May it please our Lord that it all turns out to the good. He has now returned to taking in boys by command of the viceroy. This past week I sent him from here in Coullão (Quilon) fifteen boys. It seems to me that a year from now the college will be filled again and with a better choice of pupils than the others who were taken in without any selection, which was the cause of the confusion.⁷³

In a second letter Lancilotto noted that Antonio Gomes was certainly an upright man, a reasonably good preacher, and zealous for the Society, but all agreed that he was completely unsuited for ruling.⁷⁴ Despite his friendship with Cosme Anes, the opposition of the people, the fact that the revenues amounting to 2,500 *cruzados* had not been given for the use of the Society but for the support of the newly converted boys, and the further fact that the Society did not own the college but only administered it, Gomes had made this renovation under the conviction that the king would later approve of the measures taken.⁷⁵

The viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha had arrived in Cochin on November 5, 1550. Before he landed, people had already come on board his ship and complained about the expulsion of the native students, and the bishop who was with Antonio Gomes and Cabral in Cochin,⁷⁶ had immediately done the same on land. On a single day Gomes had expelled each and every one of them with the approval of the governor Cabral, as Noronha wrote to Simon Rodrigues, his former confes-

⁷¹ DI II 11. On October 20, 1549, Gago wrote that Gomes had taken in twenty since his arrival (*ibid.* I 567). On January 25, 1550, Lancilotto stated that he had dismissed twenty-seven Indians and taken in an equal number of Portuguese (*ibid.* 10). On January 27, 1550, he noted that Gomes had taken in twenty-eight Portuguese during the past year (*ibid.* 15); cf. EX II 401-402 and 418-419.

⁷² DI II 19.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 148.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 172.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 170 173.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 141.

sor. And he had done this without asking the opinion of the bishop or any other worldly authority. When day broke, the college, the pride and hope of India and renowned throughout the entire world, was laid waste like a land afflicted with the plague. It was an unheard of scandal for the entire city. The bishop and a number of *cavalleiros* went to Antonio Gomes and ordered him to take the boys back. The priest however told them that he wanted to have only Portuguese students in the college, and that he would look for them. When the viceroy had him summoned with the other priests of Cochin and asked him how he could have done this without the approval of the king and of Father Simon Rodrigues, he replied that he had done so because he had discovered that no fruit could be gained with the native students, some of whom had been found guilty of grave sins. To this the viceroy had replied that it would have been sufficient to have sent away the guilty students and to have taken good ones in their place. He therefore ordered him in his own name and in that of the college to immediately fill the college again with native Christian boys and to teach them reading, writing, and Latin. And, in order to avoid the said grave transgressions, they should be allowed to leave as soon as they had reached their fifteenth year if they so wished; and other boys should be taken in their place until His Highness should decide in this regard. Thirteen had already arrived from Cape Comorin and a few from Bassein, and the priests told him that when he came to Goa he would find more than forty already in the college.⁷⁷

In Cochin the viceroy was confronted with another source of great vexation—the dispute of the city with Antonio Gomes over the church of Madre de Deus and the building of the college.

When Xavier reached Cochin in April, 1549, on his voyage to Japan, the city and its captain, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, asked him for a priest of the Society and had promised to give him a house.⁷⁸ When in this same year Antonio Gomes came there from Tanor and preached in the city with great zeal, the captain and the city had given him the rich and beautiful church of Madre de Deus, which was worth more than 1,100 *cruzados*, as a site for the Society. And in addition to this they had provided six hundred *pardaus* so that a college large enough for fifty confreres could be immediately erected, as Gago wrote at the end of October, 1549.⁷⁹ Xavier had ordered Gomes to send a preacher to Cochin if one came from Portugal in September.⁸⁰ But no one of the Society came to India in 1549. Gago and Francisco Henriques were therefore destined for Cochin.⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 140-142.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* I 559.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 559-560; cf. A. Gomes, *ibid.* 521.

⁸⁰ EX II 107.

⁸¹ On January 27, 1550, Lancilotto wrote from Quilon without naming F. Henriques that a college had been begun in Cochin and that Father B. Gago was in it (DI II 15). On April 14, 1550, an official document states that there were in the college B. Gago (mentioned in the first place) and F. Henriques (*ibid.* VII 700); on November 26, 1550, Pérez wrote a letter to B. Gago (named first), F. Henriques, Lancilotto, and the other confreres on Cape Comorin (*ibid.* II 116). At the beginning of 1551, Gago sailed back to Goa. He and Antonio Gomes then accompanied the viceroy from September to December on his expedition to Ceylon. He returned sick from there to Cochin, and from there in turn to Goa before Xavier's arrival (*ibid.* 277-289). Lucena therefore writes that Gomes had sent Gago to Cochin, where he made a good beginning, after Xavier's departure (9, 20); Seb. Gonçalves writes that Gomes had sent him to Cochin as the first superior (7, 9). On October 22, 1548, Xavier wrote to the ailing Francisco Henriques, who was at the time a missionary in Travancore, that Criminali, the mission superior, would visit him; and, if he were ill, he would decide whether he should remain or should go to

When Cabral came there at the end of 1549 with the bishop and Antonio Gomes, he purchased in the name of the Portuguese king a piece of ground next to the church of Madre de Deus on the best square in the city for the erection of a college. With the approval of the city, the bishop gave to the Society the right to use the church there.⁴² During the following rainy season, the Pepper War broke out; and, after the deaths of the captain of Cochin and of the Pepper King, the amuck runners penetrated even into the houses of the city in order to take bloody vengeance on the people for the death of their king.⁴³ But at the same time another quarrel broke out over the church of Madre de Deus and the building of the college. When the viceroy arrived in Cochin on November 6, 1550, he found the city conducting a lawsuit against Antonio Gomes. The confraternity to which the church of Madre de Deus belonged had only agreed to letting the priests of the Society of Jesus use their church because they had been so compelled by Cabral. And the city, on its part, was offended by the elaborate building which Gomes had begun to erect for the college of the Society. One night, as a protest to it, some of the citizens had cut down all the coconut palms on the property purchased by the governor. Since Cabral had done nothing about this, the viceroy wished to make a rigorous investigation of it so that the guilty might be punished. At the request of the priests, however, he relinquished his design. The city then introduced a suit in its regard.⁴⁴ On December 29, the

India (that is, to the western coast of India) to recuperate (EX I 465-466). On October 25, 1549, Henriques was still one of the three priests on the Fishery Coast (DI I 520). On November 21, 1549, there were only two priests on this mission, and F. Henriques was not among them (*ibid.* 583). He had returned ill to India, as Gago wrote in 1552 without naming him (*ibid.* II 284). Polanco is therefore wrong when he makes him superior in Cochin already in 1550 (II 145-146). In 1551, after Gago's departure, he was superior in the college and busy with its construction and in much better health than he had been on the Fishery Coast (*ibid.* 401-402).

⁴² *Ibid.* II 413. On December 12, 1549, the city ceded to the church of Madre de Deus the square in front of the main entrance as far as the sea, from the houses of Diogo Borges to the houses and property of Bastião Serrão, more than fifty-eight ells (*covados ajares*) in width, on the condition that a house should never be built upon it so that the beauty of the city might be preserved (DI VII 700-701). On January 14, 1550, Governor Cabral drew up a document for the priests of the Society in Cochin in which he forbade the erection of several-storied houses next to the college of the Society in Cochin, either on the south or on the side towards the sea. On sites appropriate for these only adobe houses could be built, and on the east side no houses could be built higher than those which were already there. If anyone wished to make his house higher, he could only do so with the approval of the rector and priest of the said college. If this latter agreed to this, the person concerned would at his own expense have to raise the surrounding wall of the college to a height that was no lower than the windows of the house in question so that the priests might have the seclusion needed for their work. On January 17, Cabral further added that no adobe house or several-storied house could be erected in front of the college of Madre de Deus as far as the beach on the side towards the sea. On April 14, 1550, the city captain, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, ordered the execution of this edict of the governor; and on the same day Fathers Gago and F. Henriques in the College of Madre de Deus obtained from the *ouvidor* Francisco Vicente, on the basis of Cabral's edict, a provision forbidding Duarte Dias to construct a wooden house (*cerame*), which he had already begun, on the site under the penalty of a fine of fifty *pardaus*. The same injunction was also levied against Bastião Fernandes Serrão and Marcos Ferreira (*ibid.* 698-700).

⁴³ Correa IV 717. On June 24, 1550, according to Zinadim (67).

⁴⁴ In 1579 Pérez wrote that the bishop had given an "irmidazinha da invocação da Madre de Deus" to the Society so that the priests might have a house in Cochin, and that the viceroy (read: Governor Cabral) had given A. Gomes money so that he might purchase a piece of property next to the church. But the *mordomos*, two citizens of Cochin, and the *cofrades* were so unhappy about this that the viceroy had one or two

bishop drew up a document by means of which he handed over the church of Madre de Deus to the priests of the Society of Jesus on three conditions: (1) The priests of the Society should possess the church only as long as they maintained the college. (2) Stipends for Masses should go to the pastor of the cathedral as before. (3) The confraternity and its chaplains should continue to have the right to use the church.⁸⁵ With respect to the college building, the viceroy had declared that its erection should be suspended, since it was too elaborate for the poor, small city, which had only 450 or 500 *casados*. Besides this, it already had a large Franciscan monastery with many priests, and the Dominicans had also received from Cabral a piece of ground for 1,700 *pardaus* for a completely superfluous monastery. At the same time the city had still to collect the means for completing their cathedral, the first in India; and Frey Vicente had a large college in Cranganore not far away. He had therefore granted permission for only a modest building for four or five priests of the Society of Jesus until the matter was decided by the king in Portugal.⁸⁶ But two weeks after the issuing of the document granting the church of Madre de Deus to the Society, Lancilotto wrote to Ignatius that the bishop had repeatedly told him that he had issued it under compulsion and against his will. Lancilotto further noted that it had been given against the wishes of the confraternity and to the great displeasure of the people; it could not be accepted under any condition.⁸⁷

Such was the news contained in the letters of his confreres of the last two and one-half years which Xavier took with him from Malacca so that he might read them during his voyage to India and, as provincial, obtain information from them on the status of his mission.

7. TO COCHIN BY WAY OF GALLE (JANUARY, 1552)

The *Galega* was the royal Coromandel ship¹ on which Antonio Pereira was sailing as captain from Malacca to Cochin. The weather was good, but the ship was old and leaky. Water was entering in many places, and during the voyage more than forty ties had to be replaced.² Passengers and crew were becoming

of them imprisoned. Because of this the whole city was in an uproar against the priests when Xavier arrived in 1552 (*Informação* 70-71). In 1580 Teixeira stated that at the time of Xavier's arrival there was a slight quarrel between some priests and members of the confraternity with the priests of the Society there because of some decorations in the church, during the course of which the viceroy sent one of the members of the confraternity to jail (Teixeira It. P. 2, c. 20). The viceroy himself gave an account of his intervention (DI II 141).

⁸⁵ The text of the deed has been published (*ibid.* 135-137).

⁸⁶ On January 5, 1551, Noronha wrote that he had ordered Gomes to build the college in a simpler manner, and he added: "Pareció bien a los Padres y no hazen aora más que X ó XII celdas hasta venir recaudo del Reyno" (*ibid.* 141); and on the sixteenth of the month: "Lhe dixe que ho nam devião de fazer... Todavya ho quiserão começar com fazerem apousentos pera qatro ou cynqo pessoas e nam lho pude estorvar" (*ibid.* 182). Gomes reported on the same day: "Em Couchin temos hum citio muy bom e igregia,... temos humas casas com seu recolhimento muy boas" (*ibid.* 178). They were still only wooden buildings (*ibid.* 547-548).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 172-173.

¹ On the Coromandel ship, see Volume III, pp. 4-5, where we erroneously assumed that Antonio Pereira sailed with the Coromandel ship from Pulicat to Malacca in 1545; on this see also Vol. II, p. 637.

² The Latin translation of the testimony of Antonio Pereira at the Goa process of 1557 has the following: "cum dicta sua navis esset pervetusta ac ligaminum penuria laboraret, multisque rimis aquam acciperet" (MX II 265). The Portuguese text has:

afraid, but Xavier consoled them and told them to take heart. There was nothing to fear; the *Galega* would come safely to India.³ On board the ship there were also many Mohammedans, and Antonio Pereira noted how they were always glad to speak with Father Master Francis.⁴

The first harbor which the ship entered was Galle, on the southern tip of Ceylon. Miguel Fernandes,⁵ an old, married Portuguese, who had been living in Ceylon for many years and had built a ship in Galle, lay sick there in his home, since he had been unable to pass water for a day and a night. Xavier visited him and told him to take courage. He would immediately offer a Mass for him and recommend him to God. Fernandes summoned up his strength so that he could assist at the Holy Sacrifice. When he returned home and the priest visited him again, the crisis had passed. Xavier told him that he should go to confession and the Lord would restore him his health.⁶

After a short stay, the *Galega* continued on its way and arrived in good shape in Cochin on January 24, 1552.⁷

"E o padre se embarcou na sua nao, e com ella ser muito velha, e lhe cortarem na mesma viagem corenta e tantos liames, por lhe tomar agoa que fazia por muitos lugares" (Sá II 193).

³ MX II 265-266.

⁴ *Ibid.* 417. In Vol. III, p. 4, we erroneously placed this scene in the voyage of 1545. [See the correction in n. 18 on the page indicated. — Translator's note.]

⁵ In 1545 Miguel Fernandes declared that he was married to a daughter of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, a *fidalgo* who was sent as a captain of an auxiliary fleet to the Moluccas in 1527 and fought against Cambay in 1530 (Correa III 258-261 292 393), and that he had been known to all the preceding governors (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 228). In 1546 he marched from Kōttē, where he was living, to Trincomali in order to help André de Sousa (*ibid.* 379-381). At the end of 1546 he was still living in Kōttē, one of the forty Portuguese settled in Ceylon who signed a letter to D. João de Castro on November 27, 1546 (*ibid.* 495-497). In 1552 or 1553 Vidiye Bandāra burned a beautiful ship which he had just finished building in Galle and was still on the wharf (Couto 6, 10, 12, p. 480). After this Galle, as it seems, was abandoned by the Portuguese (Donald Ferguson, "The History of Ceylon... as Related by Barros and Couto," JCB 60 [1909] 370, n. 1). In 1553 he was living in Goa, in 1557 he was again in Kōttē (Sousa Viterbo, *O thesauro* 40-41); cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 171-172 364.

⁶ MX II 195-196. We place Xavier's visit to Galle on his return voyage from Malacca to Cochin in January, 1552, because, according to Couto, Miguel Fernandes built a ship there in 1552. During the other years we find him resident in Kōttē. The *Galega*, which was old and leaky, also had reasons for putting in at the first harbor.

⁷ EX II 274; DI II 293.

CHAPTER IV

TWO WEEKS IN COCHIN (JANUARY 24—BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY, 1552)

1. THE ARRIVAL (JANUARY 24, 1552)

Three pepper ships lay in the harbor, the *Visitação*, the *Espera*, and the *Trindade*, when the *Galega* entered the bay of Cochin on January 24, 1552. The *Santa Cruz* under the command of Bernardo Nassi, the first ship of the Portuguese fleet, had weighed anchor shortly before this; and a fifth, the *São João*, was still occupied in Quilon with the loading of its cargo.¹ The college of the Society of Jesus in which Xavier found a welcome with his seven companions lay in the southwestern part of the city not far from the beach. It was a simple, wooden structure near the church of Madre de Deus, which Francisco de Mendoça, the captain of a ship of the Malabar fleet, had built more than forty years before, probably in gratitude for a victory.² Here Xavier encountered for the first time

¹ Cf. Vol. III, p. 444.

² According to Teixeira, Mendoça had built the church a few years earlier (Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 20), according to Seb. Gonçalves more than forty years before (7, 9). Among the captains of "navios e caravelas" in India, a Francisco de Mendoça is named as the captain of the *Ajuda* on October 31, 1520 (CA VII 179). He is probably the same one who was sent in December, 1526, as captain of a ship to Portugal to inform the king about the danger of the Turks (Correa II 611). He was perhaps the founder of the Madre de Deus church. But since four more namesakes are mentioned in the first half of the sixteenth century in India, the matter is not certain. Authors give different, contradictory data on the church even though they knew it well. In 1555 Pérez called it an *iglesia* (DI III 244), in 1579 a *irmidazinha* (*Informação* 70); in 1549 A. Gomes, a *formosa e rica ygreja* (DI I 521); in 1552 Eredia, a *chiesa molto grande et bella, quanto sia nella India* (*ibid.* II 290). But since the church was too small during Lent and on great feasts, a larger building was begun in 1583 (Valignano 422-423; cf. DI II 558). — The college adjoined the church and was a wooden building when Eredia came to Cochin in September, 1551 (DI II 547), "um serame [wooden structure] que estava no chão todo aberto." It had a priest and a brother when Xavier arrived there, as Pérez writes (*Informação* 71). At the beginning of 1551, the viceroy had granted permission for the construction of ten to twelve cells, that is, rooms for four to five persons, but it was not until the end of 1552 that Eredia could write that he had already begun to erect a good college and that some stone buildings of the same were already completed. They were living in them, and he had already spent two thousand *pardaus* on them (DI II 548). The said college was completed in 1553 (*ibid.* 582); and three years later, in 1556, a new building for the school was ready. The city gave the money for it (*ibid.* III 244). In December, 1557, the provincial, Gonçalo da Silveira, could report that the residence for four priests and half a dozen brothers was now built. It was consequently possible to live a regular religious life in it from then on. The garden offered the possibility of enlarging the house as needed (*ibid.* 755). In 1561 a new college building was begun, and in 1574 a new wing was added to it (Valignano 422). In his *life* of Father Francisco Durão, composed in 1612, Ambrosio Soeiro wrote that when Durão came to Cochin as a candidate for the order with Morais senior in 1551, the college had been a wooden structure with only two rooms for a priest and a brother (ARSI: *Lus.* 58, 193). When Xavier arrived, it was certainly larger.

the rector of the college, Father Antonio Eredia,³ and his assistant Thomas,⁴ one of the orphan boys of Pedro Doménech; but he was also pleasantly surprised to find there two old acquaintances, Henrique Henriques,⁵ the superior of the Fishery Coast, and Lancilotto,⁶ the superior of Quilon. There he also met the young king of the "eleven thousand" Maldivé Islands, who had been instructed in the faith by Eredia and had been baptized by him on New Year's Day in Cochin and was now receiving further instructions from him in the college.⁷

On September 5, 1551, new confreres had come with the ships from Portugal to Goa. Among them was Melchior Nunes Barreto, who had brought with him a letter of Simon Rodrigues appointing him rector of St. Paul's College and, in Xavier's absence, vice-provincial of India. In his letter Rodrigues further declared that he had received a letter from Ignatius confirming this appointment. Upon the receipt of this information, Antonio Gomes immediately surrendered his office as rector of the college. But when he learned two days later that his successor had not brought a letter from Ignatius, but only one from Rodrigues which stated that he should as superior consign his letter to the rector of the college, he was puzzled on what he should do. After Xavier's appointment as provincial, Rodrigues no longer had any jurisdiction over India. On the other hand, Xavier had appointed him rector and Misser Paulo superior of the mission for three years, and these three years had not as yet run their course. Since the viceroy was sailing with the fleet to Ceylon in the middle of September, he decided to accompany him there along with the bishop and the guardian of the Franciscans; and he definitively and forever relinquished his office as rector of the college and handed it over to Misser Paulo against the latter's will. All the confreres in Goa with the exception of Nunes Barreto then decided that they would henceforth obey him alone as their superior until Xavier returned from Japan or made a decision in this regard from there. Master Gaspar concurred with this when

³ DI II 290.

⁴ *Ibid.* 411 548.

⁵ *Ibid.* 309.

⁶ On January 28, 1552, he wrote a letter to Ignatius from Cochin. It is now lost, but it is mentioned by Ignatius in his answer of July 5, 1553 (*ibid.* III 6). That Lancilotto was with Xavier in Cochin at the beginning of 1552 is known from his own words (*ibid.* 221-222). Because of sickness, Baltasar Nunes had gone from the Fishery Coast to Quilon at the beginning of 1552 (*ibid.* II 104). He also went to Cochin before February 4, 1552 (EX II 311). Antonio China had also been in Cochin before he accompanied Xavier to China in 1552, as Xavier wrote on July 21, 1552 (*ibid.* 474-475). He perhaps went to Cochin when A. Gomes drove all the native pupils out of St. Paul's College. In his letters, however, Eredia only mentions Thomas as an assistant. Manuel de Moraes senior, the brothers Manuel Dias, Pedro de Almeida, and Aleixo Madeira, the candidate Francisco Durão, and the orphan Thomas all arrived in Cochin on their voyage to India on September 30, 1551 (DI II 227). Moraes wrote a letter from there to Portugal on November 28 (*ibid.* 220-229); but he had sailed with his companions for Goa, where we already find him on December 9, before Xavier's arrival (*ibid.* 238). The bishop, A. Gomes, and Gago had gone with the viceroy to Ceylon and had returned to Cochin shortly before Christmas, 1551 (Couto 6, 9, 18, p. 356). On November 10, 1552, Gago wrote a letter from there to Portugal (DI II 277-289) in which he stated that he was now sailing back ill to Goa (*ibid.* 288). He and the bishop had returned to Goa before Xavier's arrival. The latter sent greetings to the bishop on February 4, 1552 (EX II 312). Gomes had also sailed with Gago and the bishop, as had the newly baptized, eight-year-old crown prince of Trincomali, whom the viceroy had entrusted to Gomes so that he might be educated in St. Paul's College (DI II 297). Xavier also failed to meet Francisco Henriques in Cochin. Eredia had succeeded him in October, 1551, and he also had sailed back to Goa.

⁷ DI II 292.

he came to Goa from Ormuz in the middle of November, especially since he was told that Xavier had been of the opinion that no one should be given the office of superior of the Indian mission who had not been previously tested for a long time as to whether or not he had the qualities for taking over the direction of the Society in a land so different from Europe. If Xavier did not return, or did not send a message in this regard, the confreres should be called to Goa from the outstations to elect a superior for the mission until Francis decided the affair. Henrique Henriques and Lancilotto had consequently gone to Goa to prepare the mail for Europe and to see if Xavier, or letters from him, had come from Malacca.⁸

2. THE VICEROY DOM AFFONSO DE NORONHA⁹

Xavier's first visit was to the viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, to whom he presented the ambassador of the duke of Bungo. He also delivered to him the duke's letter for the king and his gift, an armor for a Japanese knight. The viceroy was nearing his sixties.¹⁰ He was of medium size and had a distinguished appearance. His sunburned face was framed by a trimmed, black, full beard. He was a zealous Christian, abstemious, a lover of the truth, simple in his manner,¹¹ and a great friend of the Society of Jesus. He had been the first to invite priests of the Society to come to Africa,¹² and he considered himself to be their companion, as he wrote to Simon Rodrigues.¹³ He was the fourth son of the marquês of Villa Real, Dom Fernando de Meneses, who had been captain of the fortress of Ceuta in Morocco from 1491 to 1509. His wife, Dona Maria de

⁸ Cf. the letter of Nunes Barreto written from Goa on December 9, 1551 (*ibid.* 238-240), that of Gaspar Barzaeus of December 12, 1551 (*ibid.* 242-243), and the already somewhat less clear letter of Frois of December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* 449); see also Polanco's account, which complements the preceding letters with new data (*Chronicon* II 398-399).

⁹ On D. Affonso de Noronha, see: (1) the genealogical works of Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 206, and *Andrade Leitão XII 385, XIV 57; (2) for his stay in Africa: A. de Dornellas, *Elementos para a Historia de Ceuta* (Lisboa, 1923) 101-110, with a picture, and his edition of Jerónimo de Mascarenhas, *História de la ciudad de Ceuta* (*ibid.* 1918) 277-289. On Noronha's work in India, see: (1) the sources in Q, index, DI II-III, index; *Gavetas* V 325-329; Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, index; Sousa Viterbo, *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão* (Lisboa, 1904); (2) accounts: Correa IV 724-727; Couto, *Décadas* 6-7; Queyroz, *Conquista da India* 599-603 611-615; Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa* II 250-285, with picture. — He was viceroy from 1550 to 1554. He sailed back to Portugal in 1555, where he then became the lord high steward of the infanta D. Maria, the daughter of King Manuel. He died in 1571 and was buried in the Dominican church of Santarém (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 206). The church with all its funerary monuments fell victim to the destructive rage of the enemies of the Church in 1834 (Pinho Leal XI 544-545).

¹⁰ D. Affonso de Noronha died in 1571, as D. Fernando de Noronha, the fifth count of Linhares (died in 1659), wrote in his printed petition, on the basis of which he received the title of duke from Philip IV in 1660 (*Ajuda* 5I, 8-17, f. 21v). According to Queyroz he died when he was seventy-eight (*Conqu. da India* 615); according to Couto, over seventy-five (7, 1, 6, p. 55); according to Dornellas, seventy-five (110).

¹¹ His picture, from the contemporary painting in the governor's palace in Pangim (Goa), is given with a description of the colors by Faria y Sousa 284-285. The colored portrait of him in **Breve tratado de todos os visoreys* of Pedro Barreto de Resende is given without the colors by Damião Peres in the *Historia de Portugal* IV (1932) 75. His exterior and traits of character are briefly given by Couto 7, 1, 6, p. 55; Faria y Sousa II 283-285, and Queyroz 615.

¹² D. Maurício Gomes dos Santos, S.J., "A entrada dos jesuítas em Marrocos no século XVI," *Mélanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiées à la mémoire de D. Lopes et P. de Cénival* (Lisbonne-Paris, 1945) 225-295.

¹³ DI II 140.

Eça, had brought him as her dowry the estates of Maceira and Serem,¹⁴ and she had borne him five sons and one daughter.¹⁵ The eldest of these children, Dom Fernando, had accompanied him to India. Dom Affonso had grown up in constant conflict with the hereditary foes of the Christian faith and had been the captain of Ceuta from 1538 to 1549.¹⁶ As commander of the Order of Christ, he held the prebends of Olalhas, São Miguel da Guerra, and São João da Castanheira.¹⁷ His wife had earlier been a lady in waiting of Queen Catarina.¹⁸

Dom Affonso had been appointed viceroy of India by the king of Portugal in 1549 for his services in Africa. He had sailed to India in 1550 and had landed in Colombo, where he found King Bhuvaneka Bāhu quarreling with his brother Māyādunnē. He decided that their respective claims should be settled by a court of arbitration in India. When he reached Cochin from Ceylon in November, he found that it too was in a state of war. Through the mediation of the king of Tanor, he effected a provisional peace between the Zamorin and the king of Cochin. When he learned of the murder of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, he returned with his fleet to Ceylon in September, 1551, to put the country in order. About Christmas, when he returned to Cochin, he found it again in a state of war. The loading of pepper had, as a consequence, become completely impossible. The king of Tanor had come with large sums of money and had gone from one king to another, and from one lord to another, in order to persuade them to band together against the king of Cochin and to send pepper to the Zamorin instead of to Cochin. He had already won over the Pepper King and many of his neighboring kings and lords. He had even attempted to draw the rajah of Quilon over to his side. Thirty thousand Nāyars had already assembled in Chembe, in the territory of the Pepper King, when Noronha marched against it with around four thousand Portuguese and many native Christians from Cochin. After heavy fighting, he captured and burned Chembe. He cut down its palm trees and devastated Bardela as well. The other kings then asked for peace and promised that they would again deliver pepper as they had before. At their request Noronha then sent his son up the rivers in order to expedite its transport.¹⁹

A year before this Noronha had written the following to his king:

I saw a letter which a man wrote from Malaqa with news about Mestre Francysgo. He says that he reached Japão and wrote from there to Malaqa that he had gained much fruit, and that he had already made many Christians, and that he had been called by the king of the land to a leading city, where he was, that he hoped in our Lord to convert him and to make him a Christian, and that much service would be rendered to Him in that land, and that certain men had come with this same letter from that land to see the customs of the Christians and their churches and ceremonies; and after they had seen all and had been greatly honored and received in Malaqa by the captain and officials and all the other people, they returned very content to the said Japam, which gives reason for many thanks to be given to our Lord.²⁰

¹⁴ *Andrade Leitão XII 385.

¹⁵ *Gavetas* V 329 (Q 4747).

¹⁶ From 1538 to 1549 (Mascarenhas 277-288; also Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 206); from 1540 to 1549 (Dornellas 101-110).

¹⁷ Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 206.

¹⁸ *Gavetas* V 329.

¹⁹ On this see Noronha's data in the *Asento* of January 4, 1552 (Q 4732), his letters to the king of January 27, 1552 (Q 4745: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 598), and to the queen on the same day (Q 4747: *Gavetas* V 326-327); also the letter of Simão Botelho of January 30, 1552 (*Cartas* 37-38), the two documents of knightings in Q 4724-4725, and the account in Couto 6, 9, 18, pp. 356-359. On September 20, 1552, the king of Tanor wrote a letter to King John III to justify himself (Q 4874).

²⁰ DI II 182-183.

Xavier and his Japanese companions were therefore received by the viceroy with the greatest warmth. He readily accepted the duke of Bungo's offer of a mutual, friendly alliance; and he gave the duke's letter for the king of Portugal and his gift of an armor to Diogo Lopes de Sousa, who had brought Melchior Nunes Barreto and Eredia with their companions from Portugal to India in 1549 and was now on the point of sailing back to Portugal as the captain of the *Espera*. The viceroy further offered Xavier his fullest support for his journey to Japan. Like the king of Portugal, he had the spread of the faith much at heart, and he promised Diogo Pereira that he would send him with Xavier as the king's ambassador to the Middle Kingdom.²¹

3. ANTONIO EREDIA²²

Antonio Eredia,²³ the superior of the college of Madre de Deus, had been born in Bragança in 1518²⁴ and had studied Latin for four years before his entrance into the order. Rodrigues had received him into the Society in Evora in 1545 and had sent him to Coimbra, where he made the Long Retreat under the direction of Father Strada. During his novitiate he had been long exercised in such lowly offices as those of cook, rectorian, buyer, and secretary. He had also made three pilgrimages, two of 50 leagues each, and a third of 120 or 130 leagues beyond Alcalá. He had then studied a year of Latin and a second of philosophy and moral cases under Leão Henriques. For these he had read almost the entire commentary of Cajetan. After his ordination to the priesthood, he had been occupied with the study of theology, mostly in private.²⁵

In 1551 the *Espera*, the flagship under Captain Diogo Lopes, had sailed to India with Nunes Barreto, Brothers Melchior Dias, Manuel Teixeira, and Jorge

²¹ EX II 274; DI II 298; Valignano 195. On his zeal for the mission see also DI II 474.

²² On Eredia see the **Responso Nadal* I 194-194v with his original signature. The answers to the questionnaire of the visitor Nadal were written between the end of July and September 10, 1561, in Lisbon, where Eredia was at the time (*Ep. Nadal* I 536, cf. 495). In addition to these, the main sources for his life are: Q, index, and DI I-V, indices. Extant letters from him are dated as follows: January 19 and 24, 1552 (DI II 289-293); November 25 (*ibid.* 408-414), December 20 (*ibid.* 547-549), end of 1552 (*ibid.* 554-556); October 20, 1554 (*ibid.* III 99-105); October 24, 1555 (*ibid.* 287-289); and 1561 (*ibid.* V 192-202). — He did good work in Cochin as superior from 1549 to the beginning of 1553, and in Ormuz from 1553 to 1557. The intolerable heat of the island compelled him to go to Goa in 1556 for nearly a year because of his poor health. From 1558 to 1560 he was again in India, in Goa, Bassein, and Chaul, sickly, melancholic, and wavering in his vocation (cf. the judgments on him in DI IV 382 400 419 457 and 506). In the beginning of 1561 he consequently had to be sent back to Portugal, where he inspired many in Lisbon with his accounts of missionary prospects in Macassar and in the land of the Gold Emperor Monomotapa (*Litt. Quadr.* VII 566-570); but he also gave vent to his dissatisfaction with the work on the missions in a long letter and had to be dismissed in 1562, as the provincial wrote to Nadal on November 25, 1562 (*Ep. Nadal* II 151).

²³ In the originals of his Portuguese letters, he always signs himself as Antonio Eredia, in his reply to the questions of the Spanish visitor as Antonio Heredia.

²⁴ In 1561 he wrote in the **Responso Nadal* that he was forty-three or forty-two years old and had been sixteen years in the order. The latter statement is correct, since he entered in Coimbra on September 17, 1545 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2). According to the contemporary data, he was born in 1518 or 1519. On November 25, 1559, Cabral wrote that Eredia was forty-five to forty-seven years old and twelve or thirteen years in the order (DI IV 457). According to this, he would have entered in 1546 or 1547, which does not fit; and he would have been born between 1512 and 1514, which can also be wrong.

²⁵ **Responso Nadal*; DI IV 429 457 506.

Nunes, and three of Pedro Doménech's orphan boys.²⁶ They had left Lisbon on March 10, and as far as Mozambique the sea had been as calm and smooth as the Tagus between Santarém and Lisbon.²⁷ During the voyage Eredia taught Christian doctrine and took care of the sick. By the light of the lantern for the windlass of the anchor, he and Nunes Barreto read the entire *Tertia Pars* of the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, the whole of the Book of Job, the whole of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a part of the remaining letters of St. Paul.²⁸

Thanks to the efforts of the priests, brothers, and orphan boys and the support of the captain, quarrels, cursings, and blasphemies and other disorders soon ceased on board the ship. Many declared that they had sailed many times before to India but had never seen such a holy ship.²⁹ Nunes Barreto, the superior, preached on Sundays and feast days; and spiritual exhortations were also often given in the evenings. On Sundays and feast days a "dry Mass" was read; the Litanies were sung every day, and on Saturdays the *Salve*. There were also frequent processions and daily instructions in the faith.³⁰

On Mozambique the *Espera* was joined by the *Santa Cruz*, which was carrying the six Dominicans, and by the ship on which was sailing Gonçalo Rodrigues. The priests and their companions remained upon the island for three or four weeks and nursed the many sick who arrived on all the ships. They also preached the jubilee which had been granted by the pope with great success. They heard many confessions, and they were helped in this by the three Dominican priests. Many restitutions were made; many alms were given; and many who had lived in sin for long years were converted. Many of the poor were clothed; many of the sick were healed; and many feuds were settled.³¹ When the *Espera* departed, it took with it sixty people who were sick, and these required the attention of all the priests and brothers until it reached Goa. Near the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, the ship ran onto a reef as it was leaving the harbor and almost sank. During the last stretch of their voyage, from Mozambique to Goa, almost all the confreres were ill; but they all eventually reached Goa in good health with the exception of Jorge Nunes. When the ship was still a hundred leagues from the Indian coast, he died a pious death.³²

The *Espera* reached Goa on September 5, almost simultaneously with the five other ships. Only the *Espadarte* with Manuel de Morais senior was missing. The new arrivals were given a most charitable welcome by their confreres. But they did not remain united for long. Eight days after his arrival, Eredia was sent with the fleet of the viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha to Cochin in order to preach and to take over the college there.³³ He sailed with these ships to Quilon, where he found Father Lancilotto with two brothers and a college in which there were forty native students; and from there he sailed on to Cochin, where he encountered Father Manuel de Morais senior with three brothers and four orphan boys in the college. They had come with the *Espadarte* on the outer route and had reached the harbor of Cochin on September 30. When Morais sailed on with his companions at the end of November for Goa, he left behind with Eredia, as

²⁶ On the voyage to India, see the accounts of Eredia (Q 4746 4917), M. Nunes Barreto (Q 4710), Teixeira (Q 4699); also Q 4641 4646; Wicki, *Liste* 270.

²⁷ DI II 232.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 237 409.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 234.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 199-200 234-237 409.

³¹ *Ibid.* 201 232 237-238 410.

³² *Ibid.* 201-202 231-234 293 410-411.

³³ *Ibid.* 202-203 238-239 290 410-411.

the latter had requested, Thomas, one of the four boys so that he might teach the native boys in his college.³⁴ At the time of Xavier's arrival in Cochin, there were around 150 day students, some of whom were mestizos, the children of Portuguese married to native women, and others who were native born. The boys, who were being taught how to read and write and the elements of the faith in the college, worked as apostles in their own homes. They taught catechism to the slaves; they urged their fathers to go to confession; and these same boys, who had earlier been offered to the idols by their pagan parents, now destroyed the statues of these gods with fire. They frequently confessed their sins, sang the *Salve Regina* and the Litanies, and recited other prayers. Eredia preached to large crowds in the city, heard confessions, settled disputes, and visited the hospitals with no little fruit. The chief event during his labors in Cochin was, however, the baptism of the king of the Maldives.³⁵

4. THE BAPTISM OF THE KING OF THE MALDIVES (JANUARY 1, 1552)³⁶

From the time of their arrival in India, the Portuguese had had a special interest in the Maldives, those thousands of large and small coral islands which stretched from north to south in nineteen groups of circular atolls sixty leagues from the western coast of India. From them they obtained the coconut fibers indispensable for the fashioning of ropes and for caulking the ships on their voyages to and from India. From them also came cowry shells, which circulated as small change in Bengal, and King Manuel had sent a detailed account on them.³⁷ In 1511 the king of the Maldives had asked Albuquerque, on his return voyage from Malacca, to free him from the oppressions of the Moors in Cannanore.³⁸ Their chief agent, Mamalle (Muhammad Ali), had secured a monopoly in trade

³⁴ *Ibid.* 226-229 238 411. — On November 28, Morais was still writing from Cochin (*ibid.* 229, where at the end of the letter XXVIII instead of XXIII is to be read). On December 9 he was already in Goa (*ibid.* 238). Thomas was a Fleming (Wicki, *Liste* 337) and is described by Eredia as a brother. He taught boys reading, writing, and the Small Catechism (DI II 548 555 582). On the departure of the orphan boys of Pedro Doménech in Lisbon, see the latter's letter of April 1, 1551, in *Ep. Mixtae* II 530-535.

³⁵ Cf. his letter of January 19, 1552 (DI II 290-293).

³⁶ The main sources for the conversion of the king of the Maldives are the letters of Cabral, of February 21, 1550 (Q 4390: SR IV 492-493); Bermúdez, of December 21, 1551 (Q 4719: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 572); Gago, of January 10 (Q 4741: DI II 285-287); Eredia, of January 19 (Q 4740: *ibid.* 292); Noronha, of January 27 (Q 4746: SR V 97-98); Xavier, of January 31, 1552 (Q 4761: EX II 307); and of the king of the Maldives himself, of January 28, 1554 (Q 6043: DI III 50), and January 22, 1555 (Q 6078: SR VI 11). In addition to these there are the general accounts of the history of the Maldives by H. C. P. Bell, "Excerpta Maldivinana, n. 10: The Portuguese at the Maldives," JCB 32 (1932) 76-124. In addition to the European authors, he also gives the pertinent extracts from the *Tārikh*, the native chronicle of the Maldives composed in the eighteenth century from earlier materials; and he compares them with the oral tradition in Pyrard. See also M. A. J. Fitzler, "Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 10 (1936) 215-256. The later tradition is given by Pyrard, who stayed on Māle from 1602 to 1607 and has given the most detailed description of the land and its people (*Voyage I* [Paris, 1679] 169-170). — For the later history, see Bell 97-105; Fitzler 231-248; and, more briefly, Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 67. The family tree of the Maldivian kings is given by Zambaur 306-307.

³⁷ The account, composed around 1505, is published in Fitzler 249-256. Other descriptions are given by Castanheda 4, 35; Barros 3, 3, 7; Valignano 284-287; and especially Pyrard I 71-197; for the accounts before Xavier, see Yule 546-548.

³⁸ See the letter of the agent Bābā 'Abd-Allāh to King Manuel in Schurhammer, "Orientalische Briefe," 271-272.

with the islands, part of which had already fallen under his authority; and he had obliged the princes to pay an annual tribute of from ten to twenty thousand *pardaus* in the form of coconut fibers, amber, and gold and silver coins. In 1518 the Portuguese had driven the intruder from the islands and had sent João Gomes there with a number of soldiers. He built a wooden fortress on the main island of Måle, but he brought the people there to a state of desperation through his tyrannical rule.³⁹ With the help of their Mohammedan coreligionists in Calicut, they burned the fortress down in 1521 and killed its garrison.⁴⁰ Calm was restored in 1526, and Luis Martins was sent there as captain and factor.⁴¹ But even after this the king of the islands had to complain repeatedly about the transgressions of the Portuguese ships and freebooters. In 1543, for example, Jerónimo de Figueiredo was sent by Martim Affonso de Sousa to seek for the fabled gold island. But instead of doing this, he had sailed to the Maldives to hunt for booty and girls, and he had sailed on from there to Mergui in Farther India until his men surfeited with his tyrannies refused to obey him and initiated a suit against him on his return to Ceylon.⁴² In 1547 the king again complained about the raids and robberies committed by the Portuguese of Cochin and their slaves. Captains who were driven off their course from Malacca to India onto the Maldivian Islands, such as Guilherme Pereira, João Criado, Estevão Toscano, and others, could confirm his complaints. At the end of the year the governor therefore sent Jerónimo Butaqua as chief captain with a number of ships to protect the people living on the islands, and he forbade private voyages there in the future.⁴³

This was the state of affairs in 1548, when King Hasan Shīrāzi died. He had reigned from 1528 until 1548 and had been succeeded by Muhammed, the son of his half-brother.⁴⁴ Cabral had been staying in Cochin with his fleet since the beginning of December, 1549, when, in February, 1550, he received an unexpected visit from the queen of the Maldives and a young relative of hers. She complained that the king, her husband, had driven her from the palace, had taken away her possessions, and had refused to restore them. Cabral had received her and had intended to send her back to the king with a note on her behalf when the latter himself showed up in Cochin with serious complaints about his wife. She had already been the wife of an uncle of his and of his brother, King Muhammad, whom she had slain with a dagger.⁴⁵ He asked the governor not to allow her to return to the islands since he did not want to be king where she lived. He also complained about the Portuguese captains who came to his islands and about their many tyrannies and the contempt with which they treated him. Cabral had given the king an honorable reception and had provided him with a

³⁹ See the extensive account of Alvaro Fernandes of December 30, 1520, in *Alguns Documentos* 449-454.

⁴⁰ Barros 3, 3, 7; Correa II 568-570.

⁴¹ Correa III 15; Q 111.

⁴² Q 1822: *Gavetas* III 218-234.

⁴³ Q 3092 3145 3153 3260 3387 3526 3546 3874.

⁴⁴ According to the native chronicle, Muhammad was the son of a half-brother of King Hasan Shīrāzi VIII. He ruled from Hegira 955 to 957, and thus at least until January 20, 1550 A.D., since the year of the Hegira 957 began on that day, if the dates of the *Tārīkh* can be relied upon. His father was ʿUmar Mafat Kilēge, son of the sultan Kalu Muhammad, who ruled from Hegira 919 to 935 (1513-1528) (Bell 85-86).

⁴⁵ According to the *Tārīkh*, Muhammad had ruled for two years and four months when he was murdered by his brother Hasan, who took the rule for himself (Bell 91). This is, however, contradicted by Cabral's letter of February 21, 1550, according to which Muhammad ruled at most for a little over two years. Hegira 955 began on February 11, 1548; Hegira 956 on January 30, 1549; Hegira 957 on January 20, 1550.

residence and support. On February 21, 1550, he wrote to his king in Portugal that he would acquiesce to his desires and that he would send him contented back to his country. He added that His Highness had granted many *fidalgos* the command of a fleet to the Maldives without being informed on how little such fleets were needed. The king of the Maldives was obliged to deliver each year at his own expense six hundred *bahārs* of coconut fibers in Cochin for His Highness. The fleets which His Highness granted to his *fidalgos* cost much money, and he lost through them many of the revenues which the king of the Maldives was obliged to pay; and he must further, on his own account, recompense the king for all the robberies and tyrannies which his captains and their men perpetrated there. His Highness should therefore not allow anyone to go there to tyrannize them, for the king and his people were willing to pay the taxes which they were obliged to pay.⁴⁶

A year later, in December, 1551,⁴⁷ the King of the Eleven Thousand Islands, as he was called,⁴⁸ had been driven from them by a rival.⁴⁹ He had gone again to Cochin and had asked the viceroy, Noronha, for help and had informed him of his desire to become a Christian. Diogo Borges, who had taken up his cause, had persuaded him to do so;⁵⁰ and after a summary instruction by Father Eredia,⁵¹ the king was solemnly baptized on New Year's Day, 1552.⁵² At the time he received the name of Dom Manuel⁵³ to replace his Mohammedan name of Hasan.⁵⁴ He was a young man of eighteen or twenty with the complexion of a mulatto,⁵⁵ and he was still living in the college in order to receive further instructions in the faith.⁵⁶ He had given himself over completely to the viceroy so that he might do with him what he thought best; and he had made a good impression and gave proofs of great hopes for the future.⁵⁷ Gago and Eredia had declared that they

⁴⁶ DI II 492-493.

⁴⁷ The king was baptized on January 1, 1552. He thus came to Cochin in December. According to the *Tārīkh* he ruled two years and five months before he let it be known that he had decided to become a Christian. This was in Hegira 959, which began on December 29, 1551.

⁴⁸ Two thousand of the eleven thousand islands were inhabited (DI III 430). According to the report of 1505, there were twelve thousand islands, eight thousand of which were inhabited (Fitzler 249). Many of these islands are gradually sinking. In 1561 the king adopted the title: "Dom Manuel per graça de Deos Rey das Ilhas de Maldiva e de tres patanas [atolls] de Çuaydu [Suvadiva], e de sete Ilhas de Pullobay [Achin Islands], da conquista e navegação de toda costa braba de Samatra e do estreito de Manacuma [Minangkabau?], etc." (APO V 455).

⁴⁹ Ali, a close relative (according to Pyrard I 169; Bell 87). On January 27, 1555, he wrote to the king that he was now sailing to his Maldivian Islands with a fleet which the viceroy was sending to place him in possession of a part of his kingdom which had been appropriated by a vassal for many years (SR VI 11-12).

⁵⁰ EX II 307. On January 20, 1548, he obtained the right to the position of a factor in Ternate with the obligation of sailing to India this year (Q 3771).

⁵¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon*; DI II 286 292; SR V 97.

⁵² Pyrard gives the erroneous tradition that his wife and a portion of his retinue were baptized with him, and that those who did not wish to follow him in this were sent back to their native land (I 169; Bell 87). In the Cochin process of 1616, his son Pedro mistakenly declared that his father, Dom Manuel, had been baptized by Xavier (MX II 510).

⁵³ He chose as his coat of arms a cross with the crown of thorns and the five wounds of Christ (Q 6078), and as his Christian name Dom Manuel (APO V 455; MX II 510).

⁵⁴ Hasan IX according to the *Tārīkh*. For his Arabic and Portuguese signature, see Q, pl. XX 1.

⁵⁵ DI II 285-286 (*de cor de mulato*); SR V 97.

⁵⁶ DI II 286 292.

⁵⁷ SR V 97.

were ready to accompany him back to his native land when he returned so that they might help him to convert his people, who were still little instructed in the teachings of Mohammed,⁵⁸ to Christianity.⁵⁹ But the bishop was of the opinion, as were Antonio Gomes and the Dominican priests, that the viceroy would have to marry him to a Christian so that he would forget his Mohammedan practices and lead a Christian life. Noronha wished at first to wait for a decision of the king of Portugal in this regard, but he had been urged to give the king a daughter of the deceased Francisco de Mariz and of Maria Pinheira as his wife. Henrique de Sousa Chichorro, who had married a daughter of the said widow, also asked the viceroy to give him the Maldives Islands so that they would be ruled by a person of his own choice. But Noronha was of the opinion that the one who was to rule over those islands would have to be appointed by the king of Portugal, that is, by himself, as his representative. As far as the marriage of the king of the Maldives was concerned, his prospective bride, since she was only nine years old, could not be considered because of her tender age. He would therefore take the king with him to Goa, and if he found there a suitable individual of the right social standing, he would have him married there. If the king returned to his islands, he would marry a Mohammedan woman; and they would live as Mohammedans as they had in the past. He also wished to take the king with him so that he might become acquainted with Portuguese customs and their liturgy and gain the necessary knowledge for a Christian life.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Both Gago and Eredia maintain that it was not until thirty years before that his subjects had become Mohammedans (*ibid.*). But the first king of the Maldives was converted to Islam in Hegira 535 (1140 A.D.) and took the name of Muhammad al-'Adil (Zambaur 306). According to the report of 1505, the islands had become Moorish three hundred years earlier. Before that they had been pagan (Fitzler 249). According to Castanheda, who visited the Maldives, most of the people at that time were still pagans; but on the principle island of Maldiva (Māle), and in Candaluz (on the atoll of Malosmadulu), there were many Malabar Moors (4, 35). Barros states erroneously that the king was a pagan but that the governors (by which he probably means the people of the Moorish judge, the *mamalle*, of Cannanore) were Moors (3, 3, 7, p. 307). According to the well-informed Barbosa, the people living on them were Moors (I 197).

⁵⁹ DI II 286 292.

⁶⁰ SR V 97-98. Dom Manuel, the king of the Maldives, who was taken by Noronha to Goa, received through Xavier's intervention a secular priest, Francisco Lopes de Pina, as a chaplain, who was to later accompany him to the Maldives (Q 6043). He was married by Noronha to Dona Lianor de Ataíde, the daughter of the *fidalgó* Eitor de Sousa de Ataíde, who was living in Cochín. The latter sailed to the Maldives to protect the interests of the sultan, but died there in 1554. Dona Lianor bore several daughters and three sons to Dom Manuel: Francisco, João, and Pedro. In 1555 Pedro de Ataíde Inferno sailed with a fleet to the islands in order to place the king in possession of a portion of his realm which a vassal had held for many years (Q 6076 6078; Couto 7, 3, 8, p. 225). In the same year, however, the viceroy, D. Pedro Mascarenhas, the great friend of Xavier and of the sultan, died. His successor, the governor Francisco Barreto, had little regard for the Christian king of the Maldives, as the latter wrote on January 23, 1556, to the lords of the Mesa da Consciência in Lisbon. He noted that the governor did not let him sail to his islands so that his relative Antonio de Ataíde could plunder them as he pleased, while he himself was meanwhile dying of hunger and did not even have the means to buy himself a pair of shoes. The governor had told him that he was not fit to rule over even a village, not to mention the Maldives (TdT: CC 1-97-62). On January 8, 1557, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro also wrote that the king, who paid an annual tribute of five hundred *bahārs* of coconut fibers, was suffering from great need. He was living in a miserable adobe house, and since the time that he had become a Christian, no one had any further concern about him (Q 6128). D. Manuel had also written to Queen Catarina and complained about the wretched treatment he had received. He had concluded a lease with Henrique de Sousa Chichorro according to which this latter had promised him an annual sum of three thousand *pardaus* if every year

5. HENRIQUE HENRIQUES AND LANCILOTTO¹

Henrique Henriques, the superior of the Fishery Coast, was engaged in writing a long letter to Ignatius when Master Francis came unexpectedly to Cochin on January 24, 1552. As he wrote in his letter, just as captains look for the best *cavalleiros* for their wars, so he was looking for the best Christians on the Fishery Coast. In the spiritual battle which he was conducting, they would, as catechists,

he delivered free in Cochin five hundred *bahārs* of coconut fibers in keeping with the treaty which his uncle Hasan (Shīrāzi) had concluded with the earlier governors. D. Manuel's letter proved to be effective, and in 1557 the queen ordered him to be better treated (the minutes of the queen's letter are in TdT: Col. S. Vicente X 89). In 1558 Manuel da Silveira de Araujo was therefore sent to the Maldives. He captured Māle, the main island, and slew the rebels there in battle. As his reward for this, D. Manuel gave him three voyages to the Maldives (APO V 455-456). According to Henrique de Sousa, D. Manuel had leased his islands to Jorge de Sousa Pereira; and in 1562 he could write that Pereira was now living with him and paying him three thousand *pardaus* a year, and that he was giving him five thousand more for the marriage of his daughter Catarina (TdT: CC 1-10-92). But the residents of the islands were reluctant to endure the foreign rule of the Portuguese; and in 1573, after seven years of guerilla warfare, they captured the fortress on Māle. After attempting for three years to defeat the rebels, a treaty was concluded in 1576. In it the Portuguese recognized the independence of the new rulers and promised them that they would pay the Christian king in Cochin and his successors an annual income. They in turn received permission to have a factor on the islands (Pyrard I 171-172; Fitzler 235). In 1580, after King Philip II of Spain had taken over the rule of Portugal, D. Manuel sent his firstborn son, D. Francisco, to Lisbon in order to pursue his legal claim there (ARSI: Lus. 68, 304; Franco, *Synopsis* 128); but when the prince had already placed his luggage on the ship for his return voyage to India, he was murdered at night early in 1582 by the blow of a dagger (Seb. Gonçalves 6, 8). On February 15, 1583, Philip II ordered the two servants of the prince, who were sailing back to India, to be given positions in Cochin for three years (APO III 26-27). This same year D. Manuel died in Cochin, and in 1584 his widow informed the Spanish king of his death. On February 11, 1585, Philip II, who had written a letter of consolation the year before to the king on the death of his son, wrote to the viceroy of India and ordered him to visit her in his name and, if it seemed good to him, to undertake the care of her person and of her daughters (*ibid.* 41-42). In another letter of January 10, 1587, he stressed the fact that the father of the then Maldivian king, who had caused scandal in Cochin by his excesses (*mocidades*), had always paid regularly the annual tribute of five hundred *bahārs* of coconut fibers (*ibid.* 74). — On the further fortunes of the Christian Maldivian kings, see Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 67; Bell 97-105, and Fitzler 231-248. The line expired with Luis de Sousa. An original letter of this latter, written on April 11, 1645, to the king of Spain, is in the possession of Professor Boxer; another letter, of April 1, 1646, to Pope Innocent X with respect to the beatification of Father João Cardim, S.J., is in the archives of the Postulation of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Sousa wrote of his death as follows in his *Oriente Conquistado*: "O ultimo Rei das Maldivas foi Dom Luis de Souza, que em 22 de Novembro de 1653 entrou com outros Fidalgos na deposição de Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos, e Vice-Rei da Índia: e por esta causa o prendeo na fortaleza de Mormugão aos 10 de Novembro de 1655 o Vice-Rei Dom Rodrigo, Lobo da Silveira, Conde de Sarzedas: pela mesma causa foi remettido preso a Portugal na nao 'Nossa Senhora da Graça,' de que era Capitão D. Fernando Manoel no anno de 1656. Desmastreou esta nao com uma tormenta no cabo de Boa Esperança, e voltando para Moçambique, morto já el Rei, se encontrou com o 'Bom Jesu do Carmo,' que a socorreu com aprestos e mantimentos. Não deixou este Rei successão legitima, e nomeou por herdeiro das suas 11 000 Ilhas a El-Rei de Portugal" (1, 1, 1, 67).

¹ The following sources are pertinent to this section. The most important of these is the long letter of H. Henriques of January 27, 1552 (Q 4749: DI II 298-309), and some letters with briefer data on the prince of Trincomali, Quilon, and São Thomé: Lancilotto, of December 22, 1551 (Q 4716: DI II 274-275), and October 29, 1552 (Q 4897: *ibid.* 379-382); Gago, of January 10, 1552 (Q 4741: *ibid.* 284-285 287); Eredia of January 19, 1552 (Q 4740: *ibid.* 292); Noronha, of January 27, 1552 (Q 4746: *ibid.* 297); Barzaeus, of January 12, 1553 (*ibid.* 585).

teach Christian doctrine in the villages and help the missionaries. To the great consolation of the missionaries, these had up to the present proved to be excellent. Henriques was convinced that his Christians would remain true to their faith even if some day the Portuguese would no longer be there. This was something which could only be said of a few regions in India, especially since the whole caste as such had accepted the faith. He would also have been glad to attract some boys of fourteen years or older who showed an inclination for the service of God and to give them a further education. The king had granted an annual income of one hundred *milreis* for a college on the Fishery Coast.² This was to have been paid from the taxes on the Pearl Fisheries, but at this time the revenues from these were meager because of the lack of pearl banks which could be fished.³

Henriques had already written earlier that the prayers which had been translated by Xavier into Tamil and had been taught in that language up till then were full of errors (*mentiras*), and that he had consequently taken great pains, after he had learned the language, to retranslate them. He had also labored strenuously to correct this translation, since the language was extremely difficult. The boys and girls were being instructed with much care and they showed a great affection for the priests.

For some time Henriques had been making every effort to expound to his Christians the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation of Christ, and the reverence which Christians showed for the cross. His warning that he would demand a reckoning from his hearers on his instructions had made an impression. To his great consolation Henriques could see how well the men and women could answer his questions. By day, and deep into the night they had, both young and old, striven to impress these truths upon their memories.

In his instruction which he had drawn up for the missionaries before his departure for Japan, Master Francis had recommended that they do everything they could to be loved by the people, since they would then do much good among them. Their efforts in this regard had been richly rewarded. The Christians were dearly attached to their priests, and they firmly believed what they were told and did what they were urged to do. The pagans also showed their love for them; and, as far as could be observed, the Moors did the same, especially since the missionaries at times blocked the oppressions to which they were subject from the captains and other Portuguese. If a priest had to reproach his Christians and threaten to leave them, they became deeply concerned.

Some time before writing his letter, Henriques had also ordered all the men and women to learn the Our Father and Hail Mary in Latin or Tamil. Since they had been baptized as adults and were poor and on the whole without much comprehension, only a comparatively few of them knew these prayers. The people then put great efforts into learning them; and the priest hoped that in a few months they would all, or almost all, know them. He would then bid them also to learn the Creed by heart.

At the time there were unfortunately only three missionaries on the coast: Father Paulo do Valle, Brother Ambrosio Nunes, and Henriques. Baltasar Nunes was ill and had gone to Quilon. Father Paulo suffered from consumption, and

² DI II 292. At the beginning of 1553, Barzaeus wrote: "Some four years ago Your Highness granted 100,000 *maravedis* a year for a college on Cape Comorin on the Fishery Coast. These have not yet been paid since no college has been erected" (*ibid.* 609 611).

³ According to Barzaeus: "These fisheries [Pearl Fisheries] have brought in very little for many years. The captains cannot as a consequence be paid from their revenues" (*ibid.* 610).

Henriques was afraid that he would die.⁴ Ambrosio, on the other hand, was well. He was a source of great edification to the Portuguese, native Christians, and to the infidels, and the ease with which he learned the language of the country surpassed that of all the others. Nevertheless, his many labors had already weakened his health. All were striving to learn the difficult Tamil language, and they were also trying to learn how to read and write the Tamil script with its many signs. For this Henriques had already completed a good portion of his Tamil dictionary.

During the course of a long period of time, Henriques had engaged in only a few disputations with the pagans and Moors. His adversaries, as he observed, were afraid to argue with him.

The missionaries fortunately now had in Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho⁵ an outstanding captain. In his zeal for the spread of the faith, he gave them much support. Henriques wished that the king would give him his office for life. He had grown grey in his service and was, at the same time, a good father of the Christians. Earlier captains had, instead, been obstacles to the work which they were doing.⁶

An unusual event in the lives of his Paravas was the baptism of the young rajah of Trincomali in Ceylon. The uncle of the eight-year-old boy, who was acting as his regent, had been oppressed by a rival. He consequently came with thirty or forty of his men to the Fishery Coast in order to obtain the help of the Paravas, whom he had known for a long time, and with whom he was on friendly terms. They advised him that he and his men should let themselves be baptized, as they had been, in order to obtain help from the Portuguese. He accepted their advice and urgently asked Henriques to make him a Christian, telling him that it would make no difference if he received any help or not. Since he did not cease with his importunities, the priest finally gave him and his nephew and some of his companions a brief preparation and then baptized them. When the Paravas saw that they had become Christians, they were overjoyed, and about a thousand of them accompanied the prince and the regent with their weapons in order to place them in possession of their lands. The captain also sent his nephew with a *catur* and a number of soldiers. In Trincomali some others were baptized, but only a few, since the war was still going on. The Paravas remained for almost two months with them, but since they were themselves poor and the regent did not as yet have complete control of the land and could not as a consequence feed them, they returned leaving behind only a small force to protect his person. But they brought the boy back with them as the captain had commanded. He was presented to the viceroy, who was delighted with this. He then handed him over to Antonio Gomes so that he might have him educated in St. Paul's College. After their return, the Paravas learned that the Christian

⁴ He died on March 4, 1552, after three months of sickness (*ibid.* 388-389).

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 611.

⁶ Cf. Barzaeus: "Since... it is very necessary that there should always be there [on the Fishery Coast] a captain who helps and is favorable to the Christians there, they [the missionaries] ask Your Highness, since it must always be possible for a captain to remain on this coast, that you may decide that a thousand *pardaus* should be spent each year so that he does not oppress the Christians of the land by forcing them to pay more than they can when he does what he is obliged to do. Your Highness must therefore examine the individuals to whom this captaincy is given, since captains have frequently served there who have destroyed in a few days what the priests have succeeded in doing with much effort during the course of a year" (*ibid.* 610-611).

regent and his foes had concluded a peace among themselves and were now ruling the land together.⁷

To prevent the missionaries from becoming too tired from the extent of their labors, Henriques had built a retreat house in Punnaikāyal. Here, following the example of Christ, they could withdraw from time to time to refresh both body and soul.

Before sailing to Cochin, he had had a census taken of his Christians. The number had reached forty thousand, but there were still many more. The urgency with which it was made had not permitted those who were taking the census to visit the more distant towns. Permission would have to be obtained from the pope so that marriages could be contracted within the third and fourth degrees of kinship, as had been conceded in New Spain. Some years before Henriques had already asked for this, but he had received no reply. There was urgent need for such a permission. The new converts were offended when they were forbidden to marry within these degrees, and they did so despite the ban. Henriques thought it would be sufficient if first cousins would be forbidden to marry each other.

In order to help the people understand the truths of the faith, Henriques sent a Portuguese to Goa to have these painted on canvas. The man remained there for several months while the mysteries, from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment, were painted. The Christians were delighted with these pictures and had copies of them made for all the villages, especially for the larger ones.

Henriques had written his report thus far when Xavier came to Cochin. He therefore added the following at the end of his letter:

As I was writing this, there arrived Padre Mestre Francisco, who is much desired in these regions of India; and he greatly increased our desires with his news on Japão. God knows that he was much needed by us in these regions for the Portuguese, for the Christians, and for the conversion of the infidels. One cannot write how much the priest is loved and esteemed by all, or of the reputation which he has gained because of the great works which he has wrought. May the Lord preserve and keep him!

I would be pleased to be able to write about the great works of the priests and brothers of the Society in these parts, but they undergo these cares out of obedience. Padre Mestre Gaspar has done, and is doing, things which seem incredible, to the great praise of God.

I am closing with the prayer that He grant us the grace to perfectly fulfill His holy will.

From this Cochim, today, the twenty-seventh of January, 1552.

Useless servant,

Anrrique Anrriquez

As mission superior, Lancilotto gave Xavier further news about the stations in the south and east of India which were subject to him.⁸ The college in Quilon afforded room for sixty boarding students. At the time it had forty native boys. The viceroy was paying for their support and had promised twice as much for the future.⁹ Two lay brothers, Luis Mendes¹⁰ and Aleixo Madeira,¹¹ were helping

⁷ On the prince of Trincomali, see the letters of Henriques, Gago, and the viceroy. At baptism he received the name of Dom Affonso. He was educated at the College of St. Paul and fell during the capture of Mangalore in 1568 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 578-579)

⁸ On this see Lancilotto's two letters.

⁹ DI II 274.

¹⁰ On October 22, 1553, André de Carvalho wrote: "Brother Luis Mendes stayed for four years with Father Nicolao in the college of Coulam, where he gave many proofs

the priest by teaching the students reading, writing, and grammar. Despite the tuberculosis from which he was suffering, Lancilotto preached to the Portuguese on Sundays and feast days; he instructed the natives, especially the students, in Christian doctrine. With the help of his interpreter, Pedro Luis, the Brahman convert,¹² he explained to them the articles of the faith, the Commandments, the history of the creation of the world, of angels and of men, the mysteries from the beginning to the end of the Christian law, and the follies of pagan superstitions. He also showed them how these were opposed to the natural law. The boys in his college in Quilon were less than twelve years old. They were children of pagan parents, especially those of better standing, and boys from the Fishery Coast. Lancilotto was also teaching his interpreter Latin, and the latter had made good progress in it.

At the end of 1551 the sixty-five-year-old Cipriano¹³ had been deathly ill in São Thomé.¹⁴ His strong physique had, however, brought him through the crisis and he was again zealously at work. On Sundays and feast days he preached to the natives to their great satisfaction. He heard many confessions, settled quarrels, visited the sick and performed other works of mercy. To replace the ailing Gaspar Rodrigues, who had died piously in Goa on the morning of Easter Sunday,¹⁵ 1551, he had been sent Brother Gonçalo Fernandes, who had been received into the Society in India by Antonio Gomes.¹⁶

6. TWO EXPEDITIONS IN CEYLON (1550-1551)

In the Franciscan monastery Xavier met the guardian Frey João Noê, who was able to give him the latest news on their Indian mission.

Thanks to the help of the zealous captain Francisco Barreto,¹ the work of the missionaries in Bassein was flourishing. Captain João Pereira² was giving similar help to the college of Frey Vicente de Lagos in Cranganore.

More difficult, however, was the mission in Ceylon, where the political conditions were in a constant flux and confusion. Despite these difficulties, the mission had still made progress. There was already a monastery in Colombo, and

of his virtue both to the confreres and to all the others; and he performed many spiritual and corporal labors in erecting the college and in instructing the Christians of the land. And at the end of this time, . . . Father Mestre Francisco, when he came from Japam, sent him to the Fishery Coast to help Father Henriques" (DI III 30).

¹¹ In the catalog from the beginning of 1553, he is given as being in Quilon (*ibid.* II 620). Lancilotto writes that he had two brothers with him, but he does not give their names (*ibid.* 274). In the index of DI II 644, it is stated that he died in Malacca. He is here confused with Duarte Madeira.

¹² Lancilotto wrote of him on October 29, 1552: "I have a young man who was a Brahman to whom I have taught grammar [Latin], and he already understands something of what he reads in Latin. He is sharp and explains things very well. I am giving my sermons and instructions with his help. I wish to send him to Your Reverence [Ignatius] if you give me permission to do so" (*ibid.* 381-382).

¹³ He died on July 31, 1559 (DI IV 3* 286-287).

¹⁴ Lancilotto, Gago, and Barzaeus write about São Thomé.

¹⁵ Apart from Xavier's letter (EX II 390), nothing further is known about him. He was apparently received in India and left the order at the end of 1552. On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote that Brother João Lopes had been sent to Cypriano (DI II 451). At the beginning of 1553, he is named in São Thomé (*ibid.* 585 620). Polanco erroneously calls him a priest (*Chronicon* II 765).

¹⁶ See above, p. 372.

¹ Recommended by Xavier (EX II 304) and Noê (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 606 610).

² Recommended by Xavier (EX II 306-307).

there was a priest in each of the outstations of Negumbo, Beruwala, Galle, and Weligama. Despite all the obstacles which the king of Kōttē, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, placed in their way,³ they had already made many conversions. But the great hopes which had been held out for the conversion of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and of the entire island had not been fulfilled.

Garcia de Sá had helped the king of Kōttē against his brother Māyādunnē, the king of Sītāvaka. The superior of the mission, Frey João de Villa de Conde, had as a consequence sailed in desperation for Lisbon at the beginning of 1549 in order to inform the king in person about the true status of the island. Cabral, who succeeded Garcia de Sá as governor when the latter died in the middle of 1549, had from the beginning been less friendly towards Bhuvaneka; and he threatened to give his support to Māyādunnē when the king of Kōttē refused to grant him a loan of thirty thousand *cruzados* which he had requested.⁴ When, however, Cabral's uncle, Dom Jorge de Castro,⁵ presumably supported by an ambassador of the king of Kōttē, the *pandita* Rāmaraksa,⁶ went to the governor with a large sum of money, they persuaded him to again support Bhuvaneka against Māyādunnē, who, with the help of the Moors of Calicut, had taken from him a portion of his lands.⁷

At the beginning of 1550, Dom Jorge de Castro had been sent⁸ to Kōttē with six hundred men⁹ in order to force Māyādunnē to relinquish the captured lands and to sue for peace. It also seems that he also had a secret instruction to punish the king of Kandy for the treachery which he had shown towards Moniz Barreto. After a brief battle, Sītāvaka was captured and its fortress destroyed. Māyādunnē in the meantime withdrew into the mountains of Denavaka.¹⁰

At the request of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, a treaty was then concluded. According to this he was willing to pay another forty thousand *xerafins* in addition to the

³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 608.

⁴ This caused the captain of the cinnamon ship, João Fernandes de Vasconcellos, to change his mind about Bhuvaneka Bāhu (see the three letters of the king to Queen Catarina, Infante D. Luis, and the count of Castanheira, *ibid.* 538-545).

⁵ *Ibid.* 549.

⁶ This is the proper reading of the name according to the latest explanation (instead of Radaraksa, as was earlier accepted).

⁷ On January 28, 1551, the *pandita* wrote from Cochin to Queen Catarina that he would come with a loan of ten thousand *pardaus* for the viceroy. The year before he had been sent by his king to Cabral in order to give him an account of the injuries he had received from his brother Māyādunnē, who never ceased to persecute him by day and night and was seeking means to kill him and his successors (*netos*). He therefore asked the governor for help in driving him out of Sītāvaka, eight leagues from Kōttē, since he had, with the assistance of the Moors of Calicut, taken many towns from him. He had consequently concluded a treaty with Cabral according to which he bound himself in return for the requested help to give him twenty thousand *xerafins* for the expenses of the fleet and in the future to furnish him with 450 *bahārs* of cinnamon a year instead of the previous 300, and for the present year ten work elephants (*ibid.* 559-560). On January 16, 1551, the viceroy wrote that João Fernandes de Vasconcellos said that the king of Kōttē was asking that Māyādunnē's lands be given to him, that he should come for this with two hundred men, and that he had already given him 95,000 *xerafins* to do so (*ibid.* 549).

⁸ *Ibid.* 549.

⁹ The two main sources on the expedition of D. Jorge de Castro are the account of the viceroy Noronha of January 16, 1551 (*ibid.* 549-552), and that of the *pandita* of January 28, 1551 (*ibid.* 559-568; see also *ibid.* 546). Accounts are given by Correa IV 674-678, who puts Castro and Moniz together; Couto 6, 8, 3-4 6-7; Ferguson 132-143; and Bourdon 68-71, from the sources published by us. On the other accounts, see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 19 30-31 34 39 46-47 52 66 77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 550 560.

twenty thousand already granted and to provide auxiliary troops for the expedition to Kandy if Castro would first drive his brother out of Denavaka. When Frey Antonio Padram learned of this, he insisted upon an immediate march on Kandy; and he threatened all who opposed him with excommunication. A new treaty was then concluded. According to it, the king of Kōttē would help capture Kandy if each of the two parties received a half of the lands and booty. Peace was then made with Māyādunnē.¹¹

When news, however, came from Kandy, where Frey Antonio and Frey Gonçalo de Lamego had gone on ahead with the French captain Pierre Burzil, that the king was willing to openly profess his Christianity,¹² Dom Jorge de Castro, despite all the warnings of his allies, set out to help him, but without taking into account the cunning of the Singhalese.¹³ Warned by Bhuvaneka Bāhu, as Frey Antonio declared, the Kandy troops attacked the Portuguese a league from the city and inflicted upon them a devastating defeat. About two hundred men fell on the field of battle and the remainder, breaking ranks, saved themselves by headlong flight. Thirty wounded Portuguese whom Castro had left behind in the hands of a captain of Māyādunnē were also slain by the people of Kandy, as Māyādunnē maintained,¹⁴ who on other occasions, as at the time of the retreat of Moniz Barreto, had supported the Portuguese;¹⁵ and he sought to establish Bhuvaneka as the author of the whole disaster.¹⁶

What Frey João de Villa de Conde reported in Lisbon about the king of Kōttē must have shaken the trust of John III in Bhuvaneka Bāhu. The new viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha, who had sailed to India at the beginning of 1550 with appropriate instructions,¹⁷ was therefore even less friendly towards the Singhalese ruler. Driven off the usual course, he had landed in Colombo on October 17 before reaching India.¹⁸ Here he learned of the defeat of Dom Jorge de Castro and heard the complaints of the friars¹⁹ and of others, especially those of his nephew Diogo de Noronha,²⁰ who was staying with Māyādunnē, about Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He therefore demanded a loan of 100,000 *pardaus* from the king of Kōttē but was refused.²¹ In order to settle the quarrel between Māyādunnē and Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the viceroy ordered them both to remain at peace and to send their ambassadors to India, where their respective claims would be decided by a court

¹¹ *Ibid.* 560-561.

¹² *Ibid.* 550 562-563.

¹³ *Ibid.* 550-551 563-564.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 550-551 564.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 550 563-564 566.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 550-551 564.

¹⁷ In the instruction which John III gave to the viceroy for India at the beginning of 1550, he ordered him to further the mission and to obtain precise information on the state of affairs in Ceylon, where the king of Kōttē was accused of persecuting the Christians, which he denied. He should take the Christians there under his protection, and he should write to him on where a fortress should eventually be built (Andrada, *Chronicon* IV, c. 71).

¹⁸ He arrived at Colombo on October 17, 1550, as he wrote to the king on January 16, 1551. Correa errs in stating that he did not come to Ceylon until the end of October (IV 725).

¹⁹ Especially through Frey Antonio Padram (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 550-551). There was especially the question of the adobe church which had been built without the permission of the king on the site of the greatly revered temple of Vishnu in Dondra, and which had been torn down (*ibid.* 565).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 564-565. Māyādunnē moreover sent his son on the ship of the viceroy. He also asked for the return of the lands conquered by D. Jorge de Castro (*ibid.* 552-553 581).

²¹ *Ibid.* 551-552.

of arbitration.²² He then sailed for Cochin and wrote from there in January, 1551, that a fortress should be built in Colombo, that the rule should be taken away from the king of Kandy with the help of Māyāduṇṇē, and that a part of it should be given to the son of the king of Kandy, who was a good Christian.²³ He had moreover ordered the factor in Ceylon to confiscate Bhuvaneka Bāhu's treasure if he happened to die.²⁴

Since the two Singhalese ambassadors reached no agreement, Noronha sent the licentiate Sebastião Pinheiro to Kōttē to obtain more precise information on their respective claims.²⁵ On June 27 he received news from there that King Bhuvaneka Bāhu had been killed by a gunshot, and that, contrary to his instructions, the factor had hailed his grandson Dharmapāla as king before obtaining possession of the royal treasure. Māyāduṇṇē, who was again at war with Kōttē, had probably commissioned his murder.²⁶

The rainy season, which had meanwhile set in, detained the viceroy in Goa. But as soon as it had passed and the sea was again navigable, he set out for Ceylon, on September 14,²⁷ shortly after the arrival of the ships from Portugal, taking with him a fleet of ten galiots, eight caravels and galleys, and fifty oared boats, and three thousand men.²⁸ On this expedition he was accompanied by the bishop, by Antonio Gomes, Gago, the custodian of the Franciscans, and the vicar general of the Dominicans, Diego Bermúdez.²⁹ In addition to these he had with him his own son Dom Fernando de Meneses; Dom Antonio de Noronha, the son of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha; the *ouvidor general*, André de Mendanha; the *vedor*, Simão Botelho; Antonio Pessoa, and others.³⁰ The purpose of the expedition was to punish the murderer, to secure the treasure of the king, and to obtain the baptism of Dharmapāla, the young king, since John III had only approved him as successor to the throne because of the promise made by Bhuvaneka Bāhu that he would become a Christian.³¹

²² *Ibid.* 582-583.

²³ *Ibid.* 555.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 582-583.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 567 582-583. The licentiate reached Ceylon twenty days after the death of the king (*ibid.* 584).

²⁶ *Ibid.* 584-585. See also the data on the author of the king's death. Couto writes that for many years it was suspected that the Portuguese who had slain the king had been hired to do so by Māyāduṇṇē; but when a certain Antonio de Barcellos was on the point of dying, he declared that he had accidentally killed the king when he shot at a dove. Couto adds to this: "A Christian Singhalese of long ago was present at the death of this man. He told us this, and he also told it to the [new] king [Dharmapāla], his grandson. We are happy that a native of that island established this truth because of the bad opinion which was held of the Portuguese as a result of this accident" (6, 9, 16, p. 341).

²⁷ Eredia writes that he reached Goa on September 6, and that he sailed with the fleet of the viceroy eight days later (DI II 410-411). Gago writes that ships of the Portuguese fleet reached Goa on September 4, and that they had sailed eight days later with the viceroy for Ceylon (*ibid.* 280).

²⁸ Noronha wrote to his king that he had sailed to Ceylon "com pouca armada e menos jemte" (*ibid.* 527). According to the "report of D. Duarte de Eça, who sailed with the fleet (cf. Couto 6, 9, 18, p. 352), there were four thousand Portuguese soldiers on it (Goa 38, 105). According to Couto, who gives the number and types of ships and the names of their captains, there were three thousand men, "gente mui lustrosa," who sailed on this fleet (6, 9, 16, pp. 343-344).

²⁹ At the insistence of the guardian Noē, the other religious had also sailed with them so that they might help, if Dharmapāla were baptized, to convert his land to Christianity, as he himself wrote (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 607-608).

³⁰ Couto 6, 9, 16.

³¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 587-588 602 613; Q 4732. The principal source for the voyage

In Kōttē he was told that all were going over to Māyādunnē.³² The king could only become a Christian if he were defeated. Bhuvaneka had not betrayed the place where his treasure was hidden to anyone. Since no information was obtained despite the use of torture,³³ Noronha had to be content with 80,000 *pardaus* and half of the precious objects found in the palace and pagoda and the promise of 120,000 *pardaus* more and half of the booty from Sītāvaka.³⁴ He then started out for Māyādunnē's capital. Before reaching Sītāvaka, they had to capture three strong forts by storm. Māyādunnē had fled from the city, which was burned down along with an elaborate palace. They then began their return to Kōttē since they were running out of provisions.³⁵

But even now permission was refused for Dharampāla's baptism. Māyādunnē would have to be first destroyed, since otherwise all would go over to him. On the other hand, Noronha was urgently needed in India because of the Pepper War which had broken out in Malabar. He therefore sent the *vedor* Botelho with the procurator and the bishop and Antonio Pessoa once more from Colombo to Kōttē in order to make a last attempt to discover the treasure. Excavations were made in two houses in the royal compound. According to information supplied by the fugitive father of Dharampāla, these were supposed to contain the treasure. Magicians were even asked about the matter. They gave three different places where it might be found, but these turned out to be of no avail.³⁶ The viceroy therefore left Dom João Henriques behind with three hundred men in order to finish off the war with Māyādunnē. He pretended to be satisfied with the baptism of a four-year-old child, allegedly a son of Bhuvaneka Bāhu.³⁷ The boy had been exchanged after Noronha's departure for the imprisoned chief chamberlain; and the viceroy sailed with this prince and the *pandita* as hostages back to Cochin, where he arrived shortly before Christmas.³⁸

of Noronha to Ceylon in 1551 is his letter to the king of January 27, 1552 (Q 4745: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 586-602). This is complemented by brief data in his two other letters of the same date (Q 4746-4747: *ibid.* 603-605) and by those of others who made the same voyage: Bermúdez, of December 31, 1551 (Q 4719: *ibid.* 572-673); Gago, of January 20, 1552 (Q 4741: *ibid.* 575); Noë, of January 28, 1552 (Q 4753: *ibid.* 607-608); Botelho, of January 30, 1552 (Q 4758: *ibid.* 612-613); and of others: João Anes, of January 29, 1552 (Q 4757); the *mesteres* of Goa, of November 25, 1552 (Q 4915: *ibid.* 618); and Morais senior, of November 28, 1552 (Q 4919: *ibid.* 627); and also by the inventory drawn up at Noronha's command (Q 6026, ed. by Sousa Viterbo, *Thesouro* 19-44). There are also the accounts in Couto 6, 9, 16-18 (Ferguson 146-156) and Bourdon 75-80. Pieris, somewhat chauvinistic, follows the fantastic and completely unhistorical Queyroz. On these and the other authors, see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 27 31 34 38 48 66.

³² DI II 587-589.

³³ *Ibid.* 390-392.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 592-594. The inventory gives an exact listing of all the objects: idols, jewels, ornaments and utensils (for example the golden spittoon of the king) in gold, silver, brass and copper, and also other objects.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 594-597; Couto 6, 9, 17; Pieris 118 486-487.

³⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 573 597-598; Couto 6, 9, 17.

³⁷ The prince received the name of D. João in baptism. He was seven or eight years old when the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas placed him in the College of St. Paul in Goa on January 1, 1555, so that he might be educated there (DI III 209-210). At the beginning of 1557, he sailed for Portugal, where he was received at court in keeping with his position. After returning to Goa he married a Portuguese woman and died around 1587. He was buried in S. Francisco, but his tombstone is not found among the many in this church (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 76-77 601, and Couto 6, 9, 18).

³⁸ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 598-602; Couto 6, 9, 18. John III sharply condemned the measures taken by the viceroy. Couto writes in this regard: "Entrando o verão, sendo poucos dias de Setembro [de 1553], chegaram á barra de Goa duas naos do Reyno.... O Viso-Rey recebeo muito bem o Capitão mór, que lhe entregou o sacco das vias, onde

7. XAVIER'S LETTERS FOR EUROPE (JANUARY 29-31, 1552)

The ships were ready for sailing when Xavier reached Cochin from Malacca. He consequently had to prepare the mail for Europe as quickly as he could. His visitors were, however, so numerous that he was constantly being interrupted in his work, and it was only with great efforts that he was able to complete four letters.¹

The first of these was directed to Ignatius, "the father of his soul," as he called him. This was written on January 29, the fifth day after his arrival,² and it began as follows:

My true Father! I received a letter of your holy Charity in Malacca when I returned from Japón, and God our Lord knows how my soul was consoled at receiving news of your health and life, which are so dear to me; and among many other holy words and consolations of your letter, I read those last which said: "Completely yours, without my ever being able to forget you at any time, Ygnatyo."³ Just as I read those words with tears, so I am writing these with tears, thinking of the time past and of the great love which you always showed and are still showing towards me, and also reflecting on how, through the intercession of the holy prayers of your Charity, God our Lord freed me from the many toils and dangers of Japón.

I would never be able to write how much I owe to those in Japón, since God our Lord gave me for their sake much knowledge of my infinite miseries; for, since I was outside of myself, I did not know the many evils which I had in me until I saw myself in the toils and perils of Japón. God our Lord gave me clearly to sense the utter need I have of one who would have great care of me. Your holy Charity should now consider the burden which you have given me⁴ in the care of so many holy souls of the Society who are here, where I, through the mercy of God alone know full well the great lack I have for this. I had hopes that you would commend me to those of the Society and not those to me.

Your holy Charity writes to me of the great desires which you have to see me before you leave this life. God our Lord knows the impression which these words of such great love made upon my soul and how many tears they cost me every time that I remember them; and it seems to me that I can console myself, since there is nothing impossible to holy obedience.⁵

For the love and service of God our Lord, I am asking a favor of you; and if I were in your presence, I would kneel down before your holy feet and ask you for it:

achou algumas instrucções de cousas, em que ElRey mandava prover logo, e de algumas daremos razão, porque convem assim á historia. Achou o Viso-Rey hum alvará, em que lhe mandava ElRey, que logo, tanto que aquelle visse, tornasse a ElRey de Ceilão todo o dinheiro, e joias que lhe tomára; e que sendo algumas vendidas, se lhe pagassem pela avaliação; porque se houve ElRey por muito desservido das cousas que o Viso-Rey usou com aquelle Rey, de que o reprehendeo por cartas. O Viso-Rey começou logo a dar execução ao alvará, despedio o galeão da carreira de Ceilão, aonde mandou embarcar Affonso Pereira de Lacerda, que proveo da capitania daquella ilha, mandando vir D. Duarte Deça, e por elle mandou áquelle Rey todas as joias, que ainda estavam por vender; e dos mais; que poderiam ser perto de duzentos mil pardaos, ficou feita declaração na receita de Belchior Botelho (sobre quem tudo estava carregado) pera se lhe ir pagando pouco a pouco; mas de tudo não logrou o pobre Rey vinte mil pardaos, por pedaços, e por peças que lhe mandáram" (Couto 6, 10, 14, pp. 494-496).

¹ EX II 279.

² *Ibid.* 279-293. The letter, written entirely by Xavier's hand, is still preserved. The last paragraph with the signature was cut off as a relic and replaced by a copy.

³ The letter is no longer extant.

⁴ By his appointment as provincial.

⁵ On June 28, 1553, Ignatius summoned Xavier back to Europe (Q 6013: DI III 1-5). The Spanish original is preserved. Ignatius signed his name Ygnatio, not "I," as given in the heading. On Xavier's recall to Europe, see p. 673.

and this is it: that you should send to these parts some person known to your holy Charity to be the rector of the college of Goa, for the college of Goa has the greatest need of someone from your hand.⁶

The second need of the mission was of men well chosen for work in Japan, a country in the Far East which had attained a high degree of culture. Xavier, despite his own lack of success in Miyako, had not given up his plan of preaching the Gospel, especially at the universities. He consequently continued with his letter:

The reason why priests of the Society must be sent to the universities of Japón is the excuse which the lay people give for their errors, since they say that these are also held by their learned men and scholars. And those who go there will be greatly persecuted, for they will have to go against all their sects; and they will have to show themselves to the world and explain to the people how deceitful are the ways and means used by the *bonzos* to deprive the laity of their money. And they [the bonzes] will not tolerate this, especially when they [the priests] say that they cannot save souls from hell, since they have their living from this; and when they speak out against the sin against nature, which is so common among them, they will have to endure tribulations because of this and many other reasons; and they will suffer great and cruel persecutions. I am writing to Father Master Symón and, in his absence, to the rector of the college of Coymbra, that they must not send individuals from there to these universities if they are not persons who have been tried and approved by your holy Charity. They will be more persecuted than many think; they will be greatly imposed upon by visits and questions at all hours of the day and during a portion of the night; and they will be called to the homes of leading individuals who cannot be refused. They will not have time for prayer, meditation, and contemplation,⁷ nor for any spiritual reflection; they will not be able to say Mass, at least in the beginning; they will be constantly occupied with answering questions; they will lack time to recite the Office and even to eat and sleep. They are very demanding, especially with strangers, of whom they have little concern, and whom they always hold in derision. What will happen when they speak ill of all their sects and their obvious vices, and especially when they say that those who go to hell cannot be helped? Many will become furious when they hear this about hell, namely, that there is no remedy for it; others will say that we do not know anything, since we cannot free souls from hell; they have no knowledge of purgatory. To answer their questions, there is need of trained scholars, especially of good philosophers, and of those who are good dialecticians,⁸ who will have the opportunity of catching them in open contradiction. These *bonzos* are greatly ashamed when they are caught contradicting themselves, and when they are unable to give an answer. They will have to endure great colds since Bando,⁹ which is the most important university of Japón, is far to the north, as are also the other universities; and those who live in cold lands are more acute and intelligent. Further, there is nothing but rice to eat. There is also wheat and other kinds of produce and other things of little sustenance. They make wine of rice and of nothing else, and this is rare and costly. And the greatest trial of all is the constant and evident peril of death. It is not a land for old men because of its many hardships; nor is it a land for those who are quite young if they lack great experience, for otherwise they themselves are ruined instead of helping others. It is a land that is very open to all kinds of sins,

⁶ Melchior Nunes Barreto was sent for this in 1551.

⁷ In his Exercises Ignatius makes a distinction between meditation and contemplation. He calls, for example, the more abstract reflections of the first week meditations, those of the second to the fourth week on the life of Christ contemplations.

⁸ Xavier distinguishes between *artistas*, that is, philosophers, and *sophistas*, that is, those who had been trained in dialectics, in the *De sophismatibus* of Aristotle.

⁹ Meant is the university of Ashikaga in Kantō in the northernmost part of Japan (Frois 11 101).

and they are scandalized by every little thing they see in those who reproach them. I am writing this in great detail to Mastre Symón, or, in his absence, to the rector of Coymbra. I would be greatly consoled if your holy Charity sent an order to Coymbra that those whom they wished to send to Japón should first go to Rome. I am of the opinion that Flemings or Germans who knew Castilian or Portuguese would be good for Japón,¹⁰ since they can endure great physical labors and can also tolerate the great colds of Bando; for it seems to me that there are many of these individuals who are destined for the colleges of España and Ytalya who also lack the language for preaching in España and Ytalya, and who can produce much fruit in Japón.

Xavier also wished chosen individuals for India, even if only two of them a year, so that they might preach to the Portuguese and hear their confessions. And if it seemed good to Ignatius, these also should first make a pilgrimage to Rome. This would indicate if they were suitable for the mission since in India they would also encounter great dangers. They should be thoroughly tested so that their superior would not be compelled to dismiss them instead of finding great consolation in them.¹¹ Ignatius might decide whether or not it would be good to write to Master Simon about this.

None of the confreres in Yamaguchi, nor any of those whom he wished to send there this year and later, were suitable for being sent to the universities of Japan.¹² But they would be able to study the language and teachings of their sects so that they might serve as interpreters for the priests who came from Europe and were qualified for going to the universities in Japan. These latter would thus have at their disposal individuals who could give an accurate translation of everything that they said. There were great hopes for the mission in Yamaguchi because of the many Christians there. Among these were distinguished men and women, and others were being daily converted. He hoped in God that He would protect Father Cosme de Torres and Brother João Fernandes, and would not permit them to be slain. The greatest dangers were already past, and in the city there were many Christians and very prominent individuals who took great pains to protect them both day and night. Brother Fernandes was already able to speak Japanese very well, and he translated everything that Torres said to him. They were now engaged in explaining all the mysteries of the life of Christ through their constant preaching.

Japan was very well disposed for the spread of Christianity. Every effort would be well employed in this regard. He was therefore confident that Ignatius would send individuals of holy lives from Europe to Japan. In all of the lands that had been hitherto discovered in these regions, the people of Japan were the only ones who could of themselves propagate the Christian faith, even if this would have to be done under the most trying circumstances.

Francis then turned his look towards China, about which he had in the meantime obtained further information:¹³

Chyna is an extremely large land, peaceful and ruled by excellent laws; there is only one king there, and he is given the fullest obedience. It is a very rich kingdom

¹⁰ Xavier had obtained a thorough knowledge of a German winter during his trip from Paris to Venice.

¹¹ He was thinking about the two Molucca missionaries whom he had been forced to dismiss, as he wrote to Misser Paulo on February 4.

¹² He was obviously already changing his mind about sending Master Gaspar to Japan and was thinking about leaving him behind in India as his representative. He had already decided to dismiss A. Gomes, and he did not as yet have a personal knowledge of Melchior Nunes Barreto.

¹³ Through the letters from China which Diogo Pereira had received on Sancian.

and most abundant in all kinds of provisions; there is only a small passage from Chyna to Japón. These Chynas are very talented and given to studies, especially to human laws on the rule of the state; they are very eager to know. They are a white people without beards and with very small eyes; they are a freedom-loving people and are particularly peaceful; there are no wars among them. If there will be here in Indya no obstacles to impede my departure in this year of 52, I hope to go to Chyna for the great service of our God, which can be attained in Chyna as well as in Japón; for if the Japones learn that the Chynas have received the law of God, they will lose much sooner the confidence which they have in their sects. I have great hope that the Chynas, as well as the Japones, through the Society of the name of Jesus, will abandon their idolatries and worship God and Jesus Christ, the Savior of all nations:

It is a remarkable fact that the Chynas and the Japones do not understand each other when they speak, since their languages are very different from each other; but the Japones who know the writing of Chyna can be understood through their writing, but not when they speak. This writing of Chyna is taught in the universities of Japón, and the rest of the people regard the *bonzos* who know this writing as learned men; and the writing is of such a sort that each letter of Chyna indicates one thing; and therefore, when the Japones learn it, when they write a Chinese letter, they paint over this letter what they wish to say. If they want to write the letter "man," they paint a figure of a man above this letter, and they do the same with all the other letters. And it is in this way that the signs correspond to words; and when one who is a Japón reads these letters, he reads them in his language of Japón; and when he is a Chyna, in his language of Chyna; so that when they speak, they cannot understand each other; and when they write, they can understand each other by means of a single letter, since they know the meaning of the signs; but the languages always remain different. We composed a book in the language of Japón which dealt with the creation of the world and with all the mysteries of the life of Christ; and we later wrote this same book in the script of Chyna,¹⁴ so that when I go to Chyna, I shall be able to make myself understood without being able to speak Chyna.

He then concluded his letter:

And thus I bring this to a close, asking God our Lord, as I take your Charity here on earth as an intercessor along with the whole Society joined together with the entire Church militant, and similarly in heaven, beginning with all the blessed who were in this life in the Society, along with the entire Church triumphant, so that through their prayers and merits, God our Lord may grant me to feel in this life His most holy will, and having felt it, the grace to bring it to a good and perfect completion.

From Cochim, the twenty-ninth of January in the year of 1552.

Least son and in farthest exile,¹⁵

Francisco.

As an address, he wrote the following: "To my holy Father in Chrysto Ygnatio in Rome."

On the same day Xavier completed his long letter to his confreres in Europe.¹⁶ In this he gave an extensive report on his voyage to Japan, covering the time from his arrival there to his return to Cochim.

Japan was an extremely large land consisting entirely of islands. Only one language was spoken there, and it was not difficult to learn.¹⁷ The country had

¹⁴ The ambassador of the king of Bungo apparently wrote it for him.

¹⁵ "Menor hijo y en destierro maior."

¹⁶ EX II 242-279. The original, dictated by Xavier and signed by his own hand, is still preserved.

¹⁷ In comparison with Tamil, with its sounds that are so different from those of

been discovered by the Portuguese some eight or nine years before.¹⁸ The Japanese were a proud race and considered themselves to be the most military people on earth, and they looked with contempt upon everyone else. Their greatest ambition was to have good weapons, well-decorated with gold and silver; and they constantly wore a sword and dagger both at home and in public. When they slept, they laid these near the top of their head. During the whole course of his life, he, Xavier, had never seen a people that placed so much confidence in their weapons. They were excellent archers and, though there were horses in the country, they always fought on foot. In their dealings with each other, they paid much attention to courtly etiquette; but they did not do so with foreigners, whom they held in slight regard. They did not amass treasures. They spent all they had on clothes, weapons, and servants. They were very militant and consequently lived in a constant state of war. The one who had the most power was the greatest lord. They had only one king, but they had not obeyed him for more than 150 years. They were thus engaged in endless wars.¹⁹

There were many religious in the country, both men and women. The men were called bonzes, and there were many kinds of them. Some wore grey habits, and others black; and there was little friendship among them. Those with black habits said that the others knew little and led evil lives. The female bonzes wore habits of these two different colors; and they were subject to bonzes of the same color of habit. They were so numerous that it would be impossible to believe unless they were seen. Xavier had been told by very reliable individuals that there was a duke in Japan within whose territories there were eight hundred male and female monasteries, each of which had no less than thirty members; and, in addition to these monasteries, there were many others in his lands with four, six, and eight persons in them.

The law of these sects came from China, and they allegedly possessed the writings of men who had performed great penances for one, two, and three thousand years: Shaka and Amida were the most important of these, but there were many others besides them.

There were nine kinds of sects, and each one, whether a man or a woman, chose what he or she wished without any compulsion. The consequence of this was that in many houses there was a man who belonged to one sect, a woman who belonged to another, and children who belonged to still a third. But there were disputes and quarrels between the various sects, since each one of the sects deemed itself the best; and this frequently led to open warfare.

None of these sects spoke of a creation of the world or of souls. All stated that there was a hell and a paradise, but no one explained what this paradise was and who sent souls to hell. These sects simply maintained that the great penances which the earlier saints had performed for from one thousand to three thousand years provided a remedy for sinners who did no penance. The chief teaching of these sects was that all who did no penance for their sins, if they invoked their founders, would be freed from all their difficulties, even if they did no penance or were actually in hell. Among these sects there were many tales of miracles which had been worked by their founders; and since it would

European languages, Japanese is easier to learn for common use. Its writing is, however, most difficult.

¹⁸ Cf. our "O descobrimento de Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543" (GS II 485-581).

¹⁹ Since 1338.

take him too far afield to give an account of them, he would not attempt to put them in writing.

Some of these sects taught three hundred commandments, and others five hundred; but they all agreed that there were Five essential Commandments. The first of these was not to kill or eat any living being; the second was not to steal; the third was not to commit any impurity; the fourth was not to lie; and the fifth was not to drink wine. All the sects had these commandments. The male and female bonzes told the people that as men and women of the world they could not observe these commandments. If they, however, gave them houses and monasteries and money and revenues for their needs, and especially if they held them in high honor and esteem, they would keep these commandments for them and would take their sins upon themselves. The people were therefore sure that the male and female bonzes could free souls from hell.

These bonzes preached to the people on fixed days. The main burden of their discourse was that they should not doubt, even if they had committed many sins and were continuing to do so, since that saint of their sect would free them from hell if the bonzes prayed for them. The poor, however, had no such remedy since they could not give any alms to the bonzes. They further preached that women who did not observe these Five Commandments had no means of escaping from hell, since every woman had more sins than all the men of the world because of her monthly purification. Such a filthy being as a woman could consequently be saved only with great difficulty, and only if she gave more alms than her husband. They further preached that individuals who gave much money to the bonzes in this life would receive tenfold for this in the other life, and in the same coin, so that they might take care of their needs in that world. The bonzes consequently gave them a receipt for these, and when they died they had these receipts buried with them so that they would scare the devil away.

After he had given this description of Japan, Xavier gave an account of his own experiences there.

In Kagoshima, Paul's native city, around a hundred persons had become Christians through his frequent preaching, and almost all would have followed them if they had not been prevented from doing so by the bonzes. Xavier had remained there for more than a year, but the duke,²⁰ stirred up by the bonzes, had then forbidden further baptisms under the penalty of death. Taking with him his catechism on the life of Christ and the teachings of the faith from the Creation of the World to the Last Judgment, which he had composed in Japanese with Paul's help, Xavier and his companions then took leave of the Christians, who shed many tears at his departure. Leaving Paul behind with them so that he might give them further instructions, he sailed to another place,²¹ where the lord of the land²² received him with great joy. During the few days that he remained there, Xavier baptized around a hundred, since one of the missionaries²³ could already speak Japanese. Leaving Torres behind with them, Xavier and Brother Fernandes went on to Yamaguchi, a city with more than ten thousand inhabitants. For many days he preached the message of Christ with the help of his companion upon the streets and in the homes of the nobility who showed an interest in the new teaching. But since few of them were converted, they

²⁰ Shimazu Takahisa.

²¹ Hirado.

²² Matsūra Takanobu.

²³ Juan Fernández.

continued on their way to Miyako, the capital of Japan. On their way they were subject to constant dangers on land and sea because of wars and pirates, and they experienced many hardships because of the cold since they made their trip in the midst of winter. Xavier was, however, deceived in his hope of being able to speak with the king and to dispute with the scholars in the universities. The land was in a state of war, and the king,²⁴ with whom he had vainly sought an audience, had become completely powerless. After a short stay, the two therefore started off on their return. The mightiest prince in Japan at the time was the duke of Yamaguchi.²⁵ Xavier therefore returned by way of Hirado to Yamaguchi with the gifts and letters of the bishop and governor which had been destined for the king. He there handed these over to the duke, who received him graciously and, overjoyed by the gifts, by means of a public poster granted all permission to accept the new religion; and he handed over to the missionaries an empty monastery as a place in which to live. There the priest held public disputations for many days with Fernandes as his interpreter. During the course of these, the training which Xavier had received in dialectics at the university of Paris, and his knowledge of natural phenomena, made such an impression on his hearers that within the space of two months more than five hundred, mostly people of the court of higher standing, received baptism.²⁶

The new converts manifested great affection for the missionaries. They gave them a detailed account of the teachings contained in the books of the nine sects. They could now be reread with greater comprehension, and the bonzes were unable to reply to Xavier's arguments. Whereas the earlier disputations in the city had been about the advantages of one sect over the other, the only topic of discussion now was about the new law of the foreign preachers. The male and female bonzes lost much of their credit, and the Christians told Xavier that many years before this many of the hundred monasteries of the city had been abandoned because of the lack of alms, especially since the moral character of their inhabitants had suffered a sharp decline. Shaka and Amida, the two main gods of the Japanese, had already lost much of their earlier esteem in Yamaguchi.

One of the most prominent lords of the city²⁷ and his wife in particular were great benefactors of the missionaries. The law of God had always seemed good to them, and they had constantly helped with the spreading of the faith; but, since they were great devotees of Amida and had founded many monasteries so that the bonzes might pray for them, and since they feared that they would lose the benefits of all the alms which they had given for Shaka and Amida through their conversion to Christianity, they had been unable to make the decision of being baptized.

When Xavier was in Yamaguchi with Torres and Fernandes, a Portuguese ship came to its harbor from Bungo with an invitation from the duke of that land for Xavier to come to him. Xavier accepted the offer, and while he was in Bungo a revolution broke out in Yamaguchi. During the course of this revolt the prince, persecuted by his foes, took his own life, in keeping with the custom of the Japanese. Further details were given on this and on the disputations in the letters of Torres and Fernandes which Xavier added to his own letter. After the death of the duke, the rebels sent an embassy to Bungo and asked the brother of the prince there to take over the rule in Yamaguchi. He did so, and since

²⁴ Go-Nara-tennō.

²⁵ Ōuchi Yoshitaka.

²⁶ EX II 266.

²⁷ Naitō Takaharu, the secretary of the duke.

both he and his brother were great friends of the Portuguese and of the priests, their future in Yamaguchi seemed secure.

During the whole time that Xavier was with his companions in Japan, that is, two and one-half years, Xavier always maintained himself with the alms which the king of Portugal had ordered to be given him in those regions; and when he sailed for Japan, he had him given more than one thousand *cruzados*. Xavier was grateful to the king for the great kindness which he had shown in giving him such generous alms, and also for the assistance which he had given to the houses, colleges, and all the other activities of the missionaries.²⁸

He decided to sail on from Bungo without returning to Yamaguchi in a Portuguese ship that was returning to India so that he might be consoled by his confreres and choose priests of the Society for Japan and send there some things which were lacking in Japan but needed there. He arrived in Cochin on January 24, and priests would sail to Japan in April with the ambassador of the duke of Bungo.

Before finishing his letter, Xavier wrote once again about Japan. There was a very large university in Japan by the name of Bandou, where many bonzes studied their sects. The books of these sects were written in Chinese characters. There were in Japan two scripts which were much different from that of the Chinese. One of these was employed by men and the other by women.²⁹ Many people could read and write, both men and women, especially the *fidalgos* and *fidalgas* and the merchants. The female bonzes taught girls how to write in their monasteries, and the male bonzes taught boys the same in theirs. The bonzes were endowed with keen minds and sharp intelligences. They meditated much upon what would happen to them, what their end would be, and similar questions.³⁰ And many of them discovered in their meditations that they could not be saved in their sects, since all things depend upon a principle; and since no book mentioned this principle nor spoke of the creation of things, they were greatly pleased to hear of the law of God. In Yamaguchi a man was converted who had studied for many years in Bandou and was held to be a great scholar. He removed his bonze dress, became a layman, and married, since he did not believe in the Japanese sects and had always prayed to the One who had created the world. The Christians were most happy with his baptism, since he was regarded as being the most learned man in the city.³¹

Priests should go every year hereafter to Japan, and a house of the Society should be erected in Yamaguchi. They should study the language and teachings of the sects so that when priests of great promise came that were suitable for going to the universities they would find priests and brothers of the Society in Yamaguchi who spoke the language well and knew the errors of their sects. Torres and Fernandes were now especially occupied with explaining the life and mysteries of Christ in their sermons. The new converts were most glad to hear of the passion of Christ, and many wept when they heard it. Torres wrote his sermons in Spanish and Fernandes translated them into Japanese, since he had a very good knowledge of this language.

The Christians of Japan were afflicted with a great grief. They were much distressed by the saying of the priests that those who go to hell no longer have any means of salvation. They were hurt by this because of their love for their

²⁸ EX II 273.

²⁹ The two syllabic scripts of *hiragana* and *katakana*.

³⁰ Especially the Zen bonzes.

³¹ EX II 275.

deceased parents, wives, children, and other departed, since they had compassion upon them. Many lamented their dead and asked Xavier if they could be helped in any way through prayers and alms. He replied that they no longer had any means of salvation. His questioners felt very sad for them. But this did not cause Xavier pain, since they would thus not forget to have a care for themselves and end up in the same place with their ancestors. They asked if God could not free them from hell, and why they had to remain forever in hell. To all this he gave a fair answer.³² During the disputations he had already shown how their ancestors, even before the arrival of the Buddhist and Christian missionaries, could save their souls through the law of nature which God had placed in the heart of everyone.

From reports of Portuguese who were in China, Xavier had obtained more definite information about that land.³³ According to them, justice was administered there with greater strictness than in any land in the whole of Christendom. The Chinese whom he had seen thus far, either in Japan or elsewhere, were very shrewd and talented, much more even than the Japanese themselves; and they were a people much dedicated to studies. The country was extremely rich and had an abundance of everything. It was densely populated and had large cities with very pretty houses built of stone; and according to all the information which he had received, it was a land very rich in all kinds of silks. He had also learned from some Chinese that there were many people of different religions in China. According to the information which he had, these must be either Mohammendans or Jews. But they were unable to say whether or not there were also Christians in the land.³⁴

He was of the opinion that in this year of 1552 he would still go to where the king of China was staying.³⁵ China was a land where the law of Christ could be widely spread, and if the Chinese accepted it, this would be a great help in destroying the confidence which the Japanese had in their own sects. From Ningpo, one of the most prominent cities of China, it was only a voyage of eighty leagues to Japan. He had the greatest hopes that a way would be opened, not only for the members of the Society of Jesus, but also for those of all religious orders so that their saintly priests could there exercise their holy zeal in converting many pagans to the true faith.

He was writing nothing about India since this had already been done by his confreres. He had returned from Japan strong and vigorous in body but weak in spirit. He nevertheless hoped from the mercy of God and the infinite merits of Christ that He would give him the strength to make the difficult voyage to China. Although his hair had become completely grey, it seemed to him that his physical powers had never been greater than they now were.

He then closed his long letter with a last reflection on Japan:

The difficulties of working with an intelligent race desirous of knowing what law they must follow in order to be saved bring with them very great consolation; and so much so that in Amanguche, after the duke gave us permission to preach the law of God, there were so many persons who came to ask us questions and to dispute with us that it seems to me that I can say with truth that never in my life had I received so much joy and spiritual contentment, since I saw that God our Lord confounded the

³² *Ibid.* 276.

³³ From the prisoners who wrote to Diogo Pereira on Sancian.

³⁴ Cf. the report on China which Xavier received from a Portuguese in Malacca in 1547 (Vol. III, p. 266).

³⁵ To Peking.

Gentiles through us, and that we were continuously gaining victories over them. On the other hand, seeing the joy of those who had become Christians at seeing the defeat of the Gentiles afforded me such consolation that I did not feel these physical labors. On the other hand I also saw how the Christians toiled in disputing with the Gentiles, in overcoming them and persuading them to become Christians. When I saw their victories and the joy with which each one counted those which they had attained over the Gentiles, I was supremely consoled. May it please God that just as I am here writing about these details of the delights and contentments, so I could send from here the pleasures and consolations to the universities of Europe, consolations which God has communicated to us solely through His mercy. I well believe that many learned persons would choose another foundation for themselves that which they have chosen for employing their great talents in the conversion of Gentiles. If they had once felt the delight and spiritual consolation which are consequent to such labors, and if they knew the great disposition which there is in Japão for the increase of our holy faith, it seems to me that many scholars would bring their studies to an end, canons and other prelates would abandon their titles and incomes for another life which is more consoling than the one they have by coming to look for it in Japão.

Since I came to Couchim at the time when the ships were about to depart, and the visits of friends were so numerous that they interrupted me as I was writing, this letter is being sent hastily done, the matters are not placed in order, and the composition is defective. May you take this into account. There is so much to be written about Japão that it would never come to an end. I am afraid that what I have written will bore you because of the time it takes to read. I am consoled by the fact that those who become bored with reading it are able to rid themselves of this fatigue by ceasing to read. With this I come to a close without being able to bring this to a close, since I am writing to my so dearly beloved Fathers and Brothers and about such great friends as are the Christians of Japão; and so I am coming to a close asking God our Lord that He may unite us in the glory of Paradise. Amen.

From Couchim, the twenty-ninth of January of the year 1552.

The letter was dictated thus far; Xavier then added his signature with his own hand: "Entirely yours in Christ, Francisco."

On January 30 Xavier also signed his letter to Simon Rodrigues,³⁶ which he had already mentioned in his letter to Ignatius. In it he referred especially to the qualities which the priests whom he would send to the university of Bando and to the other universities of Japan should have. They must be men of great experience, who had already encountered great trials and dangers and had been well proved in them, since they would be severely persecuted by the bonzes. They must be capable of enduring the great cold of Bando. They would have little to eat, only rice and some vegetables and other things of little nourishment. In addition to great virtue and great talents, they should therefore also have a robust constitution. Flemings and Germans would be particularly suitable since they would have grown up in the midst of cold and difficulties. They should also be well schooled in philosophy and dialectics so that they would be able to defeat the bonzes in disputations and reveal their contradictions. Rodrigues should first send these priests to Ignatius in Rome. From what Xavier had learned of Bando, it was an extremely large city with many prominent inhabitants. Bonzes from the whole of Japan went there to study.

Rodrigues should further make a good selection of the people whom he sent for India. It had pained him that he had been obliged to dismiss some of those whom he had sent from the Society. Among these had been some whom he had considered to be truly solid pillars. God knew whether he was not suffering more

³⁶ EX II 293-301.

from some things which he now encountered in India than from all the difficulties which he had experienced on his travels in Japan.

The priests who went to the universities of Japan would be well tried. They would be engaged in constant disputations and would be treated with very little respect. They would have no opportunity for meditation and contemplation; they would not be able to say Mass, for in the beginning this would be impossible, especially in Bando and Miyako. They would hardly have time for their Office, as he knew from personal experience. They would be importuned by visitors and invited by nobles whom they could not refuse without giving offense. They would hardly find time to eat and sleep. But in all these deprivations they would be abundantly consoled if they achieved victory over their opponents with the grace of God.

With respect to India, he should send men who had already studied for some years, preferably those who had completed their studies; and only those should be received in India who were needed for service in the house, since such individuals could as a rule only read and write, and it would take too long to give them an adequate education.

At the end of his letter Xavier came to speak of Master Simon's longing for India:

My Brother Mestro Simón, may God our Lord unite us in the glory of Paradise since we are so far distant from each other. What will it be my Brother Mestro Simón if we are joined together once again in China? Ask God our Lord that He may grant me the grace to open a way for others, since I myself do nothing.

With respect to the business of the Fishery Coast, about which Father Anrique Anriquez has written concerning the captain, take care to further it with the king because of its importance for Christianity.

From Cochin, the thirtieth of January of 1552.

Francisco.

Xavier's last letter was for the king.³⁷ During the few days that he stayed in Cochin so many had come to him asking him for a recommendation to the king, and he found it impossible to refuse them this favor. The letter read as follows:

Senhor! Taking into account the service of God and of Your Highness, I would bring to your attention certain persons, since it is necessary for Your Highness to know the services which they have rendered to you, so that you may express your gratitude and they may continue to serve you. For the people here who employ their wealth in the service of Your Highness have no greater desire than to know that Your Highness is aware of their services, so that you may honor them by writing to them and giving them your thanks.

All the residents of Malacca rendered great service to Your Highness in this siege³⁸ with their persons and properties. Your Highness should write to them and show your thanks by granting them some immunities so that they may bring back this ruined and destroyed city of Malacca to its former noble state.

Francisco Borges³⁹ and Gaspar Mendez⁴⁰ and Mateus de Brito⁴¹ are unmarried

³⁷ *Ibid.* 301-309. Xavier dictated the letter and signed it with his own hand.

³⁸ 1551.

³⁹ Nothing more is known about him. He is probably not to be identified with the clerk of the exchequer of Goa in 1545-1546 (Q 1494 1929).

⁴⁰ Gaspar Mendes served in Malacca in 1539 (Q 427). He was wounded during the siege of Malacca in 1551 (DI II 217), and in 1552 Xavier sent a letter from Sancian to Malacca on his ship (EX II 509).

⁴¹ Mateus de Brito, an *escudeiro fidalgo* from Portas de Alentem and son of Gomes

men who have spent much on this siege. They are wealthy men, and they preserve what they still have so that they may serve Your Highness. Your Highness should write to them, thanking each one of them, since they rendered great service. And since Father Francisco Peres is writing at length about the affairs of Malaca,⁴² I shall forgo writing about them.

Dom Alvaro⁴³ is writing to Your Highness, asking you for a certain favor, and Your Highness must grant it so that he may be the more obliged to serve this land and to restore it, for this will contribute greatly to your service.

With respect to the concerns of India, since it will contribute greatly to your service, Your Highness, should obtain information about them from Manoel de Çousa,⁴⁴ who is a man who knows them, and who must be given much attention by Your Highness, since he has rendered very good service in these parts.

I have great news about the Christians of Cabo de Comorim, for which we must give much praise to God. Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho⁴⁵ is responsible for a large part of the fruit that has been gained. The Christians and Father Anrique Anriquez are writing to Your Highness about him, and about some things which pertain to the service of God and of Your Highness.⁴⁶ For the love of God grant them, and if you wish Christianity to be in those parts, order Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho to remain there as long as he lives. Things are in such a state in India that it is necessary, now more than ever, that Your Highness distinguish yourself in things for the service of God our Lord.

Lopo Vaz Coutinho,⁴⁷ a *fidalgo*, has rendered much service and spent much in the service of Your Highness. He is poor and good like his brother Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho. Dom João de Crasto, since he was aware of his many services, and since they were also together at Dio,⁴⁸ sent a request that a captaincy of Maluco be given him. Your Highness should give him the favor which seems good to you, for he is most deserving of it.

Dom Jorge de Crasto,⁴⁹ Vasco da Cunha,⁵⁰ and Francisco Barreto⁵¹ are men who

da Fonseca, sailed to India in 1530 (*Flaminio 2, 565v), and to Suez with the governor in 1541 (*Studia* 9, 214). In 1555 he was in the prison in Canton, where he was visited by Melchior Nunes Barreto, who obtained a diminution of his sentence for him (Q 6097: Ayres, *Subsidios* 76 88 99).

⁴² DI II 204-220.

⁴³ Dom Alvaro de Ataíde.

⁴⁴ Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, whom Xavier had already recommended to the king on October 22, 1548.

⁴⁵ The petition was granted.

⁴⁶ The letters are lost; but see Q 4946.

⁴⁷ Lopo Vaz Coutinho, son of Vasco Rodrigues de Castello Branco, *fidalgo escudeiro*, sailed for India in 1537 and, a second time, in 1541 with his brother (*Emmentia* 339 373). In 1546, at great cost to himself, he went as the captain of a *fusta* with Dom Alvaro de Castro to the help of Diu (Q 2305 2677a: Castro, *Cartas* 247 353). In 1548 he accompanied D. João de Castro as the captain of a *fusta* on his voyage to Cambay (Q 3587). Frey Antonio do Casal recommended him to the king in 1549: "Lopo Vaz Coutinho also served Your Highness very well in all these wars and in the building of the fortress of Diu, and he is a very good man and very reliable, and he greatly deserves a favor from your Highness" (SR IV 259).

⁴⁸ At the siege in 1546.

⁴⁹ D. Jorge de Castro was born about 1494. He sailed for India in 1507, fought in Malabar in 1525 and 1528, on the Moluccas in 1529, at Diu in 1531, at Bassein in 1533, and at Ormuz in 1534. He was captain of Ternate from 1539 to 1544. He returned to Goa in 1546 and was banished by D. João de Castro to Malacca. After Castro's death he went from there to Ceylon, and from there to India when he learned of the appointment of his nephew as governor after the death of Garcia de Sá. He returned to India after his unsuccessful expedition to Kandy. He was there captain of Cochin several times and finally that of Chale. Besieged by the Zamorin, he surrendered the fortress in 1571. By order of the government in Lisbon, he was beheaded for this in Goa in 1574 at the age of eighty. An honorable repeal of the sentence in the following year arrived too late (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 375).

have rendered much service to Your Highness. They have a good reputation in India. Your Highness should take great account of them.

Fernão Mendez⁵² has served Your Highness in these parts, and he lent me three hundred *cruzados* in Japão for the construction of a house in Amanguchi. He is a wealthy man; he has two brothers, Alvaro Mendez⁵³ and Antonio Mendez.⁵⁴ In order to oblige them to spend what they have and to die in the service of Your Highness, you will grant me a favor if you appoint them *moços da camara*. Alvaro Mendez was present at the siege of Malaca.

Guilherme Pereira⁵⁵ and Diogo Pereira⁵⁶ are two brothers, very rich and wealthy men. They are rendering much service to Your Highness with their properties and persons. Your Highness should send them a letter of thanks and honor them so that they are the more obliged to serve you. They are very good friends of mine, but I do not recommend them on the grounds of friendship, but because it pertains to the service of Your Highness. In the time of Simão de Melo, Diogo Pereira spent and fought much in the destruction of the *dachens* [Achinese].⁵⁷

Pero Gonçalves,⁵⁸ *vigairo* of Cochin, renders much service to Your Highness. In times past you did him the favor of appointing him a chaplain. He now asks Your Highness, considering the services and expenses which he has incurred with the Christians, that you would favor him by having him paid the pension of a chaplain, or by increasing his salary. He has here a nephew by the name of Pero Gonçalves,⁵⁹ to whom Your Highness, at my intercession, earlier granted the favor of a patent of a *moço da camara* provided that he went to Portugal. He is not going away, since he is married and is serving Your Highness here in the fleets. Grant me the favor of sending him a patent

⁵⁰ Vasco da Cunha senior had already been recommended to the king by Xavier on October 22, 1548 (EX I 471).

⁵¹ Francisco Barreto, the second son of Ruy Barreto, came to India in 1548. From 1549 to 1552 he was captain of Bassein, where he actively supported the mission. From 1555 to 1558, he was governor of India. He died in Africa in 1573 during the expedition to the kingdom of the Monomotapa (cf. Couto 7, 5, 8, and Q, index).

⁵² The famous author of the *Peregrinação*.

⁵³ In May, 1554, Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote on his voyage from Goa to Cochin with Fernão Mendes Pinto: "In the kingdom of Bintang, the Moors arrested a man, a brother of our Brother Fernando Mendez; and since they were not able to make him apostatize through promises and flatteries, they wished to compel him to do so. They tied him to a tree and shot at him three or four times with a field gun without hitting him, as he constantly invoked our Lady, until he was finally blown to bits by a bombard, so that he died as a glorious martyr" (DI III 88). Probably meant is Alvaro Mendes, the brother of Mendes Pinto, who is to be distinguished from many namesakes.

⁵⁴ Antonio Mendes, who is also to be distinguished from many namesakes, was a witness, "married and resident in Malacca," in 1557 during the process of canonization there (MX II 419-422).

⁵⁵ Guilherme Pereira, not to be confused with the similarly named Jesuit in Japan, brother of Xavier's great friend Diogo Pereira, came like the latter from Fayal in the Azores. In 1547 he sailed with him from Malacca by way of the Maldives to Cochin (Q 3260, where they both spent the winter (Q 2723 = 3597a). He was in Bungo with a ship in 1559 and was cured of a sickness along with his men by the medical skills of Brother Luis de Almeida (*Cartas* 1598, 64v). In 1562 Father J. B. de Monte came with Diogo Pereira to Macao and lived there in the house of Guilherme (*JapSin.* 4, 311). In 1568 the two brothers received the habit of the Order of Christ (TdT *Ordem de Christo*, *Chanc. Antiqua*, *Livro 1*, 144-v). Guilherme had the largest household in India after that of the viceroy—three hundred persons, and his tableware was of gold and silver. As he was on the point of sailing for Portugal so that he might be married in Lisbon, he died in the house of his brother in Goa, leaving behind more than 200,000 *cruzados* (A. Cordeiro, S.J., *Historia Insulana* II [Lisboa, 1866] 285-286).

⁵⁶ On Diogo Pereira and his namesakes, see GS II 137-142.

⁵⁷ In 1547, during the battle on the Perlis River.

⁵⁸ On him see Volume, II, pp. 299-300.

⁵⁹ On January 20, 1548, Xavier thanked the king for having appointed the pastor as his chaplain and the pastor's nephew as a squire (EX I 410). Is the nephew the *condestavel-mor* Pedro Gonçalves, who fell at the siege of Colombo in 1587 (Couto 10, 10, 4)?

of *moço da camara*; and further, in consideration of his services, grant him the favor of being a scribe of the secretariate of the *pescaria do aljofar* [Pearl Fishery], or of the secretariate of Coulaõ.

Joam Alvarez,⁶⁰ the dean of the cathedral of Goa, a man who has served for thirty years, is going there. May Your Highness send him back here to serve. May he serve you there. Show him your favor and grant him a reward since he deserves one.

Pero Velho,⁶¹ the nephew of Antonio Correa, I encountered in Japão. He is a rich and wealthy man and has served much; he is not a member of Your Highness' household. I ask you earnestly for the favor that you appoint him as a *moço da camara*, so that he may be the more obliged to serve you and to spend what he has in your service.

Antonio Correa⁶² and Joan Pireira⁶³ are rendering much service to Your Highness in these parts, both in the wars and in the loading of pepper. May Your Highness console them by writing to them to thank them for their services.

Dioguo Borges⁶⁴ toiled and spent his money for the king of the Maldiv Islands so

⁶⁰ João Alvares sailed to the kingdom in 1552. Frey Joam Noë also recommended him as one of the most virtuous priests in India. The bishop was only willing to let him sail on the condition that he returned, since he greatly missed him (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 611). Xavier had him greeted from Kagoshima in 1549 (EX II 218). He was born around 1489 (Q 4142) and was already dean of the cathedral in 1545 (Q 1543). A. Gomes also recommended him to the king in 1549 (DI I 531). For his signature, see Q, pl. IV 1-2.

⁶¹ Xavier encountered Pero Velho in Bungo on the ship of Duarte da Gama. He was the son of the brother of Antonio Correa, the factor of Cochin. In 1524 he sailed as the captain of a *caravela redonda* to India with the fleet of D. Estevão da Gama (Correa II 816). He fought in Malabar against the Moors in 1525 in the company of the governor (*ibid.* 876; Castanheda 6, 84 112). We shall encounter him again in 1552 with Xavier on Sancian.

⁶² Antonio Correa was the factor of Cochin, an office which he received from D. João de Castro on February 3, 1547, for his services during the second siege of Diu (Q 2791). On January 6, 1548, he sent the king a detailed account of his services, which is the main source for his life (Q 3595: *Gavetas* V 128-132). He was born around 1498 and sailed to India in 1523. He served there in the fleet for ten years and was frequently wounded. In 1529 he fought with the governor's fleet against the Moors under Ali Shāh at the mouth of the Thāna River (Correa III 292), and he sailed with him to Diu in 1530 (*ibid.* 391). In 1533 he became *almoxarife* for three years and then factor of Chaul. In 1537 he was present at the slaying of Bahādur Shāh in Diu. During this encounter he slew "the Tiger," the champion of the Moors, with a dagger; but he himself received twenty-two wounds at the time and remained lame in one leg for the rest of his life (*ibid.* 781). Despite this he came again to the help of Diu in 1538, helped to drive the Moors out of Salsette-Bassein in 1539, and ravaged the coast of Cambay as the admiral of a fleet in 1540. He was factor in Bassein for twenty-six months in 1540-1542, and he campaigned with M. A. de Sousa to the pagoda in 1543. He came again to the help of Diu in 1546, where he remained as the captain of the fortress during the decisive battle; and he helped to rebuild the fortress (Q 2830). As factor in Cochin from 1547 to 1552, he worked wonders in the loading of the pepper; and he also served during the war (Q 2791 2830 3092 3093 3595 3923). He is not to be confused with five contemporary namesakes.

⁶³ João Pereira was like his father, Diogo Pereira, "o Malavar," lord of the island of Bendurte (Vendurutti) near Cochin. As captain of Cranganore, he was a great friend of the mission, of the college there, and of the Jesuits. He was warmly recommended to the king by Frey Vicente (Q 4123) and by the viceroy Noronha (Q 4592). On the occasion of his marriage to Elena Pinheira, M. A. de Sousa obtained for him the fortress of Cranganore for life. In 1548 he had four daughters from his wife (Q 3593). She had already died in 1557, and Frey Fernando da Paz asked the king to give the fortress as a dowry to one of his daughters after his death (SR VI 250). On January 19, 1564, Vic. Carneiro wrote from Cochin to M. A. de Sousa that two years before he had married a daughter of the deceased João Pereira. He should obtain the fortress for him from the king since he had married the orphan. The three-year term of office of the then captain Diogo Rolim would expire in nine months. João Pereira thus died in 1561 (cf. Vol. II, p. 486, and GS III 137-139).

⁶⁴ Diogo Borges is probably the same individual who sailed as a squire to India in

that he became a Christian. He has served Your Highness on the fleets and is ready to serve on them. May Your Highness write to him your thanks for the expenses he incurred in making the king of the islands a Christian.

Grigorio da Cunha⁶⁵ died here in the war of Cochin with Francisco da Silva.⁶⁶ He left behind a wife and daughter without resources. Grant a favor of a few voyages so that the daughter can be married.

Pero de Mesquita⁶⁷ has served Your Highness for many years in India; be mindful of him.

Gonçalo Fernandez,⁶⁸ *patrão-mor* of India has served Your Highness for many years. In recompense for his services he asks as a reward that you confirm him in his office of *patrão-mor* for life.

Luis Alvares,⁶⁹ an old man, a great pilot of twenty-seven years of service, in his

1505 (**Memoria das pessoas* 7). At the end of December, 1511, he sailed with Antonio d'Abreu from Malacca as *criado* of the king and secretary of the ship in order to discover the Spice Islands (Castanheda 3, 75; CA I 68). On December 28, 1513, he sailed from Malacca for Banda and Java, where he had already been once before (CA III 95 224), as the factor of the flagship, which was sailing with two others. He is probably also to be identified with Diogo Borges do Valle who in 1558 received the position of a captain and factor for two voyages from India to Mozambique and return (APO V 355).

⁶⁵ In 1549 Gregorio da Cunha sailed for India, where he had already seen service, as a *fidalgão cavalleiro* with a monthly income of 1,750 *milreis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 103). He died in 1550 along with the captain of Cochin, Francisco da Silva de Meneses, on the island of Varutala as they were retreating (Correa IV 709).

⁶⁶ Francisco da Silva (*Silua*, which would have been read as *Silveira*, is given erroneously in the text) de Meneses, captain of Cochin from 1547 to 1550.

⁶⁷ Pero de Mesquita, a son of the *corregedor* Diogo Pires and of Brites de Figueiroa (*Emmentia* 428), is already encountered in Goa in 1527 (Correa III 135). In 1528 he was the captain of a *fusta* in Malabar (*ibid.* 230). He was at the battle with the fleet of Ali Shāh near Thāna in 1529 (*ibid.* 292). On November 25, 1547, he sailed from Lisbon for India as the captain of the *nau Santa Catarina* (*Emmentia* 428). He wintered in Mozambique and reached Goa on August 11, 1548 (Q 4063; Correa IV 651 666), provided with the position of toll judge in Ormuz, but this had in the meantime been joined to the office of vizier (Q 4250). In February he received the right to three voyages to the Moluccas (Q 4778). He is not to be confused with Pero de Mesquita, the son of Martim Sobrinho de Mesquita, who obtained the position of *alcaide-mor* in Quilon in 1558 (APO V 334).

⁶⁸ Gonçalo Fernandes is probably the soldier whom we already encounter in Cochin in 1504 (Castanheda 1, 67), and who was receiving his pay there as a *homem d'armas* (CA IV 254). Married by Albuquerque (*ibid.* V 141 275), he was living in Goa in 1511. In 1513 he sailed with him as pilot of the *Bastiaina* (*São Sebastião*) to the Red Sea (*ibid.* II 26). In 1547 he was with a ship in Amboina and Malacca, from where he took with him, at Xavier's request, around twenty boys from the Moluccas for the College of St. Paul in Goa. In 1549 Xavier wrote that he had married the mother of the deacon Estevão Luis Buralho in Cochin (EX II 76). In April, 1552, Xavier took his departure from him in Goa, and in 1556 he was a witness at Xavier's process in Goa as a resident of Goa (MX II 179-180). His tombstone in S. Francisco in Goa is still preserved: "Esta sepultura/he de Guomcalo/ Fernández e/de seus erdeiros./ Faleceo em Guoa/a XXVI de Maio de/1562 anos" (BSGL 1894, 594). Simão Botelho also recommended him to the king in 1522 (*Cartas* 41). Amador Rebello, S.J., testified at the first Xavier process in Lisbon in 1615 from the data of Miguel de Lacerdo: "Unus ex praecipuis amicis, quos habuit P. Franciscus Xaverius, fuit quidam Gondisalvus Fernández, magister naulis regis in insula Goae, quem ille abduxerat a malo vitae statu. Saepius fuit is gubernator navium, quas Pater Magister Franciscus conscendit, et multoties manducavit cum eo et dormivit in domo eius, postque familiaritas fuit stricta inter illos propter assiduitatem multorum annorum et longi temporis; crevit cum familiaritate cultus, affectus, reuerentia et honor, quem tam ipse Gondisalvus Ferdinandus quam eius domus familia erga illum habebat, ut saepius intranssem Patrem Magistrum Franciscum domum suam in Goa civitate ipse ad eum recipientem veniret flexis genibus usque ad vestibulum domus, et nec ille, nec eius familia volebant se erigere, quamvis essent valde rogati a dicto Patre Francisco" (103). Our Gonçalo Fernandes is to be distinguished from countless namesakes.

⁶⁹ Luis Alvares is mentioned nowhere else. On his many namesakes, see GS II 153.

old age, as a recompense for his services, asks Your Highness for the favor of being made *piloto-mor* for life; and in doing this you will do a great favor to me, since I have received many courtesies and honors from him.

Alvaro Ffernandez,⁷⁰ who is the father of the Christians of Coulão, asks Your Highness to confirm him in his office; the priests of the Society are content with him since he is a good man. May Your Highness reward him with an honorarium.

Alvaro Fogaça⁷¹ asks Your Highness that, in consideration of his services, you may grant him the reward of a captaincy of the voyages to the Maldive Islands for three years.

Mateus Gonçalves⁷² a resident in Cochim, asks Your Highness that you grant him the favor of confirming him for life as *meirinho do monte*,⁷³ an office in which he was confirmed by the viceroy,⁷⁴ since it pleased the city. He has served for a long time. All the priests of the Society who are in Cochin are much indebted to him. To him and to us Your Highness will do a favor by confirming him in his office.

Antonio Pireira,⁷⁵ married and resident in Coulão, asks Your Highness for the favor of the office of secretary of Coulão. Dom Lião⁷⁶ will inform you about his services.

At the end of his letter, Xavier wrote of his great friend Cosme Anes, who had suffered much during the two and one-half years that he himself had been away.

Already under Garcia de Sá, Anes had come into conflict with the governor. In his zeal for the service of his king, he had at times, as *vedor da fazenda*, found fault with measures taken by Sá.⁷⁷ In December, 1548, he had already been harassed by his enemies.⁷⁸ The reason for this may also have been due to his conviction that all the Brahmans would have to be driven from the island of Goa.⁷⁹ When Antonio Gomes came, he hoped that through his intercession he would obtain a favor from the king of Portugal. He had therefore earnestly asked Xavier to leave him in Goa as rector of St. Paul's College,⁸⁰ which he placed entirely in his hands.⁸¹ After Xavier's departure for Japan, he had become involved in a difficult suit occasioned by the death of his father-in-law, Francisco Toscano. He had been chancellor and *provedor-mor* of the deceased, and Cosme Anes was the executor of his will. When he died, Toscano left debts that amounted to more than 36,000 *pardaus*. The governor had urgent need of this money for the purchase of pepper, but since Cosmes Anes was busy as *vedor* loading pepper

At the beginning of 1552 the *piloto-mor* was Gaspar Vaz. On January 30, 1552, Simão Botelho asked that the office be given to him for life (*Cartas* 41).

⁷⁰ On his namesakes, see GS II 153; on the office, see Dalgado II 139-140, and *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos,"* edição crítica anotada por José Wicki, S.J. (Lisboa, 1969).

⁷¹ On A. Fogaça, see Vol. II, p. 428.

⁷² Namesakes are given in GS II 153. *Meirinho do monte* is probably the same as the *meirinho do campo* in Bassein (MX II 374). According to the *Tombo* of Botelho, Cochin had a *meirinho* with a salary of fifteen *milreis* and six native helpers under him, each with a monthly salary of one *pardau* (19).

⁷³ The paper is torn. *Meirinho da morte* could thus also be read, but this is not probable.

⁷⁴ D. Affonso de Noronha.

⁷⁵ He obtained the office, since on January 10, 1562, he signed the letter of the residents of Quilon to the king (TdT: CC 1-105-85). For namesakes, see GS II 153.

⁷⁶ Probably meant is D. Leão Henriques, S.J., who entered the Society in Portugal in 1546. He was a cousin of Luis Gonçalves da Camara, whom Xavier had known from his stay in Paris (cf. Vol. I, p. 257).

⁷⁷ Q 4276.

⁷⁸ Q 4091.

⁷⁹ Q 4276.

⁸⁰ DI II 171.

⁸¹ Q 4091.

in Cochin, he was unable to involve himself in the affairs of his deceased father-in-law.⁸² He had also, for the same reason, left the direction of St. Paul's College entirely in the hands of Antonio Gomes. In what concerned the propagation of the faith, Cosme Anes was on the extreme right, just as Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha was on the extreme left. Whereas Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha was the greatest friend of the Moorish merchant Khoja Shams-ud-din, Cosme Anes believed that he was the most dangerous mine in India, which could explode at any moment.⁸³ In 1549 he had consequently not gone to Shams-ud-din for a loan for the purchase of pepper; instead, he had obtained a loan of ten thousand *sherafins* from the king of Cranganore.⁸⁴ And, whereas Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha did all that he could to obstruct the *vedor*,⁸⁵ the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal wrote that it had been a gift of God that such a virtuous and god-fearing man had been appointed *vedor*.⁸⁶ Garcia de Sá had died on July 6, 1549. His successor was detained in Bassein by the monsoon. A regency of three individuals was consequently established in Goa until the time of his arrival. This consisted of three individuals—the bishop; the captain of the city, Dom Francisco de Lima; and the *ouvidor-geral*. These were persuaded by Cosme Anes to publish an edict that salaries could not be negotiated or sold. When Cabral came to Goa in August, he complained much about this: his shortage of money prevented him from paying his men their salaries, and they were dying of hunger. Because of this and other problems, the *vedor* and the governor were at odds; and Cabral showed little friendship for Cosme Anes.⁸⁷

In October, 1549, Antonio Gomes had also written to the king in high praise of Cosme Anes, who was always most helpful in whatever pertained to the service of God.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, despite the opposition of the *vedor* and others who shared his opinion, the rector had at the beginning of 1550 dismissed twenty-seven native students from the college and taken in Portuguese to replace them.⁸⁹ At the beginning of February, 1550, the officer of finances, Francisco Aveiro, had, at Cabral's request, drawn up an account of the assets of the deceased chancellor: revenues of 126,081 *pardaus*, 4 *tangas*, and 53 *reis*; payments of 90,034 *pardaus*, 96 *reis*. Still payable were 36,047 *pardaus*, 3 *tangas*, and 57 *reis*. For their payment there were on hand 27,442 *pardaus*, among which were 3,600 *pardaus* which the heirs of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, who had died in the meantime, had to pay. There were consequently 8,605 *pardaus* in arrears, including the sum which Cosme Anes still had to pay for the diamond which he had sent to the king. He hoped that during the course of the year he would be able to take care of this debt.⁹⁰

Another reason why Cosme Anes was poorly regarded by Cabral was that he did not release the 520 hundredweights of lacquer which Garcia de Sá had already confiscated, since the *vedor* had had it brought from Pegu without permission. The factor had caused it to be confiscated as payment for the debt which the chancellor Toscano owed to the deceased. Cabral, on the other hand, believed that Cosme Anes wanted to use it to pay the debt which he still owed on the

⁸² Q 4127.

⁸³ Q 4105a.

⁸⁴ Q 4144 4124.

⁸⁵ Q 4097.

⁸⁶ Q 4148.

⁸⁷ Correa IV 679-682.

⁸⁸ Q 4276.

⁸⁹ Q 4354.

⁹⁰ Q 4370.

diamond which he had sent to the king.⁹¹ Another source of irritation to Cabral was Cosme Anes' friendship with the captain of the city, Dom Francisco de Lima, and his followers, who were not kindly disposed towards him. When a royal ship bound for Pegu sank at the bar of Goa, the governor went with his men to rescue its cargo, and the *vedor* went with his. When a quarrel broke out, the *vedor* and the city captain ceased helping with the rescue. For this the governor had them all arrested. When Cosme Anes refused to conduct his office of *vedor* as long as the captain was held in custody, the governor alone had to fit out the fleet for an eventual attack of the Turks on India. When there were prospects of a new governor coming with the fleet from Portugal, the bishop finally obtained their release. When the governor wished to arrest Cosme Anes again, he sought asylum in the Franciscan monastery until Cabral provided him with a letter of safe-conduct; but he ordered him to board ship at once for Cochin, which he did.⁹² Antonio Gomes took advantage of this to expel all the Indian boys from St. Paul's College without any regard for the opposition of Cosme Anes, who now deeply regretted his failure to pay any attention to the advice of Lancilotto.⁹³ At the beginning of 1551 the ship *São Pedro* took 150 hundredweights of lacquer to Portugal. Cosme Anes had to be paid for these, as the court had decided, at the rate of twenty *pardaus* per hundredweight, since they had been part of the 520 hundredweights that had been confiscated from him. As a consequence he had at least obtained justice on this score.⁹⁴ Such was the state of his affairs when Xavier brought his letter to a close:⁹⁵

I was much distressed to find Cosme Anes in so much trouble. I have always known him as a great friend of the service of Your Highness, and he is at one with our Society in these parts of India. What consoles me is that Your Highness will be able to know the truth and will in the end show him favor, and that you will console all the rest of us by rending justice to him and by giving him a recompense in keeping with his services.

For the service of God I ask Your Highness to pardon me for being so importune in recommending so many persons. In everything do what is more to your service since I have no other desire than that of serving you. May Our Lord preserve and increase the state of India and of Your Highness for many years.

From Cochin, the thirty-first of January of the year 1552.

Xavier then signed with his own sure hand the letter which he had dictated:

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

8. OTHER LETTERS (DECEMBER 27, 1551—JANUARY 30, 1552)

Christovão Martins, who had been commissioned by the people of Malacca to negotiate with the viceroy, had gone from there to Cochin with Xavier. On January 27 he also wrote a letter to the king of Portugal from there.¹ In it he informed him that he was married and had been living for twenty-one years in Malacca. He had been sent by the *casados* of the city, and had been given letters for His Highness because of the siege which the city had endured. Malacca had

⁹¹ Q 4390.

⁹² Correa IV 698-699 711-712 720-721.

⁹³ Q 4584. ⁹⁴ Q 4596.

⁹⁵ EX II 309.

¹ Q 4748.

to Kedah, had saved the city. He had been informed about conditions there by eyewitnesses (such as Christovão Martins). It would take many years for the city to come to the height it had previously attained, since many of its merchants were either dead or imprisoned. As soon as he reached Goa, he would equip a fleet so that it might provide the city with men and all that would be necessary if there were a new attack.

Christovão de Sá had informed him about Maluco. He had surrendered his captaincy at Cabral's command to Bernaldim de Sousa and had returned to Cochín. Sousa with 180 Portuguese and the king of Ternate with 2,000 native troops, who had proved to be of great help, had campaigned against Djailolo. After a siege of three months, the city had been starved into surrendering and had been destroyed. The once powerful rajah became a vassal of Ternate, and Noronha was now undecided whether he should carry out the measures which he had projected against its king, since he had been of such great assistance during the war. He would make a decision on the matter as soon as he reached Goa. His letter had been written thus far when Xavier arrived. He therefore ended it as follows:

Mestre Francisco has arrived from Japán, and he has come pleased with the land and its inhabitants; and it seems to him that much fruit can be gained there. He brought with him a Japanese.¹¹ He also brought a letter of the king¹² for Your Highness and an armor which I have given over to Diogo Lopes.¹³

Written in Cochín on the twenty-seventh of January, 1552.

I kiss the royal hands of Your Highness,

Dom Affonso.

He then sealed the letter with a stamp that impressed upon the lacquer his coat of arms: those of Portugal on fields one and four; two rampant lions over a castle framed by eight other castles on fields two and three.

The viceroy sent a third letter to Queen Catarina.¹⁴ In it he complained of the limitations that had been put on his authority by the unprecedented warrants which the king had given to the captains of Bassein, Francisco Barreto, and his successor, Francisco de Sá. Nevertheless he would do his best to help India, which was now in such a condition that it required all the assistance of His Highness. He had already caused the Turkish fortresses in al-Katif and Morzy to be destroyed by his nephew Dom Antão de Noronha. Gujarāt was for the present at peace. When he came to Malabar in 1550 a false peace had been concluded with the Pepper King which had made it possible to load the pepper. But he had recently been in Ceylon and had learned there that the king of Tanor had again reduced the land to a state of turmoil. He had therefore marched in person against the new Pepper King and had defeated him. This had induced the other kings to sue for peace, and he had sent his son Fernando into the rivers to facilitate the transport of pepper.

According to him, all the evils in India came from the former governors and captains of the fortresses. This was even true of the siege of Diu: the king of Cambay and the Moors of the land had been so oppressed by so much tyranny that even if they had been Christians they would have had reason enough to

¹¹ The ambassador of the prince of Bungo.

¹² Of the prince of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige.

¹³ The captain of the *Espera*, which was on the point of sailing for Portugal.

¹⁴ Q 4747, ed. in *Gavetas* V 325-329, where the letter is erroneously ascribed to Affonso de Albuquerque.

become Moors. The captains and friars in Bassein had, with the permission of the governors, oppressed the natives to such an extent that the land had become so depopulated that it produced 30,000 *pardaus* less than it had before; and the land of Nizam Maluco, which had earlier produced only 800 *pardaus*, was now bringing in 12,000 in revenues because of the many people who had fled there.

The captains in Ormuz oppressed the king and the influential Moors with so many tyrannies that they wanted to give their land to the Turks, as they had surrendered al-Katif to them, and wished to give Bahrein. Even though the revenues of Ormuz amounted to 100,000 *pardaus*, not a single one of these came from there to India.

In Sofala the captains openly conducted trade in ivory and forbidden wares without any gain accruing to the king from this. He did not even dare to write what was said about Dom Pedro da Silva in Malacca. It would be sufficient to say that, from the news which he had received, the siege of the city had been caused by his greed and tyrannies.

He, the viceroy, was powerless against the captains since he, the king, had now given, for example, to the captain of Bassein, Francisco Barreto, such faculties that he himself had lost much credit in India. It was even said that he had obtained these through bribery. All the captains had a great deal of money, but he had none. They also had many relatives to intercede for them at court so that they would not be punished. His Highness had issued many decrees for Ormuz and the other fortresses, but the captains had no concern for them; and, up to the present, none of these had been punished for this. If His Highness wished to have the country well ruled, he would have to send a governor or viceroy with the assurance that he, the king, would listen to no one if the governor or viceroy punished captains and *fidalgos*; and that no friends, relatives, or sums of money would help them, even though they had these at their disposal. If the governor did not rule the land well in this way, he should have his head struck off. The religious dared to tell him, Noronha, that if he did not grant their requests, they would immediately write to His Highness and would instantly get for life what they had asked from him, the viceroy, for only three years. But despite everything, he had now brought peace and order to India, and no earlier governor had been more successful in this.

If only a little pepper was going to Portugal, this was not his fault. Pepper could not be purchased without money, and all that there was of this in India was what was collected in Goa. He did not understand why His Highness had not sent any copper and the wares which were usually sent for this.

Since the needs of India were great and constantly increasing, he had gone to Ceylon in the hope of finding a remedy for these in the treasure which was said to exist there. After the death of the king, however, so much time had passed before his departure, that they had been able to get their hands upon it, even if it had been greater than that of the kings of Vijayanagar and Cambay. Since he hoped that the king would become a Christian, and since he had been told that the Portuguese had slain the old king, he had not insisted as much as the needs of India required, although he did everything that was possible, as was indicated in his letter to the king. The needs of India were so great that he would have been in great straits if he had not brought with him the little which he had obtained. He had also brought with him a child who was the true king of all Ceylon. It had been publicly baptized, and there were thus hopes that the whole island of Ceylon could be converted. He had been given certain jewels for Her Highness, the Queen; but since they were more to the taste of India, he had sold

them. He would send others, such as large cat's-eyes and topazes, to Vijayanagar, where they were of greater worth. He was sending on the receipts with his letter so that the equivalent in money could be given to the queen. After God he had no one in this world who could help him except Her Highness, the Queen. God had given him five sons and one daughter. If he did not provide for them during his lifetime, they would have to beg after his death. She might therefore recommend him to His Highness so that he might be able to return to Portugal after three more years.

Simão Botelho, the *vedor da fazenda*, whom Xavier had warmly recommended to the king in 1545, also sent a detailed account of events in India to the king in a letter dated January 30, 1552.¹⁵ The king had given him the permission which he had requested to return to Portugal this year. The viceroy had not, however, let him sail, since he had no one else to load the pepper. Since he was on the point of sailing to Ceylon and wished to take him along with him, he had not dared to oppose him. After their return he had again asked the viceroy for permission to leave in the presence of *fidalgos* and officials of the king, but his petition had been again refused because he was needed for his services. He had therefore been obliged to remain despite his health, which had been severely affected by his many labors.

Although the viceroy was writing at length, he also wished to do the same in virtue of his office, although he had little hope that his letter would be of much good. Conditions in India were getting progressively worse. Many governors took little care to exercise justice, and he had already heard many of them say: If His Highness did not punish the guilty who went from India to Portugal, how could they do so in India? The captains of the fortresses, who had salaries, did what they pleased. They used up all the revenues locally and sent nothing of them to Goa. The king was therefore obliged to send every year much money and provisions for the fleet and the other fortresses.

A large sum of money used to come every year from Ormuz. It no longer came, even though the toll station during the past year of 1550, when he was there, brought in 135,000 *xerafins*; and Cabral had leased the office for 95,000. During the last two years the fleet that had been sent to al-Katif had devoured the money; but the captain had already declared that he would not allow any money to leave Ormuz, since he had to keep it for any eventual need.

Bassein was leased for almost 110,000 gold *pardaus* a year. But since the coming of the viceroy, not a single *pardau* had come from there; and if they sent a little rice to Goa and Diu from Bassein, they thought that they had done something remarkable. The captains of the fortresses, who had revenues, thought it their duty to use up everything on the spot. His Highness helped them in this by his decrees providing them with pay for thirty relatives or servants.

The treaty that had been drawn up with respect to drugs for Ormuz had been a great help in caring for the needs of India. But for many years now no help had come from this because of the many *bahārs* that had been handed over by past governors to *fidalgos* and many other persons. Last year, for example, two ships of His Highness had come from Maluco, one with ten *bahārs* for the king, the other with none, since it was completely filled with free *bahārs*. This year the captain of Maluco did not let a ship of His Highness depart, but sent instead one of his own loaded with cloves. Already this year more than 3,000 hundredweights of cinnamon sticks had come free. During the preceding year

¹⁵ *Cartas* 25-42. On his life, see Vol. III, p. 16.

no more than 200 hundredweights of nutmegs had come from Banda, though in former times the profits for His Highness from this ship amounted to 30,000 to 40,000 *pardaus* a year. This year it was bringing a somewhat larger number of *bahārs*, but they were all free. As a consequence, they now had to pay more in Cochin for cloves, nutmegs, and mace when they loaded the ships. This required an outlay of over 30,000 *pardaus*. Not a single hundredweight of ginger was being brought to Cochin. It had all been sold to individuals so that they might carry free *bahārs* to Ormuz. This was a privilege which had been granted to them by Cabral. The Coromandel ship, which sailed from Pulicat to Malacca, was also in need of greater expenditures, and it was bringing in fewer revenues.

Ivory was no longer coming from Sofala and Mozambique. In former years from 129 to 150 *bahārs* of this had been imported, but this year only a little over 20 had arrived.

He did not know what he should write about Malacca. Matters there had come to such a pass that God willed that they be punished, as His Highness would learn. The viceroy had sent a *vedor da fazenda* to Malacca, but this had been such a futile measure that he might as well have sent none at all. The one he had sent had returned dishonored by the captain, like the one that went to Ormuz. Since he, Botelho, had come from there, it had brought in no more than 12,000 to 15,000 *cruzados*. When he was there it had brought in from 27,000 to 30,000. All this had happened because the captain, who was the leading merchant there, stole his wares from the tolls. He refused to say anything about the siege of Malacca, since it seemed to him that it had been more of a judgment of God than that the king had come to believe he could capture it. It was said that he had told people in the city that if they handed the captain over to him he would lift the siege. The viceroy and the people who were sailing to Portugal would give a full account of this to His Highness.

In past times many wares came from the kingdom—copper in abundance, corals, cinnabar, quicksilver, tin, and many other things which no longer came. So little copper arrived that there was never enough for the coins; and there was never enough money on hand for the loading of the ships. The land and fleet were thus maintained with difficulty, and if they were, it was solely through the revenues of Goa, which came in because it was the residence of the viceroy and of the *vedor da fazenda*. If His Highness wished to keep the land, he should either send more money or maintain justice so that the captains did not do what they wanted with the goods of His Highness.

In the second part of his letter, Botelho illustrated what he had written with some examples. In Ormuz the captain, Dom Alvaro de Noronha, had prevented the judge, Jerónimo Rodrigues, from punishing two Portuguese who were engaged in smuggling pepper. He was himself engaged in forbidden trade through his factor in Reixel.¹⁶ When objections were made to him on this score, he replied that his predecessor had done the same. He had taken away with him 140,000 *pardaus*, and he was a Lima. Since he was himself a Noronha, he had to take much more away with him; and since nothing had been done to his predecessor for taking away the money, much less would be done to him for doing the same.

During the time of Governor Cabral,¹⁷ the captains in Bassein and Chaul quarreled with each other over which one of them could buy beads, which were

¹⁶ Rishāhr on the northern side of the Persian Gulf.

¹⁷ Francisco Barreto was captain in Bassein from 1549 to 1552, Vasco da Cunha in Chaul from 1548 to 1551.

needed for trading in Sofala and Mozambique. Finally the captain of Chaul gave in, and the captains of Bassein openly conducted forbidden trade with them in all the rivers of east Africa. The consequence was that even the *vedor da fazenda* had to buy beads from them if he wanted to send some to Mozambique. The captain of Bassein with the privileges which he had received from His Highness had usurped such authority that he distributed favors in his own name like the viceroy. When Garcia de Sá was governor, he granted to the captain of Bassein the right to import every year twenty tax-free *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks from Ceylon and twenty *bahārs* of cloves from Maluco with a further twenty *bahārs* of nutmegs and mace, and to sell up to 250 hundredweights of them in Ormuz. The same privilege had been given to Francisco Barreto and to the captains of Goa¹⁸ and of Chaul, and the viceroy had no authority to deprive them of it.

Further, the religious of India wished to incur such great expenses and to give such great alms at His Highness' expense that a good share of the money was spent in these ways. And some were so eager to favor Christianity that a large portion of the revenues was thus lost and the villages were depopulated, especially in Bassein. Although they did this with the best of intentions, it seemed to him that a middle way could be chosen. Some of them frequently wished to make Christians by force, and they so oppressed the pagans that they abandoned the land.¹⁹

His Highness received from these regions, in Bassein as well as in Goa, numerous revenues, which were collected in the same way that they had been by the Moors when they ruled the land. The friars, especially the Dominicans, said that this was tyranny and was not permitted. His confessor had ordered him to write to His Highness about this, especially the vicar of the Dominicans,²⁰ who refused to absolve him because of these revenues. He had also told him that he was excommunicated because he had established the tolls in Malacca, as he had been ordered to do by M. A. de Sousa, and he had drawn up the list of taxes²¹ in Bassein, as he had been ordered to do by His Majesty. He should not have done either of these without the permission of the pope; he should not have heeded the command of the king in this regard; and he could not be absolved unless he obtained a bull from the pope or resigned his position of *vedor da fazenda*. He, Botelho, had answered these objections of the vicar of the Dominicans by stating that he did not believe that he was excommunicated since he had known nothing about these matters at the time. The vicar was himself, on the other hand, excommunicated for not having written about them to His Highness. He, the *vedor*, had finally found a Franciscan who readily absolved him. Nevertheless, if he needed absolution, His Highness should obtain this for him from the pope.

The same vicar of the Dominicans had much difficulty in completing his monastery, and even though he enlarged the plan which he had received from His Highness, it seemed necessary to do so since the land would not tolerate a small church. The vicar was at great odds with a certain Pero Godinho because of some houses adjacent to the monastery which prevented his completing the cloister. It seemed to him, Botelho, that it was not just for the friars to try to take away this garden since they had a large one of their own. At the request of the viceroy he had vainly sought to bring them to an agreement. The vicar

¹⁸ Dom Francisco de Lima, from 1548 to 1551.

¹⁹ This refers especially to the Franciscan mission in the territory of Bassein.

²⁰ Frey Diego Bermúdez.

²¹ *Foraies*.

was a virtuous man and the monastery had a good reputation, but there was no need of such scrupulous religious.

The pepper had been loaded this year with great efforts, as the viceroy was writing at length to His Highness. The chief blame for this was to be attributed to the Pepper King and, especially, to the king of Tanor, who took unimaginable pains to stir the people up against the service of His Highness. He bribed kings and lords with large sums. The pepper had thus only been obtained by force. Ships had to be constantly maintained upon the rivers to supplement the activities of the fleet, which had to keep watch along the Malabar coast throughout the whole of the summer and a part of the winter in order to prevent the smuggling of pepper. The best help with the loading of pepper this year had come from Quilon, but the ruler in Quilon was himself seeking to incite the king of Tanor against His Highness.

The *Tombo* of all the possessions, revenues, and expenses which His Highness had ordered him to draw up was near completion, though he wanted to keep it until he could give it to him in person.²²

He was not writing at length about the expedition to Ceylon and the death of the king since the viceroy was doing this. Nevertheless it seemed to him that, since there had been two goals for this campaign, the treasure and Christendom, two very opposite aims, God had willed that neither of them should be attained, but only a little of each. The money and jewels had come to a value of less than ninety thousand *pardaus*, and the only one who had become a Christian was a child, a son of the deceased king, who was being detained by force. He was not writing about this, since all who went there would write about it. He would only say one thing: no one would convince him that there was no treasure, even if it were not so large and a portion of it had been concealed.

At the end of his letter, Botelho recommended to the king a number of individuals who had served him well: Dom Antão de Noronha, who had captured al-Katif and had pushed on as far as Basra. But he had now been wounded in the land of the Pepper King, and it was feared that he might remain crippled. He also recommended Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, whom the city of Cochin wished to detain, and Dom Francisco de Lima. Both of these were sailing for the kingdom. With them was also going Antonio Mendes de Oliveira, who had gone from Ormuz with Henrique de Macedo to the Shāh of Persia. At the latter's request, he had gone back to Ormuz and had then returned a second time halfway into Persia; and he had remained there for eight months in a city at great expense; and in so doing he had rendered great service to his king.

The custodian of the Franciscans, Frey Joam Noë also wrote to the king on January 25, 1552.²³ After giving a survey of the status of his missions in Bassein and Ceylon, he too came to speak of the expedition of the viceroy to Ceylon, in which he had taken part:

With respect to what was done by the viceroy in Ceylon, it can be that many things are being written to Your Highness in different ways. Your Highness should pay no attention to these but should believe what the viceroy is writing to you, since he will write the truth about everything as the virtuous and god-fearing person that he is. Whatever he did in Ceylon was upon the advice of his council, and he did nothing on his own. Whenever he, the viceroy, was given money or other objects, it was in the

²² Q 6057, ed. Lisboa, 1868.

²³ Q 4753, ed. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 606-611.

presence of the bishop and me and Antonio Gomes, a priest of the Society; and the officials of Your Highness, the *vedor da fazenda*, the secretary, and the procurator, received everything in our presence, since he wanted us to be witnesses to his conscience.

The guardian then noted all who were in those regions were rendering much service to His Highness and spending much on this. All as a consequence deserved honors and favors. He then recommended a number of individuals whom he knew personally: Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda and Dom Francisco de Lima, who were sailing this year to Portugal; Dom Joam Anrriques, Joam de Mendonça Casão, and his brother Joam Fernandez de Vasconcellos, who had always spent much in his service, especially on the expedition against al-Katif, where he provided meals for the entire camp; Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, a very good *cavalleiro*; Dom Antonio de Noronha, who had always served him and had sailed in the fleets; Leonel de Sousa, to whom the king had granted a voyage to China, which no one had been willing to give him in India, even though he was very poor and had served much; and, finally, Francisco Barreto, the great helper on the Bassein mission. At the end of his letter, he recommended the bishop also to the king as one of the best prelates that could be found—virtuous, gentle, solicitous about the flock entrusted to him, and as poor as if he were still a common friar. He also recommended the priests of the Society and the Dominicans and, finally, Joam Alvarez, the dean of the cathedral of Goa, one of the most virtuous priests of India, who was sailing this year to the kingdom.²⁴

The letter of the vicar general of the Dominicans, the austere Castilian Frey Diego Bermúdez, which he wrote on December 31, 1551, to his confrere at the king's court in Lisbon, the bishop of the island of São Thomé, Frey Bernardo da Cruz, was of a different tone.²⁵ It began as follows:

May the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit be always with Your Lordship. Amen! Even if Your Lordship is very busy, you should still have a little time to console a worried and disconsolate religious encumbered with a thousand burdens. It is now three years that I have been in this land, and during these three years I have written three letters; but I have never received an answer to them. This will be the last, and through it I shall know the will of Your Lordship. Since Your Lordship brought me here from Portugal, you should not forget me in this exile. . . .

We hoped that with the arrival of the viceroy we would all be consoled, and that the things of the order would be favored. But this was not so. To the contrary, during his rule we were more discouraged and oppressed than we had ever been before. May our Lord be praised for everything! May He grant us patience, for those who preach the truth here, and are preachers of the Gospel, have more need of it than the Apostles. They are in a land where the truth is greatly shunned, especially by those who rule; and preachers of flattery, who are not lacking here, flourish; and God willed that he should not punish us alone, but He also included many others. For Your Highness should know: I never saw the people of this land more disgusted and discontent with their governor. Everything is thus going badly, for the people are sick and tired and unhappy with their captain, and since they are poorly paid they fight poorly.

May God forgive the one who gives the king such poor advice. For he sends us from there all corruption. He sends a man to rule this land which he never saw nor knew, and this land can only be ruled by a good man who knows it well. For things there and here are so different that all who come here from there are much like novices and ignoramuses. And in order to make recompense for this, he sends with the viceroy

²⁴ On the people here recommended, see *ibid.* 609-611.

²⁵ Q 4719, ed. *ibid.* 569-574.

a secretary to instruct him, but one who had been here arrested for his crimes, which even now are not lacking to him.²⁶ And to rule here, he sends as a reward for his services a man who brings with him five hundred servants and relatives, among whom he divides up the things of the land, whereas those who have toiled and sweat here their whole life long are dying of hunger.... I am telling this to Your Lordship, since you have the care of the conscience of the king, so that he may have a regard for this land and send people here who are already paid....

I further tell Your Lordship that you must tell the king, who is very wrongly informed about the things of this land, that he should send religious and laymen here whom he completely trusts so that they may gain information about everything here and have secret information brought to the king. His Highness will then see how many lies they write and report to him....

They also deceive His Highness about the state of Christianity here.... May Your Lordship well recall what I wrote about the king of Tanor and his Christianity. I am grieved to have been a prophet in everything. And because of this truth, and others like it, which I told the viceroy and the bishop, we are in bad repute with them. This king has done and is doing great harm to us; and because of him, as the whole world knows, the king has no pepper and has a war going on in Cochin, where they slew many *fidalgos* and other people. By this means, it seems, God is punishing this kind of Christianity. They made the king of Kandy in Ceylon a Christian, who slew many other Portuguese.

There has now arrived a king of the Maldibar Islands, a Moor whom they drove out of his kingdom. When he saw that he was deposed, he came here to the viceroy in Cochin and said that he wanted to become a Christian, and that he should receive help so that he could regain his kingdom. They immediately made him a Christian without waiting any further or postponing the matter. And when he will again be in his kingdom, if they should wish to reinstate him there, he will be more of a Moor than he was before, since the others will not obey him if he is not a Moor. And this is why I say that he will again become a Moor. I am giving time to my testimony; and it is a land where there are only coconuts and palms. No Portuguese can remain there, since they all die; and no priest or Portuguese can be maintained there. They will thus send to the king only reports of victories,²⁷ and all is nothing but wind. They give the king this satisfaction and wish to content him with these and similar things. I am saying this to Your Lordship, for all is the utmost truth; and, with Christianity obtained in such a manner, all that is sought is personal interest and favor, not from God, but from the king.

It was in this way that they brought a child from Ceylon whom they said had the right to the kingdom; and after having committed a thousand abominations, sacrileges, and scandals on the island of Ceylon, they find a remedy for these in the conversion of a two-year-old child, made a Christian by force against the will of its father and mother, so that they may tell the king that the heir of the throne is a Christian; and I do not know if he will inherit the kingdom, or if he is a Christian; for it is all filth and foolishness, and something that is not to the service of God. And may Your Lordship forgive me for having no patience when I see how spiritual things, and those pertaining to God, are misused as means and remedies for obtaining advantages from among men.

This is the way things are here; and if I wished to tell it all, I would not come to an end and would weary Your Lordship. I am giving Your Lordship this report since it seems to me that, in keeping with the zeal which God has given you, you will give the king an account of it so that he can look out for this land and will not be deceived

²⁶ Simão Ferreira, who was the secretary of Nuno da Cunha from 1529 to 1535. He then sailed to Lisbon and was there imprisoned by the king in 1538 because he had concealed from him the condition of Cunha's property. In 1550 he returned to India with Noronha as his secretary (Correa III 339 669, IV 96-97 727).

²⁷ *Alvaracas*.

by letters or people of the world, or by priests and apostles²⁸ and the bishop. And what troubles me in my soul, and I shall not omit to say it, since it is the truth and one of the reasons why a remedy must be found, is that we do not have in this land a bishop or shepherd. The bishop is a good person, a good man, but a miserable shepherd, very weak. He only does, whether it is for good or ill, what those who rule the land desire. This is the kind of man he is: After the viceroy had asked the magicians the location of the treasure which they intended to steal and had been told that it was in three places, the bishop went there in person to be present at the digging up of the gold.

This is the way it is. I do not mention other matters since I would never come to an end. The king must send more shepherds into this land, who may help him with their knowledge to heal so many ills. And Your Lordship must forgive my long ramblings; and, if I bore you, forbid me to write any more, for it is lost time to describe and bewail the many evils of this land.

And for the sake of the Passion of Christ, may Your Lordship speak with the king so that he may provide a remedy for everything; for our Lord gave Your Lordship this dignity so that you might be able to remedy so many evils. May our Lord heal them and keep Your Lordship at all times in His love and fear.

Today, the day of St. Silvester, 1551.

The humble son of Your Lordship,

Frei Diego Bermúdez.

On January 29, 1552, the old *mestre da Ribeira*, the master ship-builder of Cochin, also wrote to the king. This was Joane Anes, who had come to India in 1502 and had filled this important office for more than forty years and had written every year to the king, as the latter wished him to do.²⁹ In his rough, blunt way, he first complained about not having received a letter from the king for five years. He then continued:

Senhor, it seems to me that Your Highness believes that you are sending here viceroys and governors, but they are here thieves of Your Highness' possessions. Your Highness believes that you sent the viceroy Dom Afonso here to save India. It seems to me that he came rather to destroy than to save it.... The governor must be like Dom João de Castro, who had no money from Your Highness, nor looked for any. He used it and spent it for things which were to the service of Your Highness. Dom Afonso draws all the money to himself; and when he has it in his hand, he says that he has no money to give to the people so that they may eat, or for the works which are necessary for the service of Your Highness; and the people are discontented, the lascars, like all the rest. I truly do not know how so much money disappears, since all the revenues of India, everything in fact comes into his hands, and also the treasure of Ceylon, which is said to have come into his possession, and it is very great; and for the loading which is now being made, money must be taken from the deceased through letters from the kingdom.

Senhor, Dom Afonso thinks that the people of this land are worthless, and he has no esteem for them, and they even less for him. He went with the force which Your Highness has in India against the Pepper King. Between palms on the right and left, he sailed three leagues up a river from the city of Cochin, and landed there with his whole army. They burned down fifteen or twenty huts of the negroes, and when they had slain seven or eight people who had become dispersed and wounded, his nephew Dom Antão immediately went on board the ships again with his whole army and went to burn another island by the name of Bardella, where there were no longer any people, since they had abandoned it. They then returned to the city, and the blacks laughed

²⁸ Jesuits.

²⁹ Q 4757, ed. Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos* II 33-35, who also gives his life and the letters he wrote and received (24-37).

much about him since he had achieved nothing. And they now already have no more fear of him. And now there is no one in India who wants to bear arms and still less to fight; but they only want to lead a good life and to go around in badly cut silk clothes, where the making of them costs more than the silk itself. And I therefore tell you, *Senhor*, that India is so full of great vanity and pomp that the people cannot be maintained, since the salary which is paid to them is not at all sufficient for their dress, not to mention for a Negro who carries a parasol for them.... Everything here is dissolving into vanities and thefts, so that Your Highness cannot keep India, since there is no official of Your Highness who has an office and does not steal as much as he can; and I do not see anyone being hanged or punished.

The author of the letter made only two exceptions: João da Fonseca³⁰ and Simão Botelho. He then continued:

It seems to me, *Senhor*, that nothing keeps India straight except these churches and meritorious works ordered by Your Highness, for all else is nothing.

Five ships are sailing to the kingdom. May God protect and keep them and bring them safe to the eyes of Your Highness! They are laden with spices and textiles and other wares. They are overloaded, and the pepper which they are taking is very poor, since it was picked too soon.... In order that they may sail from here at the right time, there must always be money here so that it can be weighed throughout the entire year.... It is now fifty years since I came to India, and I have always served Your Highness well, and I shall continue to do this until my death.... *Senhor*, if India is in a state of turmoil, it is because the captains of Your Highness are great thieves and great tyrants, who plunder the kings and lords of the land and also Malacca, because they are great tyrants and great thieves of the people; and I could mention other things which would lead us too far away,³¹ and which cannot be counted nor written to Your Highness.

I kiss the hands of Your Highness. Written today in Cochin on the twenty-ninth of January, 1552.

Joane Anes, *Mestre da Ribeira* in Cochin,
Servant of Your Highness.

9. THE RETURN OF THE CHURCH OF MADRE DE DEUS (FEBRUARY 2, 1552)¹

Lancilotto had informed Xavier about the scandal which had been caused by the gift of the church of Madre de Deus to the Society of Jesus, a gift which had been forced with the help of the viceroy.² He was of the opinion that the church had to be renounced unconditionally³ for many reasons: (1) to show the people that the Society was not stubborn, as some maintained; (2) to show the *mordomos* and *cofrades* that the Society had more at heart the spiritual advantage

³⁰ In 1550 he became *vedor da fazenda* in India (Q 4412 4596 4634 4732).

³¹ *Perluxidades*.

¹ The sources for this section are: (1) the deed of the bishop of December 29, 1550 (Q 4557; DI II 135-137); (2) Lancilotto's letters to Ignatius of January 6 and 12, 1551 (Q 4572 4584: *ibid.* 149 172); (3) Ignatius' replies to Lancilotto of January 27, 1552 (Q 4752: *ibid.* 311-312), and to the *mordomos* at the beginning of February, 1552 (Q 4773: *ibid.* 323-324); (4) Lancilotto's letter to Ignatius of January 17, 1555 (DI III 221-222); (5) Pérez' to Ignatius of January 20, 1555 (Q 6074: *ibid.* 244); (6) Gonçalo da Silveira's of December, 1557 (*ibid.* 754-755); (7) M. Nunes Barreto's of January 15, 1559 (*ibid.* IV 227). There are also the accounts of Polanco, of 1573 (*Chronicon* V 670-671); Pérez, of 1579 (*Informação* 70-71); *Teixeira It., of 1580 (P. 2, c. 20); Valignano, of 1583 (*Hist.* 196); and Lucena, of 1600 (9, 20).

² Through his letters, which Xavier received in Malacca, and orally in Cochin.

³ DI II 149.

of souls than their church; (3) to show them that this scandal had not been caused with the approval of the Society, which only sought the consolation and the spiritual edification of souls, and that this scandal had been caused by neophytes who were poorly informed on the spirit and Institute of the Society; (4) to avoid offending the secular clergy, who would have been glad to have had the church so that they might convert it into a parish; and (5) in order that a house of the Society should not be under obligations to a confraternity, which, as experience had shown, leads to daily differences with respect to oil, candles, and other gifts and alms. The members of the confraternity had moreover always feared that the priests of the Society would write to the king so that he would hand their church over to them.⁴

Master Francis was resolved to put an end to the scandal once and for all by renouncing through the bishop the enforced donation. Lancilotto warned him that he had no authority in this regard since in virtue of the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* important and lasting decisions could only be made in the Society if the greater portion of the same, in so far as they could be brought together by the general, agreed to them.⁵ But Xavier was so occupied with the letters for Europe and continuous visits that he found no time to read bulls.⁶ Immediately after he had prepared the mail and the ship had departed,⁷ he invited the two *mordomos* and the *cofrades* with the vicar, Pedro Gonçalves, and other priests⁸ to assemble in the town hall⁹ on February 2.¹⁰ He went there with the keys of the church and returned the church to the confraternity with the words:

⁴ Lancilotto gave these reasons in his letter to Ignatius in 1555 (*ibid.* III 221-222). In February, 1552, Ignatius had written to the *mordomos* that he had at first wished to renounce the church straight off, but that he had then thought it better not to do so without informing the king. They should therefore express their wishes to him in this regard so that he could inform the king about them. In his letter from Quilon to Ignatius of January 12, 1555, Lancilotto wrote: "I am now writing to the *mordomos* that they should send a copy of that document [which Xavier gave them in 1552] to Your Reverence, and that they should at the same time write to Your Reverence what seems good to them, for Your Reverence wants nothing except what gives them consolation to the greater service of God our Lord. Father Francisco Pérez came to visit us in Cochín during the octave of Christmas and remained here with us for four or five days. He told me that Your Reverence will write to the *mordomos* of the Madre de Deus that Your Reverence will not completely renounce the church without first giving an account of it to the King. Your Reverence must know that when the King speaks the Portuguese dance, and that simply because of the statement which Your Reverence made that you would have to give an account of it to the King, they will write to Your Reverence far different from what they think; and they will ask Your Reverence to take their church and will say that by so doing you will show them a great honor and favor. But I have learned the opposite from them during the past years, since they were accustomed to say that before Mestre Francisco had given the *mordomos* that document, they had feared nothing else than that we were asking the King for their church.... It seems to me that if Your Reverence knew the great distress that was provoked by this church, you would take care that we renounced it completely" (DI III 221-222).

⁵ *Constitutiones* I 27.

⁶ As Lancilotto wrote on January 12, 1555: "The priest was so busy that it seemed to me that he did not read the bull" (*ibid.* 222).

⁷ The *Visitação* and the *Espera*, with the mail, probably sailed on February 1, 1552, since the last letter is dated January 31, 1552. The *Trindade*, which sank on the return voyage, also probably sailed on this day.

⁸ According to Teixeira It., Xavier summoned the "confrati, sacerdoti et Vicario che erano intervenuti nella donazione della chiesa" for this.

⁹ *Teixeira It. observes with respect to Xavier's surrender of the church: "Furono di tanta efficacia queste parole et di tanta edificazione, che li confrati et sacerdoti, vedendo l'humiltà, con che il Padre l'haveva offerte, subito gli la resero, et consegna-

"*Senhores and cofrades*, Your Lordships have done us the favor of giving us this church of the Mother of God, to whom you have had such a great devotion. May God forbid that we should cause you pain and hardships because of the favor which you have shown us. Here are the keys. May Your Lordships take them and, with them, the church." Then, kneeling down, he returned the keys to the *mordomos*¹¹ and gave them at the same time a document which he had signed. In it he stated that the Society had no claim upon the church, and that the priests would offer Masses and give instructions in it as guests, and only with their approval.¹²

The confraternity accepted the return of the church and readily offered to the priests its further use. On the same day a legal document was drawn up according to which the priests obtained a door to the church, and the confraternity bound itself to provide them with Mass wine.¹³ With this, peace was reestablished and the scandal was set aside.¹⁴

10. THE LETTER TO MISSE PAULO (FEBRUARY 4, 1552)

On February 3, one day after the restitution of the church of Madre de Deus, the "*Large Galleon*," or *São João*, also set sail from Cochin for Portugal.¹ The

rono di nuovo la chiesa, et case, con tutto quello che in quella stava, senza haver mai contesa nè contradizione, anzi molta conformità et amore. Solamente li domandorno che raccomandasse a quelli della Compagnia, che si portassero sempre con essi loro amorevolmente, come sin' hora per la bontà di Dio s'è fatto; e di tutto ciò si fece all' hora un' instrumento alli 2 di Febraro del 1552."

¹⁰ According to *Teixeira It., "from the data of some who were present." His text reads as follows: "Signori et fratelli, le Signorie Vostre ci hanno fatto la carità di darci questa chiesa della Madonna, à chi havevate tanta divotione; non voglia Dio que permetta che per l'opera di carità, che a noi han fatto, gli rendiamo pena e travaglio. Ecco qui le chiave. 'Le Signorie vostre le piglino, et insieme la chiesa.' Et inginocchiandose gli messe in mano." Pérez (*Informação* 71) is briefer: "Se foi à Camara da cidade com as chaves da irmidazinha dizendo: 'Senhores, vedes aqui as chaves da igreja; não quero nada senão como quiserdes e mandardes.' E elles aceitarão as chaves da igreja e ficarão quietos. Todavia hum Padre e hum Irmão ficarão em hum serame que estava no chão todo aberto, e dahi possou o Padre a Goa ficando as gentes bem com elle por sua sanctidade, bondade e benignidade." Lucena gives a free rendition of Xavier's words from Teixeira It. with a few slight rhetorical amplifications.

¹¹ According to Pérez (*Informação* 71), the restitution took place in the town hall (*Camara da cidade*); according to Teixeira It., in the parish church (*duomo*); according to Lucena, in the choir of the same (*no coro da Sé*). Cochin had at the time only one parish church, with one vicar and six beneficiaries (Botelho, *Tombo* 21), and no cathedral.

¹² According to Lancilotto in his letter to Ignatius from Quilon on January 12, 1555. He adds the following: "A mi não me lembra a forma do papel. Eu escrevo aguora aos mordomos que elles mandem hum terlado daquele papel a V.R." (DI III 221).

¹³ According to Pérez on January 20, 1555 (DI III 244).

¹⁴ With regard to the later history of the church: On January 27, 1552, Ignatius answered Lancilotto's letters of January 6 and 12, 1551 (DI II 310-314); and on February 2, 1552, he also wrote to the *mordomos* (*ibid.* 323). In 1557 the confraternity finally handed the church over to the Society. Before this the confreres were able to use it, but with much difficulty because of the many obstacles posed by the *mordomos* and their servants. The priests now redecored it, had it thoroughly cleaned, and reserved the Blessed Sacrament in it, a measure which attracted many visitors (DI III 754-755). From then on no new burials were received in it, and extern priests were not permitted to offer Masses in it for stipends. The confraternity nevertheless retained a chaplain and a moneybox in it for building expenses. In 1558 King Sebastian ratified the gift made under these conditions (*ibid.* IV 227).

¹ On the voyage and sinking of the *São João* and the fate of its survivors, see the

ship had taken on 4,500 *bahārs* of pepper in Quilon and another 3,000 in Cochin. It could have carried 12,000 *bahārs*, but the Pepper War had prevented further acquisitions. The ship had consequently been filled with many other wares, frequently of private individuals, and was overladen.² According to what was said, it was the richest ship that had ever sailed for Portugal since the discovery of the seaway to India; and it was carrying a cargo valued at a million *cruzados*.³ The *São João* had some six hundred passengers and sailors. There were about 280 Portuguese on it, among whom was Pantaleão de Sá,⁴ whom Xavier had already come to know in 1541 on Mozambique when he was on his way to India. The rest were male and female slaves.⁵ Sailing on the ship was its captain, Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, his young wife, a daughter of Garcia de Sá, their two small children, and his ten-year-old, illegitimate son.⁶ In 1551 Sepúlveda had obtained testimonies from Dom João de Castro, Cabral, Botelho, and many others;⁷ and in 1548 and 1552, he had also been recommended to the king by Xavier. He was thus assured at the time of his departure of a welcome reception at court and a safe future.⁸

Now, after the departure of the last ship, Xavier found time to give his attention to Goa. On February 4 he wrote a short letter to Misser Paulo, the rector of St. Paul's College. He had sad news for him, the dismissal of the two who, without the knowledge of their superior, had gone from the Moluccas to Malacca and had come with him from there to Cochin. They had vainly sought to excuse themselves. They had left their mission to regain their health since they were ill. It would have been impossible to govern the Society, especially on the India mission, without obedience; and Xavier was accustomed to insist that superiors should not permit any disobedience to pass without reproach and punishment.⁹ The letter which he dictated to H. Henriques, and which he signed in person, read as follows:¹⁰

"Relação da mui notavel perda do Galeão Grande S. João. Em que se contam os grandes trabalhos e lastimosas cousas que aconteceram ao capitão Manoel de Sousa Sepulveda e o lamentavel fim que elle e sua mulher e filhos e toda a mais gente houveram na Terra do Natal, onde se perderam a 24 de Junho de 1552," in Gomes de Brito I 13-44.

² *Ibid.* 16.

³ *Ibid.* 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25. Pantaleão de Sá, son of João Rodrigues de Sá, sailed like Xavier to India in 1541 (*Emmentia* 373). He returned to Portugal in 1546 (Q 1816), where he obtained the right to the captaincy of Sofala with the obligation of returning to India in 1548 (Q 3741 3844). In 1549 he went to the help of Ormuz (see Vol. III, p. 613). He remained in India in 1550 because the Turks had taken al-Katif (Q 4598). He was a nephew of Governor Cabral (Q 4304) and brother-in-law of Sepúlveda (Gomes de Brito 31). In 1552 he came overland to Mozambique as one of the eight Portuguese survivors of the wreck of the *São João* (*ibid.* 42-44). After the death of Diogo de Mesquita, the captain there, he married his wife Luisa (Couto 6, 9, 22, pp. 402-403). In 1560 he succeeded his brother Sebastião de Sá as captain of Sofala and Mozambique (*ibid.* 7, 8, 8, p. 224, and APO V 421). After this he returned to Portugal.

⁵ Sepúlveda, his wife, three children, and thirty others were the first to be brought on land (Gomes de Brito 22-23). Some others then drowned as they were attempting to reach the shore. Around forty more then made it to land, but more than five hundred persons were still left on the ship. Two hundred of these were Portuguese and the rest male and female slaves (*ibid.* 22-24).

⁶ On him, see Vol. III, p. 444.

⁷ Q 4575-4578 4585.

⁸ Who could have imagined that the ship would sink off the coast of Natal on June 24, and that Sepúlveda would come to such an unspeakably sad end from hunger and misery on the march through the primitive African forests (Gomes de Brito 39-42)?

⁹ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8.

¹⁰ EX II 310-312.

Jesus! May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always favor and assist us! Amen.

Micer Paulo. Manuel de Moraes and Francisco Gonçalves are sailing there. As soon as they have arrived, and you have seen this letter of mine, go to the house of the Lord Bishop and say to His Lordship that you are giving over into his hands Manuel de Moraes, since he is a priest, and I have written to you that the Society gives him over to His Lordship so that he may make use of him, since he is a person who can serve him. And also tell Manuel de Moraes that I have written to you that you should dismiss him.

Dismiss also Francisco Gonçalves; and I order you to do this in virtue of obedience; and do not let them enter into the college; and similarly order all those who are in the college that they do not enter into conversation with them. It pains me much to have reasons for dismissing them; and what is more painful is that I fear that they are not the only ones. God our Lord knows with what grief I am writing this letter. I thought that I would here find some consolation after the many labors that I have borne, but instead of consolation, I have toils that have greatly troubled me, such as are these trials and quarrels with the people, which are a source of little edification.¹¹ As for obedience, it seems to me (from what I have learned since my arrival) that there is little or none; may God be praised for everything!

Xavier had heard that the people of Bassein had been gravely scandalized by Melchior Gonçalves.¹² He therefore continued:

Write to Bassein and order Belchior Gonçalves that he should come to Goa in virtue of obedience, for this is my order.

Baltasar Nunes, who had left the Fishery Coast because of illness and had gone from there to Quilon, and from there in turn to Cochin, was also sailing with the Molucca missionaries to Goa. Xavier therefore wrote: "Take Baltasar Nunez into the house until I come there."¹³ With him was also sailing a young man who had asked the priest to be received in Cochin. He therefore brought his letter to a close:

Do not take into the house until I come there a young man who is going there by the name of Tomé Fernandez.¹⁴ Tell him that, if he wishes to serve God in the Society, he must serve in the hospital until I come there. I hope in God our Lord soon to be there. Kiss the hand of the Lord Bishop in my name, and tell him that I long to see His Lordship in the highest degree so that I may be consoled by him; for the obligation which I have towards him is so great that I deem myself unworthy to pay the great

¹¹ He means the quarrel over the church of Madre de Deus.

¹² Cf. EX II 322.

¹³ In November, 1559, Francisco Cabral declared that Baltasar Nunes was then thirty-three years old, that he had been twelve or thirteen years in the Society but was not secure in his vocation: he had left the order for a year or two and had been reaccepted. He suffered from dysentery, a miserable illness in India (DI IV 460-461). In January, 1560, Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote: "He came thirteen years ago from Portugal and has an infectious illness. He is little mortified in his will. He suffered many hardships on the coast of Comorin. It seems that he must be kept in the Society since he has served so long in it, and also through regard for Father Belchior Carneiro, whose cousin he is, even if he is not very secure and has already once left the Society and given bad example" (*ibid.* 509).

¹⁴ He is not mentioned again in the Jesuit catalogs and letters. He seems not to have entered the order and is probably identical with the secular priest "Padre Tomé Fernández," who together with others in Diu signed the city's oath of allegiance to the new king Philip in 1581 (*Gavetas* III 92).

debt which I owe to His Lordship. I greatly long to see all the confreres, especially the priests, so that I may be consoled by them.

From Cochim, the fourth of February, 1552.

Entirely yours in *Chrysto*,

Francisco.

11. THE INSTRUCTION FOR EREDIA (FEBRUARY, 1552)

After the departure of the ship which carried his letter of February 4 to Misser Paulo, Xavier still remained for some time in Cochin. His friend Mar Jacob, the bishop of the Thomas Christians, whom he had so warmly recommended to the king on January 26, 1549, before his own departure for Japan, had died soon after this in the Franciscan monastery in Cochin.¹ He had moved from Cranganore to Cochin in 1543 and had there found a home with the Franciscans. There he had also been befriended, and frequently visited, by Pero de Sequeira,² who was the treasurer of the magazine and wares at the time. Before he died, the bishop had asked a favor of him. Some years before, since he was poor, he had given as a guarantee for a loan of twenty *cruzados*, which he had obtained from a man in the interior, two sheet-copper tablets containing the privileges which had been granted by the king of Cranganore to the Apostle Thomas and his Christians and their successors. The bishop now asked Sequeira to pay this sum for him and to regain immediate possession of the tablets and to keep them safe. If God granted him a sufficient length of life, he wished to repay him; but if he died the Christians of Cranganore would do this, since the tablets were of the greatest importance to them. Sequeira had immediately sent one of his servants with a priest, a companion of the bishop who knew the one who had the tablets, and had recovered them before the bishop died, an act which afforded the latter much consolation. After the death of Mar Jacob, Sequeira had shown the tablets to the governor of India,³ who immediately sought for one who could translate their text. The writing was, however, so old and the language so different from those they knew that all who were asked about them declared that they would not be able to translate them. But a Jew within the interior was finally found

¹ He seems to have died in 1549 or 1550, since he is no longer mentioned after 1549.

² Pero de Sequeira, who is to be distinguished from the Jesuit of the same name, received on January 28, 1538, a title to the position of a treasurer of the magazines and wares in Cochin for three years after those who had received this right before him. He was a valet of the king (Q 232: *O Instituto* 47 [1900] 378-379) and already had this position in 1543, when Mar Jacob transferred his residence to Cochin (Goes, *Chronica* 1, 98). On January 12, 1547, the Misericordia of Cochin wrote to the king that the Misericordia in Goa was annually paid one thousand *cruzados* in monthly installments, but nothing was paid to the one in Cochin, even though the house was in dire straits. Only Pero de Sequeira had given it a monthly sum of nine *milreis* during the three years that he was treasurer there (Q 2733: SR III 444). On December 20, 1547, he wrote to the governor from Cochin that he had come there very ill with the *vedor da fazenda*, Simão Botelho, and that he was writing in detail to the king (Q 3548). In 1556 he sailed as the captain of a ship under the admiral Manuel Travasso from Goa to Abyssinia, where Bishop Andrés de Oviedo was being sent with five companions to prepare the way for the patriarch João Nunes Barreto (Couto 7, 4, 4, p. 304). Among the individuals whom the city of Goa recommended to the king in 1562 was Pero de Sequeira, who had served for twenty-eight years without receiving a reward (*mercê*) (TdT: CC 1-106-41). Goes owed to him his chapter on the Thomas Christians and Mar Jacob, as he expressly notes (*Chronica* 1, 98).

³ Goes errs here in stating that the governor was M. A. de Sousa; but Cabral, who ruled in 1549 and 1550, is the only one who comes into question.

who was skilled in various languages and writings. The tablets were sent to him with a letter of the king of Cochin ordering him to decipher the text. He was able to do this with much effort since the writing was in three languages: Chaldean, Malabar, and Arabic; and the style was very old.

The Jew sent the tablets back with a Malabar translation, which was then translated into Portuguese. The tablets were of fine metal, each one and one-half spans long and four fingers wide,⁴ written on both sides and tied together at the top by a thick metal wire so that they formed one single document. The content of these copper plates was as follows: the king who was ruling at the time gave to the Apostle Thomas so-and-so many elephant ells (each the equivalent of ten spans) of land in the environs of Cranganore, where he himself lived, for building a church;⁵ and he further declared that all Christians who built in that area did not have to pay any taxes to the king of that land. In addition, he gave for the support of the church a fifth of the wares which these Christians brought to the harbor of that city, a privilege which had been ever preserved since then. Pero de Sequeira and his successor in the office of master of the treasury drew up written documents confirming the reception of these tablets, and Sequeira sent a Portuguese translation of their contents to King John III in Portugal.⁶

Xavier could only pray at the grave of the deceased bishop; but before his departure for China he may have visited again another old friend, Frey Vicente de Lagos, in his college in Cranganore, who had wished to hand over his foundation to the priests of the Society of Jesus after his own death.⁷

Still, in keeping with his usual practice, Xavier primarily used his time in drawing up an instruction for the superior in Cochin, Father Antonio de Eredia.⁸ It began with advice on remaining at peace with the citizens, the Franciscans, and the *mordomos* of the church of Madre de Deus:

In the first place, take care as much as you can to gain the affection of all the people, especially of the friars⁹ and the *mordomos* of the Madre de Deos. In every

⁴ That is, 13 inches long and 7 wide.

⁵ Goes adds here that the apostle had built the church on the site where the Portuguese fortress then stood.

⁶ In his chronicle, the first part of which was printed in 1566, Goes observes: "Estas taboas forão carregadas em receita sobello mesmo Pero de Sequeira, e depois sobello thesoureiro que ho succedeo, onde aho presente deuem ainda destar, ho treslado das quaes mandou Pero de Sequeira em lingoagem Portugues a elRei dom Ioam terceiro, que sancta gloria haja, e lhe foi dado: mas ho que se delle fez nam pude saber, nem se acha na Torre do Tombo, onde per razam ho deuerão de lançar quomo cousa digna de memoria" (*Chronica* 1, 98). This precious sheet-copper document is unfortunately no longer extant.

⁷ EX II 26. Frey Vicente died in that same year, 1552 (DI II 413).

⁸ The original of the instruction is lost. The extant copies and translations are poorly preserved, without title, signature, place, or date; and its editors and translators dispute about the last (cf. EX II 445-448, where we accepted the date as April, 1552, along with others). The instruction is to be ascribed to February, 1552, that is, before Xavier's departure for Goa on the following grounds: (1) Xavier was accustomed to give his confreres an instruction immediately after assigning them a position. (2) Eredia needed one, especially after the preceding controversies with the city and the *mordomos* of the confraternity. (3) At the very beginning, the instruction refers to this quarrel; and Xavier's admonitions show that Eredia had not as yet gained the necessary respect of the people. (4) Xavier had enough time to write the instruction, since he remained in Cochin even after the departure of the ship for Goa on February 4, whereas he remained for only a very short time in Cochin in April. (5) Menchaca also places the instruction in this first stay of Xavier in Cochin after his voyage to Japan. (6) The April date in the *Codex Macaensis* rests on the false assumption that Eredia was not sent as superior to Cochin until then.

⁹ By the friars are especially meant the Franciscans, who had a large monastery

way and manner let them understand that you have no other wish than to do their will and to increase the devotion of this church of the Madre de Deos. Visit them accordingly, and find in them your refuge in your needs.

When the poor asked him for an alms in their bodily needs, he should send them with a note on their behalf to the Misericordia or to the members of the confraternity, and he should not give them alms himself. When they spoke to him of their physical needs, he should speak to them of their spiritual needs, so that they would turn to God, confess their sins, and receive Holy Communion; he would then do the best he could to satisfy their requests for temporal assistance.

In his conversations with the people, he should not deal with them in a heavy manner, as if he wished to have authority over them. He should be friendly during his visits and in speaking. In his preaching he should be earnest and devout, and he should not attack individuals. He should open the peoples' eyes to the errors in which they lived. He should speak of the judgment of God with those who did not wish to be converted, and of the mercy of God with those who wished to give up their sins so that they would not despair. He should exercise himself much in dealing with the people and he should be humble in this in showing a regard for all, both priests as well as laity. And if something good occurred, he should ascribe it to them and he should therefore use them as helpers in pious works.

He should take pains to increase the good name of the Society, especially through the practice of great humility. He should remind himself that those who had endured the toils which were the reason why God had increased the name of the Society had placed their foundations on great virtue. Without true virtue he would destroy what others had effected.

God gives authority to those who possess the requisite virtues. He should therefore always ask God to sense the obstacles which he has erected in his soul so that God may grant him that respect among men which is necessary for the attainment of spiritual good. During his examination of conscience, he should therefore attend especially to the faults which he has committed in preaching, hearing confessions, and in his conversations so that he may correct them. He should further not use any artificial means, as many do, to please the people. Those who do so look more for the approval of men than the honor of God and the salvation of souls.

Above all, he should have a great esteem for the interior life. He should note in writing the insights he has received from God, for spiritual progress is dependent upon this. He should humble himself ever more before God so that the Lord might raise him up. He should strive to learn from solid friends the faults and failings to which he has been subject in his preaching, hearing of confessions, and other activities so that he might correct them.

He should take his time in hearing confessions so that he might be of profit to his penitents. He should give them some meditations on death, the Last Judgment, or hell so that they might obtain sorrow, tears, and pain because of their sins; and they should make these meditations before they are given absolution, especially those who have impediments, such as enmities, sensual passions, and obligations to make restitutions. And these should be made by people who have

in Cochin and had already been there for a long time; but some Dominicans had also recently come to Cochin in order to found a monastery.

the time for them. He should also advise his penitents to confess their sins frequently.

If the person to whom restitution is to be made is unknown, and he is given the money for the restitution, he should hand it over to the Misericordia if the penitent does not wish to give it himself to private homes or individuals. To avoid giving offense, he should never personally dispense such funds.

With all with whom he has spiritual dealings, he should be prudent; and in all his conversations he should so act towards others as if he knew that some day they would be his foes, and they would thus not have anything with which they could reproach him.

The instruction ended with the following advice:

If you discover that those who are going to confession have an impediment, take care that they first execute what they have promised to do, for example, with respect to the settling of enmities, the making of restitutions, the weaknesses of the flesh, and other matters, before granting them absolution. For the people of these regions are generous in making promises but slow in keeping them. Before they are absolved, they should do what they want to do after absolution.

Chapter V

TWO MONTHS IN GOA (MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY—MIDDLE OF APRIL, 1552)

1. THE ARRIVAL (MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY, 1552)

In the middle of February¹ Xavier came with his Japanese companions to Goa. His first visit was to Frey Juan de Albuquerque, the old bishop, and the greatest friend and benefactor which the priest and his confreres had in India. His residence was not far from the landing place, and across the street from it was the Franciscan monastery, where Francis paid as usual his second visit. From here the way led past the Sabayo, the palace of the viceroy, to the east of the city and the newly erected monastery of the Dominicans at the foot of the hill of Nossa Senhora do Monte, whom he also visited. Then only did he go to St. Paul's College,² where his confreres had assembled at the main entrance in joyful anticipation. Most of these had come from Portugal the preceding fall or had been received during Xavier's absence. Xavier embraced them with his usual cordiality and affection.³ He then asked if there were any who were ill in the house. A young confrere was actually on the point of dying. The physicians had already give him up. A watch was being kept by him at night, and preparations had already been made for his burial. When Xavier's letter arrived from Cochin, in which he reported his proximate arrival, the sick confrere regained hope: "If only Father Master Francis would find me still alive," he thought, "I shall not die."

When Xavier visited him, he read a Gospel over him, placed his hands on his head and consoled him. From that day on the brother's condition improved and his sickness disappeared.⁴

¹ According to Melchior Nunes Barreto, Xavier reached Goa at the beginning of February (DI II 494). On February 4 the priest sent three confreres from Cochin to Goa with a letter for Misser Paulo, but he did not indicate when he would himself arrive. Nunes Barreto further writes that ten or twelve days after his arrival Xavier gave assignments to his confreres. He names as the first of these Antonio Gomes, who was sent to Diu (*ibid.* 498). If this was the case, we have no further information about it. The first dated document on these assignments is the appointment of Barreto as superior of the Bassein mission, which was made on February 29, 1552. This could place Xavier's arrival in Goa about the middle of February. One could pass from Cochin to Goa in three days (Q 3431). He perhaps sailed with the viceroy from Cochin to Goa.

² In 1555 Quadros wrote in general about Xavier that when he came to Goa he was accustomed to visit the bishop, vicar general, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans before going to his confreres (DI III 335). Teixeira, who was present at Xavier's arrival in 1552, stated in 1580 that he had come to Goa in February, 1552, and that before he went to St. Paul's College he had first visited those taking care of the hospital and the other religious of the city, as he was accustomed to do; only after this did he go to the college (MX II 881). Since Xavier came with his Japanese companions, he could hardly have first visited the people of the hospital. He must have limited himself to visiting the bishop, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans.

³ Teixeira (MX II 881-882).

⁴ *Ibid.* 882-883 (the Italian text abbreviates to some extent P. 2, c. 19). Teixeira calls

There were thirty-nine of his confreres in St. Paul's College at the time of his arrival. Among these were seven priests and nine brothers whom he had previously known. The priests were Misser Paulo, Francisco Henriques, Antonio Gomes, Antonio Vaz, and the three whom he had summoned to Japan in 1549: Gaspar Barzaeus, Baltasar Gago, and Domingos Carvalho. The brothers and scholastics were Baltasar Nunes, whom he had sent on ahead from Cochín, Gil Barreto, André de Carvalho, Reimão Pereira, who had returned ill from Ormuz, Alberto de Araujo, Fernão do Souro, Roque de Oliveira, who had come from Malacca, Pedro de Alcáçova, and Alvaro Ferreira. The others he now saw for the first time. Nine of these had come from Portugal in 1551: the priests Melchior Nunes Barreto and Manuel de Moraes senior, and the brothers Melchior Dias, Manuel Teixeira, Francisco Durão, Christovão da Costa, Pedro de Almeida, Antonio Dias, and Aleixo Madeira. Two of the others had been brought by Master Gaspar from Ormuz: André Fernandes and Alvaro Mendes. The rest had been received by Antonio Gomes during Xavier's absence. One of these, Miguel da Nóbrega, had already been ordained to the priesthood through Gomes' permission. The others were brothers or scholastics: Vicente Machado (alias Camaco), Melchior de Mello, Simão de Vera, two Antonio Fernandeses, Estevão Limpo, João Lopes, Jerónimo Fernandes, Duarte da Silva, Amador Correa, João Rodrigues,⁵ and André Monteiro.⁶

the sick confrere *hermano* in the Spanish text, and *fratello* in the Italian. He adds that the same was still alive when he was writing this, that is, in 1580. A comparison of the data on the confreres whom Xavier encountered on his arrival in St. Paul's College in 1552 indicates that there is only one to be considered: Christovão da Costa, who sailed to India in 1551 with Gonçalo Rodrigues. In his *Anotações* to his life of Xavier, composed in 1581, Teixeira lists the priests, brothers, and candidates who came to India in 1551 and gives the essential data on their lives; but he is silent with respect to one (56-57): Melchior Dias, who was dismissed in 1581 (DI X 8*). With respect to two of them, he notes that they were still alive: Durão, who always enjoyed good health and died in 1612, and Christovão da Costa, who, according to him, was ordained to the priesthood and sent to Bassein, Malacca, and finally to China, "aonde ainda agora vive." Costa, who was born around 1525, entered the Society in Coimbra on January 3, 1550 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 4). In December, 1552, Frois wrote of him that at the request of Master Gaspar he had instructed in the faith the Moors and pagans imprisoned in Goa (DI II 485; cf. Costa's letter of December 26, 1552, *ibid.* 549-550). After completing his studies, he was ordained a priest and worked in Thāna from 1557 to 1558, in Bassein from 1559 to 1561, in Malacca from 1561 to 1574, and from 1574 on in Macao, where he died in 1581 (Ricci, *Opere*, ed. Tacchi Venturi II [1913] 405). His confreres stressed his great virtue, spirit of prayer, chastity, humility, and prudence, but also his scrupulosity and, especially, his poor health (for example, the judgments of 1559 and 1560 in DI IV 385 402 421-422 453-454 471 519), which was such that in 1560 it was feared that he had tuberculosis (*ibid.* 519). In 1554 he was the porter in Goa "muito cheo de enfermidades" (*ibid.* III 189). He retained a grateful remembrance of Xavier and rejoiced at finding the remembrance of him still lively in Malacca, where Christian doctrine was taught according to the example which he had given (*ibid.* V 314; VI 96; VII 458). He also noted how help was given to the Christians whom Xavier had converted on Amboina (*ibid.* VIII 106).

⁵ On February 14, 1554, when André Fernandes, the reporter who had been sent by Xavier, was in Lisbon, the provincial Mirón wrote to Ignatius: "Those whom Master Francis dismissed from the Society are: Antonio Gómez, Belchior Gonçalves, Manuel de Moraes, who sailed first, and Francisco Casco [Gonçalves] and Miguel da Nóbrega and Monteiro and Joan Rodrigues and Alvaro Ferrera; three of these skipped out (*sallieron*), namely, Miguel da Nóbrega, Monteiro, and Joan Rodrigues" (DI III 59). Nothing more is known about João Rodrigues.

⁶ On December 16, 1551, Gaspar Barzaeus wrote that there were assembled in Goa, together with the two whom he had brought from Ormuz, thirty-six priests and brothers (DI II 266). He did not include in these those absent from Goa at the time: Antonio

2. ANTONIO GOMES (FEBRUARY, 1552)⁷

Xavier's first concern was with respect to the question of the rector of the college and of the superior of the mission. This had to be put in order before he could begin his voyage to China. The Indian mission had to be in safe, reliable hands during his absence, which would be for a long time. There was no question of Antonio Gomes for the office. During Xavier's two-and-one-half years' absence in Japan, he had destroyed St. Paul's College, the hope of the Indian mission. With the support of Governor Cabral, but against the statutes of the college, against Cosme Anes and its other founders, against the bishop and the people, against his confreres, and against the will of the king and queen, he had turned out upon the streets all the native pupils, including the Paravas and the students whom Xavier had chosen for it in the Moluccas. Without providing them with the means of earning a livelihood, he had done this in order to take in Portuguese. He consequently had to be sent away from Goa and rendered harmless. As provincial, Xavier was now free to do what was needed. But Gomes, convinced of the wisdom and rectitude of his actions, and beguiled by the praise of his hearers and friends and the favor of the viceroy, reluctantly accepted the corrections and penances of his superior; and this time he again sought, as he had done earlier, to prevent his removal from Goa through the assistance of his lofty patrons.⁸ Xavier decided to send him to the isolated fortress of Diu, where he would spend the winter in preaching and hearing confessions. Gomes replied that he should consider the smallness of the site. He was ill and, with the permission of his superiors, he had to eat meat during Lent. There was consequent-

Gomes and Gago, who had sailed with the viceroy to Ceylon, and Baltasar Nunes, who was still in Quilon. At the time of Xavier's arrival, two were still in Bassein: Melchior Gonçalves and Luis Frois.

⁷ A prime source for the dismissal of Antonio Gomes is the letter which Miguel da Nóbrega wrote to Ignatius on August 2, 1553, from the Turkish prison in Cairo (ed. DI IV 870-874). This is, however, to be used with caution, since the author was writing in his own regard and trying to justify his own behavior. It is to be checked with Valignano (197-198) and Frois (DI II 450). Gomes' contemporaries have little to say about his dismissal since it remained secret, and Xavier's agent, Master Gaspar, was not to inform Gomes himself about it until after the departure of the ships for Portugal in 1553 (EX II 382-383). Xavier wrote to Ignatius that he had been obliged to dismiss some after his arrival in the college, but he did not name them. He only noted that he had had sufficient grounds for doing so (*ibid.* 372). One of the reasons was disobedience, and in the same year that Xavier composed his letter Ignatius himself wrote to the provincial of Portugal and, through Polanco in his name, to all the superiors of the Society that they should not tolerate any disobedience (MI *Epp.* IV 494-495 559-563; see also Ribadeneyra in FN II 497-498). On orders from Xavier, André Fernandes carried the names of the dismissed to Portugal in 1553 (EX II 347; cf. DI III 59). In 1579 Pérez wrote in his *Informação*: "The reason why Antonio Gomes and Belchior Gonçalves were dismissed is known to God alone, since he [Xavier], in keeping with what Ignatius introduced (I wish to say, what he wrote in the Constitutions), was accustomed to say no more than that he was not for the Society; and thus no one, either within or outside the house, knew the real reason why one was dismissed. Only the consultors knew this under the seal of silence, so that they could not tell it or write it to anyone" (71-72). Polanco however, who was accurately informed, wrote: "Quia eos [the Indian students] ex Collegio P. Antonius Gomez expulerat, ut diximus, ipsemet a P. Francisco Xavier a Societate expulsus est" (*Chronicon* IV 663). With respect to the dismissal of the native students by A. Gomes, Valignano wrote the following on November 3, 1576: "Esta desorden se hizo al tiempo que el P. M. Francisco estava en Malaca, la qual sentió tanto que por esto y por otras algunas causas despedió el Rector de Goa que hizo sin su licença esta mutación, porque uvo por ella grande escándalo, y tornó a tomar de nuevo los ninños de la tierra" (DI X 592; cf. 176).

⁸ Valignano 195-197.

ly a danger that the people in the fortress would be offended by this. Xavier replied to this by telling him that he would have to leave the college under holy obedience; and he had him informed by Master Gaspar that if he refused to leave, he would go to the vicar of the cathedral and have him removed by force.⁹

Two or three days later Miguel da Nóbrega, a Basque who had been received by Antonio Gomes, and who had been ordained too quickly in 1551,¹⁰ heard from some friends in the royal hospital, of which he had the charge, that the Jesuits had disgraced themselves. It was openly said in Goa that Antonio Gomes had taken the revenues of the house for himself, and other things had been discovered about him which could be no less damaging to the Society. He consequently went to Xavier and told him what he had heard. He asked him on bended knees for the love of Christ to reflect on the fact that the blame which had been placed on Antonio Gomes affected all the others. If he wished to dismiss him, Gomes would have to clear himself of the base accusations which were circulating in his regard. In reply to this, Xavier told Nóbrega that he should consider himself dismissed; and the following day, through Master Gaspar, he ordered him to leave the college. When Nóbrega then told Xavier that he never wished to leave the Society, the latter informed him that he was freed from the obedience which he owed to him. He could continue his work until the departure of the ships for Portugal; he could then go from there to the general of the order in Rome. If the latter approved of his dismissal, he should consider himself dismissed.¹¹ When Nóbrega uttered a few unedifying words against his superior at this, Xavier ordered him to make the Exercises. While he was making these, however, he fled one night to a ship with Brother André Monteiro, who shared his opinions and had been received by Antonio Gomes. They then sailed on it to Maskat, where the Portuguese were building a fortress, so that they might spend the winter there and then sail on to Portugal in 1553.¹²

⁹ As Nóbrega wrote (DI IV 872).

¹⁰ He had been two years in the college, where he had behaved well, and was therefore ordained to the priesthood (*ibid.* II 487). In 1551 he was sent to the island of Chorão, where A. Gomes built the church of Madre de Deus. He converted some pagans there and vainly asked with ardent desires to be permitted to preach to the pagans on the mainland of Adil Khān (Polanco, *Chronicon* II 399-400). He and Francisco Lopes are meant when Xavier wrote to Rodrigues that during his absence priests who should never have received the sacrament had been hastily ordained (EX II 350; cf. 419-420).

¹¹ Nóbrega 872-873.

¹² On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote: "Hum Padre nosso, bisquainho, por nome Miguel da Nóbregua, que avia dous anos que estava neste colegio, e nelle mesmo foi ordenado de missa, tendo grandes partes pera se aprobeitar, e tendo dado grande exemplo de vertude, chegando aqui o P. Mestre Francisco, comesou-se elle a tentar-se e soltar algumas palavras ao P. Mestre Francisco não de muita edificação. Recolheram-no nos Exercisios; todavia como seya proprio do demonio trabalhar, aniquillar todo o que pode resultar en mais gloria de Deus, trabalhou tanto com elle, até que dos Exercisios se foy huma noite; e embarcando-se juntamente com outro Irmão novo, que no dia seginte loguo se saio, se forão ambos pera esta fortaleza de Masquate com intenção de invernarem haí pera se irem pera o Regno nestas naos que agora vam" (DI II 487). He adds that on October 24 a ship had come from Ormuz with the news that the fortress in Maskat had fallen into the hands of the Turks along with its captain, João de Lisboa, seventy Portuguese, 150 slaves, all of its artillery, and 15,000 *pardaus*. Nóbrega and Monteiro were seized with the others and immediately chained to the benches of the Turkish galleys. It was also said that the Turks had immediately struck off the head of the brother (*ibid.* 486-488). This final observation proved to be unfounded, since it was soon reported that he had been ransomed in Basra, as Nóbrega wrote to Ignatius from Cairo on December 11, 1553 (*ibid.* III 36). Nóbrega himself arrived as a prisoner in Cairo, from where he wrote to Ignatius on August 20, December 11 and 28, 1553, and on January 1, 1554 (*ibid.* 870-874; III 35-37; MI *Epp.* VII 449-454). He was finally

During Gaspar's absence in Ormuz, Antonio Gomes had become the main preacher in Goa and had gained a large following among the *fidalgos* and common people. His friends and the viceroy himself now pleaded for him. He was offered a place in the Franciscan monastery so that he could continue his preaching in the city. The people wished to write to the general of the order and declared that they would abide by his decision. But Xavier remained firm in his resolve.¹³ Without obedience, it would be impossible to rule the Society of Jesus. On no account could a man such as Antonio Gomes, whose example could prove contagious, be allowed to remain in Goa. He therefore sent him on the next ship, with a brother as his companion, to Diu.¹⁴

3. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO (FEBRUARY 29, 1552)¹⁵

Melchior Nunes Barreto could also not be considered for the position of rector and superior. Despite all his good qualities, he still lacked the necessary

ransomed and returned to Ormuz in 1554, and from there to St. Paul's College, where he died in 1558 (Polanco, *Chronicon* IV 128; V 669; DI III 104-105 377; IV 197-198 221-222). Among those who left St. Paul's College during Xavier's presence in 1552 and were therefore dismissed was one by the name of João Rodrigues, but we have no further knowledge about him (DI III 59).

¹³ Nóbrega 873; Valignano wrote: "En Goa [Xaver] también mandó que se tornassen a rescebir los moços y niños naturales de la tierra para los criar y enseñar, conforme al primero instituto con que aquel colegio se avia comenzado; y assí por esto, como principalmente por lo que el Padre Antonio Gómez avía passado con el P. Micer Paulo, le dió diversas reprehensiones y mortificaciones y no hallando en él arrepentimiento y conoscimiento que desseava, mas antes viendo, que tenía demasiada opinión y confiança en su prudencia y talento, puesto que en lo demás era devoto y daba buen exemplo de sí, primeramente lo envió a Dio en misión, y después dió orden que se mandasse a Portugal como despedido de la Compañía, no haziendo caso de los talentos que el P. Antonio Gómez tenía, con que tanta autoridad avía ganado en toda la India, ni de la necesidad que entonces parecia tener de él la Compañía por ser persona de tanto crédito y tanto respecto; en lo qual tuvo el P. M. Francisco muy grandes contrastes, por se oponer a esso, el mesmo Visorrey con toda la nobleza; lo qual tanto más exasperava el ánimo del Padre, viendo que se quería llebar la cosa por estos términos tan contrarios al modo de proceder de la Compañía; y determinando de cortar en todo caso la ocasión a semejantes exemplos, y estimando en más el entenderse en la Compañía que es más estimada la humildad y obediencia que todos los otros talentos, no fueron bastantes ruegos, ni autoridad de ninguna persona, para lo mover desta determinación, y assí la efectuo" (197-198).

¹⁴ DI II 450 and 582, against Seb. Gonçalves; Wicki, "Zensuren" 87 and 90.

¹⁵ Melchior Nunes Barreto was born around 1520 in Porto from one of the leading families of the city. He first studied philosophy in Coimbra from 1536 to 1538 and then five years of canon law, in which he received a doctorate. He entered the Society in the same city in 1543 and studied philosophy and theology in it from 1543 to 1551. His brother João, who was appointed patriarch of Abyssinia, followed him into the order in 1544; his second brother, Affonso, did the same in 1545. In 1549, after he had preached extensively on popular missions, he was appointed rector of St. Paul's College and sailed in 1551 to India, where both he and Antonio Gomes, as we have already indicated, renounced this office in favor of Misser Paulo until Xavier should decide the matter. He was superior in Bassein in 1552-1553, vice-provincial in 1553-1554, sailed to Japan and back in 1554-1557, was rector in Cochín from 1557 to 1568, and then returned to Goa, where he died in 1571. Of moderate height, but healthy and powerfully built, he was naturally cheerful and, despite all his learning, humble and obedient. He came from a pious family (four of his sisters were nuns in the monastery of Santa Clara in Porto). He was zealous, and his rule as a superior was marked by great charity and mildness. He was thus loved by all his subjects. On him, see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 361-391; For further bibliography, see Valignano 180. His family tree is given by *Andrade Leitão V 136.

experience in India for this office. Xavier asked him how many years he had studied in the Society. He replied: "Nine years, three of philosophy and six of theology." To this the provincial replied: "Would to God that of these you had three years of theology and six of experience."¹⁶ To give him the opportunity of gaining the needed experience, he appointed him mission superior in Bassein, from where he had summoned Melchior Gonçalves.¹⁷

The document of Barreto's appointment read as follows:

I, Francisco, trusting in your virtue and prudence, Belchior Nunez, say that I think it good, and I order you in virtue of obedience to take charge of this house of Baçaim and of the revenues of the house. And those who will be in Baçaim and who are Brothers of the Society will all be under your obedience. From the moment when you will take over the direction of the house, all the Brothers and Fathers of the Society will obey you, and not only those who will have their residence in Baçaim, but also those who are passing through to Dio or other parts and come to Baçaim will all be under your obedience. I intend this for as long as you do not see the opposite, either from my hand or from the rector who will be in this house of Santa Fé, whom you will obey in my absence as you would Padre Ignacio. And since this is my will, I here place my signature.

Made in this college of S. Paulo on the twenty-ninth of February, 1552.

To this document Xavier joined an instruction:

Jesus! In the first place, with regard to the revenues of Baçaim at the time that Belchior Gonçalves had charge of the revenues of the house which were granted by the King or by the governors in his name to the Society, you must learn from Belchior Gonçalves what he received and what is still to be received. Become well informed by Belchior Gonçalves about these revenues, and write to me in great detail about them, and write also to me about the money which Belchior Gonçalves handed over to you.

Remember well the many needs which the Brothers of the Society have, and how indebted is this house,¹⁸ and the needs which they have who are in Cochim, Coulão, and those of Cabo de Comorim, who all depend upon this house and are always asking for help. And what pains me more is to know the many privations which they experience there since the King does not provide for them because of the little money which he himself has.¹⁹ From the revenues there you should take exactly according

¹⁶ On January 15, 1559, after his return from Japan, he wrote to his confreres in Portugal: "Alembra-me que, quando eu chegey de Portugal, agora vay em nove annos, veo tãobem o bemaventurado P. Mestre Francisco de Japão, e que me perguntou quantos annos estudara na Companhia. Respondi-lhe que 9, 3 em Artes e 6 en theologia, ao que me disse: 'Prouvera a Deus que os tres tivereis de theologia e os 6 de experientia,' tanto attribuia o varão santo à experientia! E em que então não enteny o pezo destas palavras, depois de seu falicymento, na via que fiz a Japão, aprendi o que importa exercitar a fee e esperança en Deus entre periguos de morte cada passo, e a passar por muitas tribulações e dellas aprender. . . . Agora a experientia me tem ensinado" (DI IV 249-250).

¹⁷ The document of his appointment and his instruction, are published in EX II 314-321.

¹⁸ St. Paul's College in Goa.

¹⁹ Before sailing for Japan in 1549, Xavier had written to the king: "Your Highness is not powerful enough to spread the faith of Christ, but powerful enough to take and use all the temporal goods of India" (EX II 61). He seems to have been better informed in the meantime on the king's financial status, whose expenses far exceeded his income. In 1544 John III had informed the Cortes of Almeirim of the enormous expenditures since 1521: the equipping of the India fleets of 1524, 1528, and 1533 had cost in all 500,000 *cruzados*; the treaty with the emperor of 1529 over the Moluccas 350,000; the dowry of D. Isabel in 1526 950,000; and that of D. Maria in 1544 400,000; and so forth. In addition to these, his debts in Flanders and Castile amounted to 946,000 *cruzados*, and

to their order what you shall see to be necessary both for yourselves and for those who will be with you. And remember what I again turn to recommend to you for the service and love of God our Lord, that you help this house with all the assistance that you can so that it can at least maintain those who are in Cabo de Comorim, Coulão, and Cochim.

Avoid there as many material works as you can, and be reasonable in your expenses and in those of the boys. I do not mean that you should suffer want there, neither you nor the others who live there on these incomes; but I say that you should avoid all that you can. Keep always before your eyes what those who are on Cabo de Comorim are suffering, and how many infants are dying without baptism because they have no one to baptize them, since the priests cannot support themselves there.

When the rents are collected, the collection should not be made by your person nor by anyone of the Society. I say this since it would be a source of scandal. Some friend or laymen who are spiritual friends should do this in the way of receivers, and what would be better for this would be pious individuals who frequently go to confession and receive their Lord; and you should strive to induce them to make the Exercises of the first week. And if it should be possible that these persons who collect the rents are rich and prosperous and above all good, it will be better in this way, since these persons, being rich and good, when they collect the rents of the poor and needy, will not afflict them so much as if they were themselves poor; for if they are poor, they do not tolerate delays and, arresting them by force, they harass them when they collect the rents.

Above all I recommend to you, for the love and service of God our Lord, that you avoid giving scandal; and you will do this if the people observe much humility in you. At the beginning you will have to labor much in low and humble works, for in this way the people will be on good terms with you; and when you have gained the good will of the people, the people will always interpret well the things you do, especially when they see you persevere in going from good to what is better; and see to it that you do not forget that one who does not make progress falls back.

I shall be very happy if you should take as helpers in the new Christianity which you are forming the Father vicar²⁰ and the Brothers of the Mizericordia, and that the service which you render to God our Lord in this should be attributed to them. I say this so that you may have many assistants in the persecutions you endure, and so that the people will not murmur so much about you when they see that the Father vicar and the Brothers of the Mizericordia are putting their hand to this. And if it seems good to you to make special mention of the Vicar and of the Brothers in the letter which you will write to the King, indicating to His Highness how much they favor Christianity, and to show them the letter, do so.

In the letter which you write to the King giving an account of the things in Baçaim, you should ask as a favor from His Highness that he write a letter of appreciation to the Mizericordia and to the Father vicar, seeing the great assistance they give to Christianity. And see to it that you always make much account of the Father vicar and also of the Brothers of the Mizericordia. And obtain many assistants for these things of Christianity, and also, if it is possible, the captain,²¹ giving all to understand that if any fruit is produced in the conversion of infidels, it is all to be attributed, after

the interest on them doubled the total in four years. He therefore asked the Cortes for 200,000 *cruzados* (Q 1335; cf. 578 1257-1265 1293 1835). His need for money still continued. In 1546 the king had to obtain help from the duke of Bragança in order to send the needed funds to India (Q 1969), and in 1547 he was even thinking of selling the mainland near Goa to the Nizam or Adil Khān (Q 2901). In August, 1550, he gave his ambassador in Rome an instruction in which he had him inform the pope that his expenses in India exceeded his revenues. There were also the annual expenses in North Africa, which came to 500,000 *cruzados*. He consequently needed help from the pope (Q 4498).

²⁰ In 1546 the king ordered a parish church (S. José) to be built in Bassein. The *vigario* was Henrique Botelho (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 324 451; Q 4552).

²¹ Francisco Barreto was the captain from 1549 to 1552 (Correa IV 688; Q 4318 4592 4734).

God, to them; and if you will be able to convince the captain of this, it will be a great good. I leave all of this to your prudence and to the many inspirations which God our Lord will give to you. When you write to the King, it should be of things which are of great edification; and when you have to write about some persons, it should be to Father Master Simão and not to the King; and this I mean of temporal things; but of spiritual things to the King.

At the beginning of March, Melchior Nunes Barreto sailed for Bassein²² with this instruction in the company of Brothers Fernão do Souro²³ and Gil Barreto.²⁴

4. MASTER GASPAR BARZAEUS (NOVEMBER, 1550—FEBRUARY, 1552)

Master Gaspar Barzaeus was the only one whom Xavier could consider for the office of rector of St. Paul's College and vice-provincial. When he returned from Japan, he had learned from his letters about the extraordinary success of Barzaeus' activities in Ormuz up to November, 1550.

Barzaeus had also received Xavier's letter of November, 1549, summoning him to Japan.²⁵ It had come with the fleet which the viceroy had sent from Goa to Ormuz on March 29, 1551, and which had arrived there in the middle of April.²⁶ The fleet had been sent under the command of Dom Antão de Noronha to drive the Turks out of al-Katif. Barzaeus wished to sail for Goa at the first opportunity, as Xavier had ordered, but the people were opposed to his leaving and even conspired to keep him under arrest until the time for sailing had passed. Even Dom Antão de Noronha declared that he would have to remain in order to encourage the soldiers in their battle with the Turks.

As preparations were being made in Ormuz during the next two months for the expedition to al-Katif, Master Gaspar received a strange letter. He had heard that in different areas such as Basra, Bagdad, and Constantinople there were many janizaries who were ready to flee so that they might return to the Church. The author of the letter was one of these. It had come from al-Katif and was written with gunpowder in three languages: Flemish, Latin, and German. The author's name was John of Cologne. The son of a very rich merchant in Cologne, he had been a prisoner of the Turks for ten years and was now their powdermaker. He asked Barzaeus to send him an answer with a letter of safe-conduct. Master Gaspar wrote to him that he should come at once, and that he was waiting for him with open arms. In the meantime the priest kept busy day and night hearing the confessions of the men of the fleet. He heard five hundred of these in fifteen days. Two of these days went by without his finding time to eat, and he was able to sleep for only three hours. When the time for sailing drew near, the soldiers protested that they would not go into battle without him, even though he showed them Xavier's letter with its opposing order. Only a severe illness into which he fell prevented them from taking him with them by force. To encourage them in battle, Barzaeus sent André Fernandes with them in his stead. The latter had been a captain of warships on numerous occasions and had been won over to the Society of Jesus by Barzaeus. When the Portuguese captured the famed

²² DI II 496.

²³ On Gil Barreto, see Vol. III, pp. 504-505. On December 15, 1552, he wrote: "We have been here [in Bassein] almost a year—P. Mestre Belchior [Nunes Barreto], Brother Fernão d'Osouro, and I" (DI II 513).

²⁴ On Fernão do Souro, see Vol. III, p. 614.

²⁵ EX II 212-215; DI II 269.

²⁶ Q 476; Couto 6, 9, 4, and 6, 9, 14.

fortress of al-Katif from the Turks, they found the head of John of Cologne and the letter which Barzaeus had written to him on a pike that had been driven into the floor. He had died as a martyr for his faith.²⁷

In September the fleet of Dom Antão de Noronha sailed from Ormuz.²⁸ Despite all the efforts of the people of the city, Barzaeus had secretly embarked on it with two companions whom he had received in Ormuz, André Fernandes and Alvaro Mendes, and had returned to India. Five other candidates for the order had died from the scorching heat of the island before their departure.²⁹

The return to India from Ormuz usually took fifteen days, but this time the voyage had lasted for two months because of the adverse winds. Barzaeus had not remained idle on the way. On the galleon of the admiral, on which he was sailing, there were more than six hundred individuals. He was kept extremely busy hearing confessions, and the result of these was that the soldiers gave up their cursing, gambling, and other evil pastimes. He also gave instructions in the faith to the male and female slaves, settled disputes, and took care of the sick. On Sundays and feast days, when the weather permitted, the ships drew in their sails and their occupants came rowing up in *fustas* and *catur*s to the galleon in order to hear the preaching of the priest; and the first refreshment that they had on landing at Maskat, Kilhat, Diu, and Bassein was a sermon of the priest. After his arrival in the latter city, he and Frey Antonio do Porto visited the latter's mission station in Mandapeshwar. They also went to the Kanheri Caves, a Buddhist monastery-city with over a hundred cisterns hewn into the rock. The scholastic Luis Frois accompanied Barzaeus from Bassein to Thāna, where he was received by the Christians in a procession. From there he went with Frois to the island of Elephanta, with its gigantic temple of Trimurti, and then to Chaul, where he arrived on All Saints' Day and, despite the opposition of the Dominicans, was forced by the people and clergy to deliver two sermons.³⁰

When Master Gaspar arrived in Goa in the middle of November, he encountered Misser Paulo as superior of the house and of the mission. Antonio Gomes had renounced the office of rector³¹ and had sailed with the viceroy for Ceylon. He had earlier abolished the usual Sunday High Mass and the chanting of choir by the pupils in the church of St. Paul's College as being incompatible with the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, to the great displeasure of the people and the *fidalgos*, who from then on avoided the church. Master Gaspar immediately reinstated the High Mass and preached at it after the offertory. The consequence

²⁷ Our main sources for this last stay of Barzaeus in Ormuz are his two letters, the first of which was begun in Ormuz and finished in Goa on December 16, 1551 (Q 4713: DI II 245-267), and the second from Goa of December 20, 1551 (Q 4714: DI II 267-273); and Frois' letter of December 1, 1552 (Q 4923: DI II 457-458). Further sources for the campaign against al-Katif are the letter of Reis Nur-ud-dīn of October 5, 1551 (Q 4693); the documents of knightings (Q 4676; cf. 4670-4671 4702); and Couto, who obtained oral information from Lourenço Feio, who took part in the campaign (6, 9, 14-15).

²⁸ Barzaeus wrote briefly of his secret sailing (DI II 269). More detail is given from lost sources (with invented conversations) by Trigault, *Vita*, 1610, 228-234. Gaspar writes that he had come with two companions (DI II 273), whereas Frois (*ibid.* 459) and Teixeira (*ibid.* 203) mention three, apparently adding by mistake Melchior de Melho, who had been sent earlier.

²⁹ According to Frois (*ibid.* 456-457) and Gaspar (*ibid.* 273).

³⁰ Barzaeus gives a detailed account of his return voyage in his two letters already mentioned (*ibid.* 257-265 268-272), and Frois reports it from oral data received from Barzaeus (*ibid.* 459-460).

³¹ *Ibid.* 266.

was that the church was again filled³² since no one wished to miss his sermons.³³ In the afternoons, two hours after the noon meal, he went through the streets with a little bell, as he had in Ormuz, in order to call the children and the negro slaves to the lessons in Christian doctrine.³⁴ On the other days of the week he heard confessions from early morning until noon, and in the afternoons he settled quarrels and visited the sick in the two hospitals and the prisoners in the jail in order to help them in their temporal and spiritual difficulties. He thus frequently hardly had the time to say his breviary.³⁵ On December 13 he proclaimed the Jubilee which the Holy Father had granted for India, and which was to begin on Christmas Day. On the following Friday, as a preparation for this, he delivered a sermon on penance. The church could not hold the throngs who came for it and the public discipline which followed.³⁶ The evening sermons on penance which Master Gaspar then delivered each Friday, and which were followed by a public discipline, produced extraordinary effects. From three to four thousand people came to hear him, and the pulpit had to be transferred to the cloister since the church could not contain the crowds. When he spoke of the passion of Christ, all wept.³⁷ The proclamation of the Jubilee spread throughout the whole of India. People came from all parts to gain the indulgence.³⁸ Xavier was astounded by the great fruit which it produced, and he ordered Gaspar to ask from Ignatius similar indulgences or a new Jubilee for the houses of the Society in India.³⁹ He could not conceal his joy when he heard Barzaeus preach and saw the great zeal of the people. He consequently called Barzaeus on numerous occasions an "angel from heaven," and after he had preached he would embrace and kiss him as a sign of his affection.⁴⁰

5. IN THE CIRCLE OF HIS BROTHERS (FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1552)

Xavier passed two months in Goa within the circle of his confreres. These were days of happy intimacy, zeal, and consolation for him and for his subjects,⁴¹ especially since Antonio Gomes had departed for Diu and his followers had left the house. If Master Francis was strict, even inexorably so with respect to those who were hardened in their pride, he was equally kind towards the weak and humble who were of good will.⁴² The Society of Jesus was for him, as it was also for Ignatius, a "Society of Love."⁴³

Of the priests, Misser Paulo was still, as rector of the college and superior of the mission, the quiet, humble religious that he had earlier been. As Lancilotto observed, he was a man of few words and many deeds, tirelessly active

³² On the sung Mass, see *ibid.* 203 272 594-595 615-616.

³³ *Ibid.* 482 596.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 203.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 265 273 470.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 265-266 272 (the Jubilee began on December 25).

³⁷ Melchior Nunes Barreto gives a report on the effects of the penitential preaching which he saw before his departure for Bassein (*ibid.* 239-240 495). Frois gives an extended account of it (*ibid.* 481-483); see also Gaspar himself (*ibid.* 265-266 272).

³⁸ Frois (*ibid.* 470-471).

³⁹ *Ibid.* 598.

⁴⁰ According to Brandão (*ibid.* III 168-169) and Valignano (272).

⁴¹ Cf. the data in Frois (*ibid.* II 453), Nunes Barreto (*ibid.* 494-495), and Teixeira (881-882).

⁴² Teixeira 882.

⁴³ EX II 7-8.

both day and night.⁴⁴ He still spoke a language that was half Italian and half Portuguese, but he was indefatigable in the baptism of new converts, in hearing confessions, and in the care of the students. He was called the father of all, but especially of the native sick, for whom he had built a hospital and church.⁴⁵ When he ran out of money, he would go to the governor and show him his empty purse and receive immediate assistance.⁴⁶ Together with Lancilotto he had vainly tried to prevent Antonio Gomes from expelling the native students.⁴⁷ His hospital for the native sick was near the wagon gate of the college, on the opposite side of the street. It had a dispensary, kitchen, and chicken yard; and it usually contained thirty or forty individuals who were ill. At times Portuguese also came to it so that they might die there. The governor had granted it an income of three hundred *pardaus*, and this had been renewed by the viceroy Noronha for the period of his rule.⁴⁸

Of the remaining priests, Domingos Carvalho was suffering from tuberculosis and could as a consequence be no longer considered for Japan.⁴⁹ From among Xavier's earlier acquaintances, there were Gago, who had accompanied the viceroy to Ceylon along with Antonio Gomes, the ailing Francisco Henriques, and Antonio Vaz, to whom Melchior Nunes Barreto had given instructions in moral theology according to the *Secunda Secundae* of St. Thomas in 1551.⁵⁰

Manuel de Morais senior had also attended these instructions.⁵¹ Xavier saw him for the first time in Goa. Morais had been born in Bragança and was in his forties. He had already studied a year of philosophy and almost three years of canon law when, won over by Gaspar Barzaeus, he entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra as a priest in 1545. After his entry he was immediately assigned to help on the popular missions. He had a fine exterior and distinguished manners, and was very humble, obedient, and edifying.⁵² Already in 1548 Simon Rodrigues

⁴⁴ DI II 153.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* I 569; II 239 508.

⁴⁶ Seb. Gonçalves 8, 11.

⁴⁷ DI II 148.

⁴⁸ According to Reimão Pereira on November 8, 1552 (*ibid.* 507-509).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 452.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 273.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* On Manuel de Morais senior, see the sources in Q, index, his letters in DI II 220-229 425-428; accounts: Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 551-552. In October, 1552, he was sent with Brother Antonio Dias to Ceylon in order to attempt to convert Dharma-pāla and to proclaim the Jubilee. He worked there zealously (he and Dias describe Ceylon and their work there in detail: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 622-659), but he fell ill and had to be called back to Goa in 1553, where, soon after, in the middle of July, he died a saintly death, as had been his life (DI III 167-168). After his death an iron chain was found which he had worn as a penance (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*). Before he sailed for Ceylon, he gave a conference to his confreres in Goa on the union of the active and contemplative lives (DI II 483). He wrote from Ceylon: "I feel infinitely obliged to give thanks always to God that He led me into the Society of the name of Jesus, where I am so unworthy of it, and so unsuitable to serve it. I consequently feel myself so indebted for this that, even if I had a thousand bodies and a thousand souls, all occupied in serving it, I still would not be able to give sufficient thanks for this grace; for I feel that all the mercies which God shows to me, he gives me because I am a member of this Society and because of the prayers and merits of its confreres" (*ibid.* 427-428). His companion, Brother Antonio Dias, wrote that he felt obliged to give thanks to God that he had let him be the companion of such an edifying priest (*ibid.* 522). In Portugal Duarte de Eça, who had been with Morais in Ceylon as chief captain, used simply to call the priest "the saint" (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*).

⁵² The data on his age vary. According to an undated list of 1548, he was at the time thirty-seven or thirty-eight. It states of him: "Manuel de Morales, clerigo portugues, natural de Bergança de muy buenos parentes, fue recebido a 29 de Abril de 1545.

had wished to send him as rector to Goa, but sickness had prevented his going.⁵³ He sailed for India in 1551 on the *Espadarte* with Pedro de Almeida and Antonio Dias and two candidates for the Society, Aleixo Madeira and Francisco Durão.⁵⁴ He zealously helped Master Gaspar with his spiritual labors in Goa, and he preached two or three times a week to the great contentment of the people. He complained to Xavier that his many sermons left him too little time for prayers. The latter consoled him and showed him how the two could be united.⁵⁵

Pedro de Almeida,⁵⁶ one of the brothers who had come to India in 1551, had been born in 1527⁵⁷ and had entered the Society in Coimbra in 1549.⁵⁸ He had endured the hardships of the voyage to India better than any of the others and had been sick during its course for only two days.⁵⁹ Of an ardent temperament, he took as his model Xavier's own great missionary zeal.⁶⁰ On the same ship with

Mediocre latino, un año de Artes y quasi tres de Canones, de muy buena estatura, gentilhonbre polito, muy edificativo, asaz obediente y humilde, a se exercitado em confesar este tiempo y en ver Sumas. De 37 a 38 años" (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 304). On his work on popular missions, see Q 2260.

⁵³ *Ep. Broëti* 582; *Ep. Mixtae* I 527.

⁵⁴ On November 28, 1551, Morais wrote a detailed account of his voyage to India (DI II 220-229). The data on his companions are contradictory. Morais himself wrote of Brother Pedro de Almeida and his fellow voyager Aleixo Madeira; and he states that in Cochín, where he first landed, six of his companions on the voyage were moved to enter into the Society. Wicki reckons among these Antonio Dias, A. Madeira, Francisco Durão, "and perhaps Gaspar Vilela" (*ibid.* 224). But Vilela, who is already mentioned as a priest at the beginning of 1553 (*ibid.* 620), was, according to Cabral's catalog of November 25, 1559, already six years in the order (*ibid.* IV 447). This would place his entrance in 1553; and Antonio Dias, according to Cabral, was already nine years in the Society in 1559, which would indicate his entrance in 1550 (*ibid.* 461). Also according to Valignano, Vilela did not enter until 1553, since he writes that Melchior Nunes Barreto, who sailed from Goa for Japan in April, 1554, had received him five months before (**Libro primeiro* 59v). Teixeira, who sailed on another ship, stated on November 15, 1551, that Manuel de Morais had sailed to India with Brother Almeida and two other brothers who had entered in Lisbon. Wicki identifies these as Aleixo Madeira and Antonio Dias (DI II 199). Luis Gonçalves da Camara, on the other hand, wrote from Almeirim on March 14, 1551, that Melchior Nunes Barreto had set sail for India on March 10 and that three or four days later Morais and Almeida had sailed on another ship. There were moreover with them six candidates who had wished to enter in Lisbon but had not been accepted and now wished to enter in Goa (*ibid.* 195-196). Soeiro, the biographer of Durão, writes from data given him by the latter that he had earnestly asked Melchior Nunes to be received in Lisbon, and that the latter had promised him that he would receive him in India. He landed in Cochín (he thus sailed with Morais), and Nunes Barreto took him into the order (ARSI: *Lus.* 58, 191v).

⁵⁵ DI II 428; see also 239 483.

⁵⁶ During all the time that Almeida lived in India, he worked for the conversion of the pagans with a zeal that had more need of a rein than of a spur (*ibid.* IV 507). He was "the father and administrator of the Christians" (*ibid.* III 720) and worked as a priest in Goa, Chorão, and Divar in 1558 and later (cf. *ibid.* IV 199-215 320 382 427), in Damão in 1571 and 1572 (*ibid.* VIII 416), and in Bassein and the neighboring Sandor from 1574 to 1579 (*ibid.* IX 468 471-473 478; X 502 695 747), dying in this latter year after a long illness (*ibid.* XI 667-668).

⁵⁷ In November, 1559, Cabral said that he was thirty-three and had been twelve years in the order (*ibid.* IV 456); Carneiro, who was less well informed, states that he was about thirty and twelve or thirteen years in the order (*ibid.* 419).

⁵⁸ He entered the order on March 25, 1549 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 3v).

⁵⁹ DI II 225.

⁶⁰ In 1574 he wrote from Bassein to the general of the order that he should help immediately with conversions in India: the zealous priests were dead and all was cold and abandoned. "Morreo o grande Padre santo Mestre Francisco já há muitos annos, a quem eu vi zelar muito e muito sem comparação a sancta conversão" (*ibid.* IX 472).

him had also come Aleixo Madeira.⁶¹ This latter was of a prominent family⁶² and had been well known in Lisbon, where he had been an *escudeiro* of Infante Dom Luis. When he wished to abandon his rich possessions and enter into the Society of Jesus, his uncle immediately offered him an annual income of sixty *milreis* in an attempt to dissuade him. His cloak was taken so that he would be unable to leave his house. But it was a futile stratagem. He went cloakless through Lisbon with barrels of water and other provisions, and he barefooted brought the priests in the boarding boats to their ship. Since they did not dare accept him in Portugal, he sailed with them to India in order to be received there.⁶³ During their voyage, the companions fell ill in their service of those sick with scurvy. This was particularly true of Madeira, who had to be bled four or five times.⁶⁴ The third to sail for India with Morais was Antonio Dias.⁶⁵ He was a New Christian and was working as a lacemaker when he entered in Coimbra in 1550 at the age of twenty-five.⁶⁶ He was experienced in secular affairs⁶⁷ and a skilled penman, but was still a neophyte when it came to Latin.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, despite his age, he wished to become a priest⁶⁹ in order to follow his exemplar, Master Francis, as a soldier of Christ.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Aleixo Madeira was sent to Quilon in 1552 in order to help Lancilotto (*ibid.* II 380 620). Since he caught a cold there and suffered from asthma, he was sent to Negapatam (*ibid.* 451). On April 2, 1553, he was then sent with Father Eredia to Ormuz in the hope that the hot climate would be more suitable to him (*ibid.* III 23-24). From there he wrote a letter to Luis Gonçalves da Camara on September 24, 1553, describing his voyage and the work he was doing. He signed it: "Seu Aleixo," which the DI erroneously take for Aleixo Dias, who did not go to Ormuz until 1557 (*ibid.* III 17-26). Madeira died there shortly after his arrival (*ibid.* 178; cf. also Teixeira, *Anotações* 57). The DI erroneously have him die in Malacca (II 644), a confusion with Duarte Madeira (*ibid.* 207). Francisco Rodrigues (*Hist.* I 2, 533) and Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 2, 10) erroneously have him die in Quilon in 1553. On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote in Goa that Master Gaspar had just (*agora*) sent a brother to Cape Comorin who had landed in Bhatkal on the way and had there offered to raise a person from the dead in order to prove the truth of the Christian faith (DI II 491). Probably meant is Antonio Fernandes, since Xavier had asked that a brother be sent after the rainy season to help H. Henriques (EX II 437-438). He had not yet arrived on November 6, 1552 (DI II 400), whereas Madeira was already in Quilon in October, 1552 (*ibid.* 380). Polanco ascribes the anecdote to Antonio Fernandes (*Chronicon* II 780), Valignano to A. Madeira (182). In the catalog from the beginning of 1553, A. Fernandes was still in Goa (DI II 620).

⁶² He was a *fidalgó* (*ibid.* 224).

⁶³ *Ibid.* 196.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 225.

⁶⁵ Antonio Dias accompanied Manuel de Morais to Ceylon in October, 1552 (*ibid.* 483, and his letter from Colombo of December 15, 1552, *ibid.* 521-538). In the spring of 1553 he returned with the priest, who had become ill, to Goa, where Morais died in the middle of July (*ibid.* III 167). On March 16, 1554, Xavier's body was brought to Goa. Dias helped to place it in a new shroud and was convinced of its incorrupt state (*ibid.* 117 176; Teixeira 906). In the following April, 1554, Melchior Nunes Barreto took Dias to Japan with him (*ibid.* III 85); and he returned with him to India in February, 1557 (Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, c. 226; Ayres, *Subsidios* 106; cf. his letter from Malacca of November 22, 1554, in DI III 115-119). He completed his studies in Goa. We encounter him as a deacon on the Fishery Coast in 1567 (DI VII 438), as a priest in 1569-1576 (*ibid.* VIII 141; X 801). He was finally superior in Bendorá, where he directed the mission in both temporal and spiritual affairs. He died in Chaul in 1581 (Teixeira, *Anotações* 57; and his necrology in *Goa* 32, 448v-449).

⁶⁶ DI IV 461.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 461 472 508.

⁶⁸ This is shown by his two long letters which he wrote from Colombo in 1552 and from Malacca in 1554. Melchior Nunes Barreto said of him in 1560 that he was "sem letras, mas lido em linguaajem" (*ibid.* 508).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 461 508.

Two brothers had come to Goa with Melchior Nunes Barreto: Melchior Dias and Manuel Teixeira. Melchior Dias,⁷¹ a painter⁷² by profession, was around twenty years old⁷³ when he entered the Society in Lisbon in 1551.⁷⁴ He also wished to study Latin so that he might become a priest.⁷⁵ He had nursed the sick on the ship with great kindness as far as Mozambique.⁷⁶ The second brother was Manuel Teixeira.⁷⁷ He had been born in Bragança in the diocese of Miranda⁷⁸

⁷⁰ He wrote from Colombo to his confreres in Goa and Coimbra: "Dear Brothers! Our Lord has given me to sense the great obligation which we are all under in having been called to be members of the Society of Jesus; and I hold that I am more obliged by this obligation than all, since I have been healed of greater wounds and freed from greater dangers than anyone who has been saved by Him as I have been; and for these favors and many others, I am obliged to give up my life a thousand times for love of Him who loves us so much" (*ibid.* II 522). He closed his letter with an invitation to his confreres in Coimbra to follow him on the mission field in India, keeping in mind the example set by Xavier: "I place before you Padre Mestre Francisco, who constantly went to work in lands that were not inhabited by Portuguese, for he was not content with Japam but went also to Chyna. Behold our captain, how he ever goes into combat, since we, who are soldiers, must be ashamed if we fail to follow him" (*ibid.* 538). He again summoned his confreres to battle from Malacca: "Since this good is so close at hand in these regions of India, it certainly seems to be a great cowardice if soldiers do not fight where the booty is so rich and the reward so great. O army! O my dearest in Christ! Come! Come!... Those who with St. Paul desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ should come, for here life is much shorter; and it is so shortened that soldiers die here on the field of battle. On the field of battle he gave up his spirit as he was going to the great kingdoms of Chyna, our great encourager, worthy of all imitation, Padre Mestre Francisco" (*ibid.* III 116-117).

⁷¹ Like Antonio Dias, Melchior Dias accompanied Father Nunes Barreto from 1554 to 1557 on his journey to Japan and back (*ibid.* 85 786); and he would have gladly returned later to Japan (*ibid.* IV 812 845). Obedience, however, detained him in India, where he was ordained to the priesthood in Goa in 1562 (*ibid.* V 618; VI 635). We encounter him in 1565 and 1566 as minister in Bassein (cf. his three letters from there, *ibid.* VI 634-636 554-582; VII 90-102) and again in 1569 as procurator in the college in Goa (*ibid.* VIII 94), and from 1571 on also as provincial procurator (*ibid.* VIII 420; IX 475), in which capacity he visited nearly the entire province. In December, 1575, he was sent by the provincial congregation as the first mission procurator to Portugal (*JapSin.* 8, 63), from where he returned to Goa in 1578. But despite his great talents for the office of procurator and his services on the mission, he had to be dismissed by the provincial in December, 1581, for immorality and sent back to Portugal (see the letters of the provincial Ruy Vicente of October 30 and December 2, 1581, in *Goa* 47, 176-177 160v; the letter of Jorge de Castro of January 2, 1582, in *Goa* 13, 100v; and that of Durão of December 7, 1586, *ibid.* 314v, who, since he was in South India, knew nothing of the disclosures of the provincial).

⁷² DI IV 459.

⁷³ The data on his age vary: In November, 1559, Cabral wrote that he was twenty-five (*ibid.* 459); in December, 1565, Dias himself said that he was around thirty-five (*ibid.* VI 635); in November, 1571, it was said that he was thirty-eight (*ibid.* VIII 420).

⁷⁴ In November, 1559, it was said that he had been nine years in the order (*ibid.* IV 459); in 1565 he wrote that he had come with Melchior Nunes Barreto [1551] to India, and that he had been in the Society since then (*ibid.* VI 634-635). In November, 1571, it was said that he had been twenty-one years in the Society (*ibid.* VIII 420).

⁷⁵ In 1559 it was said of him that he was beginning to study Latin (*ibid.* IV 459). Jorge de Castro wrote of him that he was "idiota e sem letras," but had good natural talents for the office of procurator (*Goa* 13, 100v).

⁷⁶ DI II 200.

⁷⁷ The main sources for the life of Manuel Teixeira up to 1558 are to be found in DI I-XIV, as they are also for the others, and also his letters. He studied Latin, philosophy, and theology in Goa from 1553 to 1560, taught a short course in philosophy (DI II 620; III 189 574; IV 383 731 772), and was ordained to the priesthood in 1560 (*ibid.* IV 772). He always had a great devotion to Francis Xavier. He sailed with Melchior Nunes Barreto to Bhatkal in 1554 in order to fetch the uncorrupt body of the saint (Teixeira 904-909); and in 1557 he obtained from Antonio China, as he had requested,

and had already studied Latin for some time⁷⁹ when, only fifteen years old,⁸⁰ he was accepted for the India mission in Lisbon in February, 1551.⁸¹ Immediately after his entrance he had sailed off for India; and in November, 1551, he had already sent a detailed account of his voyage to his confreres in Coimbra. Every day during the voyage he and the three orphans who had been cared for by Pedro Doménech and were sailing with him gave instructions in Christian doctrine. On Corpus Christi the ship encountered a violent storm and then another that was even more severe which threatened to sink the vessel. When it was leaving Mozambique, the ship ran onto a rock and was only freed as if by a miracle. Teixeira had been sick on the early part of the voyage, but he had regained his health in Mozambique and was thus able to take care of the many sick on the final stretch of their voyage. A saintly confrere, Jorge Nunes, who was sailing to India as a candidate, nevertheless died before reaching it. The newcomers were warmly received in Goa, and Teixeira was edified by his confreres. They were waiting for Master Gaspar, whom Master Francis had summoned to Japan; and they were all eager to accompany him there. Xavier had written from Japan that if a way were opened up, he wished to call all of them to that mission field. Soon after this Master Gaspar had arrived from Ormuz, and Teixeira thanked God

an extensive account on Xavier's last days and death (DI III 654; on his friendship with Antonio of the Holy Faith, see the letter of P. Stefanoni of October 6, 1574, in *JapSin.* 7, 241). We meet him in Bassein in 1561 (DI V 268 288-306 315-318). In 1563 he sailed with Father Francisco Pérez and the ambassador Gil de Goes in the ship of Diogo Pereira to Macao (Valignano 442), where a vain attempt was made to gain entrance into closed China (on this see B. Videira Pires, S.J., "Os três heróis do IV Centenário" and "Cartas dos Fundadores," *Boletim Ecclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* 62 [1964] 687-802, and the *commentary of João d'Escovar, the secretary of Diogo Pereira, on the Society, only the second part of which were we able to find in ARSI: Goa 38, 47-73, of 1564). In 1567 he returned to India and was professed of the four vows on November 30, 1568 (DI VIII 98). From 1569 to 1573 he was superior in Cochin (*ibid.* 206 652-657), and vice-provincial from 1573 to 1574, an office for which he showed little talent (*ibid.* IX 351 492; X 551-554). He was in Goa in 1575-1576, superior in Bassein in 1577-1579 (*ibid.* X 810 922-926; XI 385-388). In 1580 he completed his life of Xavier, which provided the foundation for all subsequent lives. A year later he completed his *Anotações* to this life (*ibid.* XI 786, and Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung," GS III 73-84). He spent the rest of his life in Goa, where he preached and was a father of the Christians. He died in 1590 (*Goa* 47, 338). — In 1570 P. Stefanoni described him as a "padre di molta santidade et spiritu," and if he was not the first, he was certainly the second preacher in India (DI VIII 206-207). In 1579 Pasio called him a "grandissimo Santo e de virtù extraordinaria," but with no talent for the office of superior, since he was "molto irresoluto e sospetoso" (*ibid.* XI 724). Ricci, the later renowned China missionary, called him a priest of great sanctity in 1581 (*Goa* 38, 129). In 1584 Valignano wrote that he was "virtuous, shrewd, authoritative, but slow, irresolute, melancholy, and not fit for the office of superior" (*Goa* 13, 215v). In his necrology, Pedro Martinez wrote that, through his example, advice, and virtue, the deceased had given good support to the province for some forty years, drinking from the first milk of Father Master Francis, who had received him into the Society, a "varón religioso, observante," and zealous for poverty, obedience, and keeping the rules, full of zeal for the pagan mission, dearly beloved by all the Christians, who regarded him as their father, their refuge in all their needs (*Goa* 47, 338).

⁷⁸ The catalog of 1584 calls him: "Brigantinus Mirandensis Diocesis" (*Goa* 24, 132). The diocese of Miranda was erected in 1545; in 1780 the episcopal see was transferred from Miranda do Douro to Bragança (Almeida, *Hist. da Igreja* III 1, 25-28; IV 1, 11-13).

⁷⁹ DI X 31-32.

⁸⁰ According to Cabral he was twenty-three in November, 1559 (*ibid.* IV 458). At this same time the ages of Francisco Rodrigues, "around twenty-two," and Carneiro, "around twenty-five," were uncertain (*ibid.* 383 423). The catalog of October, 1575, states that he was forty (*ibid.* X 31), that of 1584 that he was forty-eight (*Goa* 24, 132).

⁸¹ *Goa* 24, 132. According to Teixeira he was received by Melchior Nunes Barreto before he sailed for India (*Anotações* 56).

that he had let him see such a saintly man, so tireless in his zeal and such a great servant of God.⁸² Francisco Durão⁸³ had also come with Morais as a candidate for the Society. He had been born about the year 1532⁸⁴ in the city of Sertam in the province of Beira Baixa.⁸⁵ One day he went from Lisbon to Tancos, and from there to Santarém, in the company of a priest of the Society of Jesus. As the two were speaking with each other about God, the priest told him that

⁸² Cf. his letter of November 15, 1551 (DI II 198-203).

⁸³ The main sources for the life of Francisco Durão are DI II-XIV, his still unpublished letters in *Goa 13* and *14*, from 1581 to 1601, and especially the **Relação da vida do P. Francisco Durão*, which the rector of Cochín, Ambrosio Soeiro, sent in 1612 to the visitor Nicolau Pimenta, and the latter to the assistant Antonio Mascarenhas in Rome (ARSI: *Lus.* 58, 191-193v). In 1552-1553 Durão sailed with the fleet of Dom Antão de Noronha to Ormuz. He returned from there to Goa with the ailing Father Eredia (DI II 444 484 587 621; Soeiro 191v), where we find him in the college as sacristan in 1554-1555 (DI II 189 411; Soeiro 192v). From 1556 on he worked with great zeal on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore, from 1568 on as a priest. When the bishop of Cochín, Frey André de Santa Maria, O.F.M., who was hostile to the Jesuits expelled the priests *manu armata* in 1609 (*Goa 33*, 263-264v), Durão sailed to Quilon and, finally, in 1611, at the request of the rector Soeiro, to Cochín, where he died on June 7, 1612, as piously as he had lived (*Goa 24*, 441; 29, 3; Soeiro 191). — He learned how to speak, read, and write the difficult Tamil language, but Latin was beyond him, even though he was sent to Goa in 1559 and to Cochín in 1567 so that he might learn it. Finally, despite this, after he had studied moral theology for some time, he was ordained to the priesthood in Cochín in 1568 because of his great knowledge of the language of the country (DI V 15 682; VII 438 552), after having served for years as interpreter in the hearing of confessions by priests who were ignorant of the language (*ibid.* VI 391 752-753 796). Soeiro, who had the ailing Durão come to Cochín and prepared him for death, praised especially his great zeal and his punctuality in the examination of his conscience and in spiritual reading, which he never omitted despite all his labors, as he told the rector after receiving Viaticum, not even on Sunday after the sermon, when the examination of conscience was not prescribed. Whoever wished to persevere in the Society, he said, must esteem these things and be obedient. On his voyage to Ormuz he hid himself among the tackle of the ship so that he might make his meditation; and if he had to go on foot for leagues in Travancore, he never omitted it, even though the sun burned down upon him and the sand singed his feet like burning coals. Even during his last illness in Cochín, he always had the *Following of Christ* in his hand or under his pillow; and during all his free time, he prayed or meditated or spent his time in spiritual reading. When he was no longer able to celebrate Mass, he had himself carried in his chair to the chapel; and he received Holy Communion there three times a week. His zeal for prayer produced within him an ardent love for God, which made a very great impression on all who visited him. When they took their leave of him, he would weep and say: "Love and love again! Obedience and obedience again." During the course of many years, he traversed the hundred leagues from Travancore to Vēdālai on foot, and his repose at night was on a mat on the floor at the foot of the altar of the church. Gonçalo Fernandes, his old friend, praised his great love for the Society and for the salvation of souls, which was revealed in all his words (Soeiro 191v-193; cf. Soeiro's letter of September 12, 1611, in *Goa 17*, 42v-43). In 1581 Durão still wrote of the lasting impression which Xavier's words had made upon him in Goa in 1552. At that time Francis had said that distant missionaries should go to a college every three or four years in order to renew themselves in spirit. Durão was present at the conferences which he gave at the time in St. Paul's College, and in which he stated that they must be strengthened in spirit since, if they were sent to distant places, the devils would come in swarms to make them give up their vocation (*Goa 13*, 98v). "We are all certain," as the rector wrote immediately after his death, "that he is already enjoying eternal blessedness, so consoled and edified were we all by his death, full of longing for those first fathers and for the good time of our blessed Padre Francisco Xavier" (Soeiro 191).

⁸⁴ According to Cabral, he was twenty-seven in November, 1559 (DI IV 459); according to later catalogs, he was forty-one in February, 1572, and fifty-six in December, 1584 (*Goa 24*, 70v 144). On December 12, 1597, he wrote that he was almost seventy (*Goa 14*, 351).

⁸⁵ According to the catalog of 1584 (*Goa 24*, 144).

after he had returned to Lisbon he should confess to one whom he indicated by name, and he gave him a letter for the priest. Durão was glad to accept the advice. After he had finished the business which had taken him to Santarém, he started back for Lisbon. On his way he opened up the letter out of curiosity. It read as follows: "It seems to me that the bearer of this letter will serve for India, and he also seems to me to be an instrument through which our Lord will grant many graces in those regions. Your Reverence should therefore treat with him in such a way that his voyage there becomes a reality." Durão's longing for India was thus aroused. After he had returned to Lisbon, he earnestly asked to be taken into the Society for India. Father Melchior Nunes Barreto, who had been appointed rector of St. Paul's College and was sailing for India with other companions, welcomed him and promised him that he would receive him into the Society of Jesus in India. Durão came to Cochin and then to Goa on the ship in which Manuel Morais senior was sailing, and he was there received into the Society.⁸⁶ He had not as yet studied Latin, but was filled with missionary zeal.

Barzaeus had received two more confreres in Ormuz and had brought them with him to Goa. These were André Fernandes and Alvaro Mendes. Fernandes⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Soeiro 191v.

⁸⁷ The sources for André Fernandes are DI II-XIV and the catalogs in *Goa* 24. Nineteen of his letters are extant. Four of these have been published in *Ep. Mixtae* (IV 867; V 22 85 161), twelve in DI IV and two are still unpublished in *Goa* 13, 75, and 14, 121. For further bibliography, see Valignano 199 and 279. — At the request of Xavier he sailed at the beginning of 1553 with André de Carvalho and the Japanese Bernardo to Europe in order to inform superiors in Portugal and Rome on the condition of the Indian mission and to obtain the men needed for it. For his stay in Europe, see the letters in *MI Epp.* 6-9, *Ep. Mixtae* 4-5, and the accounts in Polanco, *Chronicon* 2-5, and Francisco Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 210-220. Back in Goa in 1558 (*Mon. Laynez* III 233; DI IV 176), he studied moral theology and was ordained to the priesthood in 1559 so that he might accompany D. Gonçalo da Silveira on the Kaffir mission in Africa (DI IV 409; *Goa* 24, 132v). From 1560 to 1562 he worked with heroic sacrifice on the hopeless mission of Tongue, south of Sofala, until the provincial, after the slaying of Silveira, called him back to India (cf. his letters in DI IV 561-582; V 147-150; Laurenz Kilger, O.S.B., *Die erste Mission unter den Bantustämmen Ostafrikas*, Münster i.W., 1917; and our review of this in GS IV 888-891), where we encounter him in Goa in 1562 (DI V 543 634-648; VI 500) and in Cochin and, as superior, in Quilon in 1563-1565 (*ibid.* V 725-730; VI 128-132 149 151 374-376 405-407 500). He sailed as superior to Macao in 1565, where d'Escovar sent him greetings from Canton in November, 1565 (*JapSin.* 6, 87; Videira Pires 778), and Ribera found him in 1567 (*JapSin.* 6, 238; *Goa* 24, 132v; DI VII 591-592; Frois, *Geschichte* 26). In 1568 he was a missionary in Travancore (DI 602-603), and on November 30 was professed of three vows in Goa (original in *Lus.* I, 82-83). We find him in Vernã in 1569 (DI VIII 96), in Goa in 1571-1575 (*ibid.* 420 589; IX 475), in Travancore in 1577-1578 (*ibid.* X 504 818; XI 40 43 125), and in Goa from 1581 on (*Goa* 13, 75; 14, 121), where he died on March 22, 1598 (*Goa* 24, 308v). — When Ignatius sent André Fernandes from Rome to Portugal in 1555, he gave him a letter of recommendation in which he called him a "verus israelita, in quo non est dolus" (*MI Epp.* 9, 569). In 1560 these words of the founder of the order were quoted by Melchior Nunes Barreto, the provincial of India, in the information which he sent to the general Laynez on the confreres of his province with the following observation: "Lá podem ter conhecido sua pureza e simplicidade" (DI IV 521). In 1575 it was said of him that he was "faithful in everything, a friend of work and mortification, prompt to obey, and by nature hard on himself and on others" (*Goa* 24, 103). He was nevertheless universally loved as a superior, by his confreres and by externs (DI VI 151). Couto, who died in Goa in 1616, wrote an enthusiastic memorial on him, in which he ascribed the words of Ignatius to Xavier and continued on to say that he was a "varão apostólico, a que com razão posso chamar santo pela innocencia de sua vida. Viveu depois nesta cidade de Goa muitos annos com raro exemplo de virtude, e nella morreu homem de mais de noventa annos, e foi d'aquelles que recolheram no Companhia de Jesu em tempo do Beato padre Ignacio seu fundador. Muitas cousas

came from Campo Maior in Alemtejo.⁸⁸ He was over thirty⁸⁹ and had served many times as captain of warships⁹⁰ when Master Gaspar won him over for the Society in Ormuz in September, 1550.⁹¹ A man of extraordinary physical strength,⁹² he had, even as a soldier, always given his subordinates an example of a Christian life. When Dom Antão de Noronha sailed with his fleet from Ormuz in May, 1551, in order to drive the Turks out of al-Katif, and he and his soldiers wanted Barzaeus to sail with them at any cost, the latter had sent Fernandes with them in his place so that he might settle eventual disputes and encourage the men to battle. During the voyage there, they all, both soldiers and captains, had shown him great respect and affection. Master Gaspar envied him for his great virtue. When he left Ormuz, he hoped to take Fernandes with him to Japan, being sure that he would never fail in his vocation.⁹³ Alvaro Mendes,⁹⁴ a very virtuous and

pudéra dizer da virtude, vida e morte d'este varão santo, porque o communicamos muitos annos e fomos muito seu devoto" (*Vida de Paulo de Lima Pereira* [Lisboa, 1903] 188-189). Couto refers to his constant and fearless facing of death on the Kaffir mission (see also DI V 643-646). He showed this same fearlessness in Travancore in 1568 (*ibid.* VII 602-603; X 758 818; XI 41). With his courage Fernandes combined long experience in the world, great prudence, and a practical outlook that was free from all illusions. He was also a keen observer, as his humorous description of the Kaffirs in Tongue reveals: each one of these latter drank as much as three Germans, and ten together devoured a cow (DI V 638). It also reveals his cheerful temperament, which helped him surmount every difficulty and sacrifice (*ibid.* 646-648; VI 375). He never forgot Xavier's conferences in Goa in 1552, at which he was present. In them the priest had warned his confreres especially about any exaggerated self-esteem, and he had advised them to subject themselves humbly to their superiors. In his last extant letter to the general of the order, of 1593, Fernandes still recalled this advice that had been given by Xavier (*Goa* 14, 121-v). In 1589, as a confessor in Goa, he persuaded an eighteen-year-old soldier, Pedro Machado, who later became famous as Brother Pedro de Basto, to enter into the Society of Jesus (Queyroz, *Vida do Ven. Irmão Pedro de Basto* 25-33).

⁸⁸ *Goa* 24, 132v.

⁸⁹ In November, 1571, it was said that he was fifty-four years old and had been twenty-one years in the order (DI VIII 420). In December, 1584, it was said that he was sixty-four (*Goa* 24, 132v); in 1598, that he had died that year at the age of eighty-two (*Goa* 24, 308v; F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 538). In Africa the Kaffirs thought he was a hundred or older since he already had white hair (DI V 644-645).

⁹⁰ DI II 259. Valignano states that he was a "soldado homrrado" at the time of his entrance in Ormuz (279), and that when he came to Lisbon in 1553, an officer who had known his services in the Indian fleet was shocked at seeing him as a simple lay brother and invited him into his house (Franco, *Synopsis* 40).

⁹¹ *Goa* 24, 132v.

⁹² *Goa* 38, 144v.

⁹³ Barzaeus on December 15, 1551 (DI II 259).

⁹⁴ Alvaro Mendes, not to be confused with the brother of Mendes Pinto of the same name, was sent from Goa to Ormuz in March, 1552, in order to help Gonçalo Rodrigues, who had come from Portugal to Goa in September, 1551, and was immediately sent to Ormuz to take the place of Master Gaspar, who had been summoned to Japan (DI II 332). In Maskat Mendes boarded a small *terrada* (a swift native ship with sails and oars) in order to reach his destination more quickly. On the way his ship was attacked by three or four pirate vessels of the Nōdhakis (pirates from Beluchistan), from which he escaped only as by a miracle (*ibid.* 451-452). In Ormuz he daily taught Christian doctrine and served the sick in the hospital (*ibid.* 334) until, at the news of the arrival of the Turks, the captain of the fortress sent the four hundred native Christians of Ormuz to the fortress of Mināb on the Persian mainland. With them he sent Brother Gonçalo Rodrigues in order to assist them in spiritual and temporal concerns (*ibid.* 336-337 368-371; Polanco, *Chronicon* II 751-752). The Turks came on September 10 and besieged Ormuz (Q 4698). They were not driven off until October 22, when a Portuguese auxiliary fleet appeared from India (Q 4900). It was only then that Mendes was able to return with his Christians to Ormuz, where he and Rodrigues worked with great success (DI II 581). In 1555 we encounter the brother as minister in St. Paul's College in Goa (*ibid.* III 225). He seems to have died that same year.

exemplary young man,⁹⁵ was similarly received into the Society by Master Gaspar in Ormuz.⁹⁶ He too had gone with him to India in order to sail with him for Japan in April, 1552.⁹⁷

The rest of the confreres whom Xavier met in Goa had been received into the Society in Goa by Antonio Gomes during his absence. Melchior de Mello⁹⁸ was a *fidalgo* who had already studied three years of Latin when Barzaeus sent him in 1549 from Ormuz to Goa with the request that he be taken into St. Paul's College.⁹⁹ Versed in Sacred Scripture, he was pious, humble, and eager to accompany Xavier to China.¹⁰⁰ Simão de Vera,¹⁰¹ who was described by a confrere

⁹⁵ DI II 203 431.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 451.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 244 265.

⁹⁸ Melchior de Mello is first mentioned by Gago in the middle of October, 1549, among the confreres studying in Goa, "among whom are found some with great abilities and with a longing to suffer for their Lord" (DI I 568). Antonio Dias, who sailed from Goa to Ceylon in October, 1552, sent him and the other confreres in Goa greetings from there in December of that same year (*ibid.* II 537). At the beginning of 1553 he was in Cochin (*ibid.* 619). In the middle of July, Manuel de Moraes died in Goa. Soon after this Mello also died in Cochin (*ibid.* III 178). He is apparently the *fidalgo* who had studied three years of Latin and had been sent to St. Paul's College in Goa in 1549 by Barzaeus with the request that he be taken into the Society (*ibid.* I 687). Two of his letters are still extant. One is addressed to the confreres in Rome. In it he greets two persons: Poncio Cogordan and Miguel Botelho, and he recommends himself to their prayers. He asks Botelho to write to him in detail about affairs in Rome and to send him many spiritual things (*ibid.* II 407). The second letter is addressed to "the newly received confreres in Coimbra." He gives in it a copy of Manuel Pinto's letter to the bishop of Goa on the conversions made in Macassar; and he urges the addressees to come to India, where such a great harvest is beckoning to them, and where there is a lack of laborers (*ibid.* 414-424). Cogordan, who had been born in Province in southern France in 1501, had entered in Paris in 1541 and, already a priest, had helped to found the college of the Society in Coimbra in June, 1542. There he became the principal confessor of the city (see his letter to Ignatius from the beginning of 1545 in *Ep. Mixtae* I 182-193, and F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 305 308 322 354). He remained in Coimbra until the end of 1544 and then, in 1545, went to Rome (*Fabri Monumenta* 325; *Ep. Mixtae* I 182, note; and F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 142 357-358), where he took the place of Codacio as procurator general of the Society after the latter's death. Miguel Botelho was born in Lisbon in 1525 and entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on January 27, 1544. He studied philosophy and the beginnings of theology there until Rodrigues sent him to Rome in 1547. He remained there until October, 1549, and was then sent to Palermo, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1554 (cf. Scaduto, *Catalogo* 20; Polanco, *Chron.* IV 211; F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 435). Mello could therefore have become acquainted with both of them in 1544, when he was studying Latin in Coimbra.

⁹⁹ In his letter of December 1, 1549, Barzaeus states that he had sent the ailing Reimão Pereira and the *fidalgo* to Goa (DI I 617 630); in his second *via* of December 10, 1549, he states the same (*ibid.* 669 687). He sent Pereira away before the return of the soldiers from Magostān (*ibid.* 618). These returned at the end of October. He consequently must have sent Pereira away in September, since the voyage lasted as a rule fifteen days (*ibid.* 269), and in the middle of October he was already studying in Goa. Mello probably also sailed with him.

¹⁰⁰ On this see his two letters, one of which, the letter to his confreres in Coimbra, is practically an anthology from Scripture and St. Augustine.

¹⁰¹ The antecedents of Simão de Vera are unknown. He is mentioned for the first time on April 12, 1552, in the College of St. Paul (EX II 377). He was a porter in 1554 (DI III 189). In 1555 he was an assistant of Father Eredia in Ormuz (*ibid.* 226 411). In April, 1557, he set sail with Father Francisco Vieira and Nicolau Nunes, who had been ordained to the priesthood in Goa, and Father Antonio Fernandes and Brothers Fernão do Souro and Alberto de Araujo for Ternate, where they arrived in October (*ibid.* 689; SR VI 342). Vieira remained as superior on Ternate and immediately sent the rest to the Moro mission, where Affonso de Castro was waiting for them. While they were there, at the beginning of December, the captain of Ternate imprisoned King

as a "great example of virtue,"¹⁰² was received in Goa by Antonio Gomes in 1549 as a lay brother.¹⁰³ Antonio Fernandes,¹⁰⁴ a New Christian, was about nineteen years old. He had already studied some Latin¹⁰⁵ and had entered in Goa two years before.¹⁰⁶ In the college there was also a second Antonio Fernandes,¹⁰⁷

Hairun. This brought about a war between the Ternatans and the Portuguese and a severe persecution of the Christians. Castro was summoned back to Ternate. On his voyage there, he fell into the hands of the Moors and was cruelly murdered by them at the end of December, since he had refused to renounce his faith. The village [Sao = Tjawol] where Father Antonio Fernandes was with Simão de Vera passed over to the Ternatans, and during his hasty flight the priest had to leave many things behind, including the sack with the brother's effects in it. The missionaries withdrew to Tolo, the main village of the mission. On February 5, 1558, Nunes wrote from there that Brother de Vera had been taken by a fever and was suffering from severe deliria. Since there were no medicines available, there was probably no hope for him (the letter is contained in two drafts. The shorter one is given in the *Codex Eborensis* and published in Sá II 304-306. We follow the longer text in *Codex Ulyssiponensis* II 517v-518). Soon afterwards the Portuguese garrison and the missionaries had to abandon Tolo and the Moro mission and withdraw to Ternate. Simão de Vera died before their departure. In November, 1559, Frois was able to give a report of his death from Goa (DI IV 287).

¹⁰² According to Frois in 1559 (*ibid.* 287).

¹⁰³ According to Valignano, he was accepted by A. Gomes while Xavier was in Japan (179).

¹⁰⁴ Antonio Fernandes preached with such success to the imprisoned pagans and Moors in Goa that forty of them declared that they were ready to accept Christianity (DI II 485). In 1552, after the rainy season, he was sent with Aleixo Madeira to Cape Comorin (*ibid.* 451). We encounter him with Lancilotto in Quilon in 1554-1555. The latter praised him on January 12, 1555, for his work (*ibid.* III 223). After studying Latin for a short time (*ibid.* IV 449), he was ordained to the priesthood. In April, 1557, he was sent to the Moluccas, where he worked with Simão de Vera on Morotai and had to flee with him to Tolo. After Vera's death he had to return to Ternate (Sá II 307; Rebello 399; Bartoli, *Asia* 6, 18). Tired of the war, the Portuguese in Ternate freed King Hairun after he had been in prison for two years and twenty-five days. They arrested the captain of the fortress, Dom Duarte de Eça, and sent him back to India on the ship of D. Jorge de Eça (Bartoli, *Asia* 6, 18; Rebello 494-495; Couto, 7, 5, 3). Antonio Fernandes, "mal aviado ou meio saído," as Quadros wrote from Cochin on January 14, 1561 (DI V 69 316), also sailed with him; and in Goa he took over the second Latin class (*ibid.* 261). In April, 1562, the viceroy sent the captain Antonio Pais to the help of Amboina and Antonio Fernandes and Brother Antonio Gonçalves along with him (Sá II 293 433). They arrived there on February 24, 1563 (*ibid.* III 41), and on June 19 Fernandes could give an account of his mission labors (*ibid.* 56-60). Despite the constant battles with the Moors, he had already baptized three thousand on the island of Seran in 1564 and had sailed with Nicolau Nunes to Batjan, from where they had taken the king to Ternate in order to have him baptized there (*ibid.* 95 97). The catalog of the province drawn up in Goa still names him in December, 1565, as a missionary on the Moluccas (DI VI 630). He died in 1566 (cf. the "list of deceased from 1557 to 1623 in ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 42, 37r). — Different judgments were given in his regard. On January 12, 1555, Lancilotto wrote from Quilon that he had two brothers with him. One of these was named Antonio Fernandes, who had already been for a year with him "e deu mui boa conta de sy ateguora, e estou mui contento delle" (DI II 223). In 1559 Carneiro noted that he was with Father Vieira in Maluco, and that he was "colérico i poco mortificado; no conoci en él mucha obediencia un poco de tiempo que lo conversé en Cochim; es christiano novo, sabe latim" (*ibid.* IV 420). Cabral, on the other hand, wrote that he was twenty-six years old and nine or ten years in the Society, and that "parece-me firme nella e com desejo de crecer na virtude" (*ibid.* 499).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* III 223.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* IV 420 449.

¹⁰⁷ Brother Antonio Fernandes sailed for Ternate in April, 1553, and arrived there in October. Already at the beginning of February, 1554, Beira sent him from there to Amboina, where the Christians had been abandoned since the death of Ribeiro. With him he sent a candidate, Vicente Pereira (Sá II 131 133 136-137 141-142). He arrived there on February 22 and gave an account of his work on February 28 (*ibid.* 139-142). In a

a lay brother who was an Old Christian. Brother João Lopes was meek, humble, and obedient, but of poor health.¹⁰⁸ Jerónimo Fernandes,¹⁰⁹ a New Christian,¹¹⁰ was around twenty years old¹¹¹ and had entered in 1550¹¹² as a scholastic.¹¹³ His health was weak,¹¹⁴ but he had a good talent for studies.¹¹⁵ In 1550 Duarte da Silva¹¹⁶ had also entered in India.¹¹⁷ He was some twenty-five years old¹¹⁸ when

short time he baptized around 1,300 individuals (DI III 561). Twenty days after his arrival he was shipwrecked and drowned as he sought to visit a neighboring island with his companion (Sá II 143-144). Our two Antonio Fernandes are to be distinguished from seven others of the same name who are mentioned in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁸ See the judgment on him in DI IV 467 515. João Lopes entered in India (*ibid.* II 585) and was sent to help Cypriano in San Thomé at the end of 1552. He remained there with him until the latter's death in 1559. Already in January, 1553, Barzaeus wrote of him that he was ill because of his many labors in San Thomé (*ibid.*). He gave instructions there in Christian doctrine (*ibid.* 226) and remained there for some time, very ill, after the death of the priest (*ibid.* IV 467 515 867). He returned to Goa, where he was ordained to the priesthood in 1561 and was minister in St. Paul's College (*ibid.* V 288). In February, 1562, he was sent to Socotra with Father Gaspar Coelho, but he died shortly after his arrival from the feverish climate of the island (*ibid.* 240 524).

¹⁰⁹ In December, 1554, Jerónimo Fernandes was sent from Goa to Quilon in order to help Lancilotto in the school. He had already studied some Latin, and during his free time he privately continued his study of it along with Antonio Fernandes. Lancilotto was pleased with the good will of his two assistants (DI II 223), but he was himself suffering from tuberculosis and had already suffered a relapse when he began his voyage back to Goa with Fernandes in December, 1555, so that he might die there. When however, on the advice of his physicians, he sailed back to Quilon, Fernandes remained in Goa, where he served as porter and then as infirmarian. He then studied Latin for a month and finally had to teach it, as he wrote to his friend André de Carvalho on December 6, 1556 (*ibid.* III 584-589). He was in Thāna in 1557 (*ibid.* 715). In 1558 he was ordained to the priesthood in Goa (*ibid.* IV 186). In 1559 he was sent to Malacca (*ibid.* 304) "mal disposto e fraco" (*ibid.* 402). There he found the teaching of Christian doctrine still in full bloom, and he wrote to his confreres in Europe on December 2, 1561: "Este bom odor lhe ficou ainda de noso bendito P. Mestre Francisquo que a ensinou aqui algum tempo" (*ibid.* V 309). In 1562 he had already lost much blood from his lungs (*ibid.* 667). He returned to India in 1564 (*ibid.* VI 325), where we encounter him in 1565-1566 in Rachol and Divar "mal desposto" (*ibid.* 627; VII 73). He is last mentioned in Bassein in November, 1571 (*ibid.* VIII 416). — The judgments on him are on the whole favorable: "firm in his vocation, a good man, devoted to prayer, desirous of perfection." But they also note that he held too much to his own opinion (*ibid.* IV 402 421 449), and in 1566 it was said of him that he was naturally proud (*ibid.* VII 73). Since his name is missing in the letters and lists of the dead, crossed off in his letter of December 6, 1556, in *Codex Eborensis*, and omitted in *Codex Ulyssiponensis* II 62 (DI III 223, nn. 26 and 589, apparatus), he apparently left the Society.

¹¹⁰ "É tido por christão-novo," according to the catalog of 1566 (DI VII 73).

¹¹¹ According to the same catalog of December 2, 1566, he was at the time thirty-four, and would thus have been born in 1532 (*ibid.*). The same year of birth is indicated by Carneiro's observation of November 20, 1559, that he was twenty-seven years old (*ibid.* IV 421), whereas Cabral wrote about the same time that he was twenty-five (*ibid.* 449).

¹¹² On January 12, 1555, Lancilotto wrote that Jerónimo and Antonio Fernandes had already been in the order for four years (*ibid.* III 223). In November, 1559, he was said to have been in for nine (*ibid.* IV 449), in December, 1566, that he had been received in India and was already sixteen years in the order (*ibid.* VII 73).

¹¹³ In 1566 it was stated that he had taken the vows of a scholastic fourteen years before (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁴ The judgments given on him in 1559 mention his poor health. According to Quadros, he was "muito mal desposto e fraco" (*ibid.* IV 402); according to Cabral, "muito enfermo" (*ibid.* 449); according to Gonçalo da Silveira, "flaco de salud mucho" (*ibid.* 467); and according to Nunes Barreto in 1560, "doente" (*ibid.* 515).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 421 449.

¹¹⁶ In 1552 Duarte da Silva sailed from Malacca with Gago and Alcáçova for Bungo with the return gift of the viceroy for the king. In October, 1553, Alcáçova returned to India, while Silva remained in Yamaguchi with Torres and Juan Fernández (Alcáçova's

Xavier met him in Goa. Without any higher education,¹¹⁹ he was intelligent,¹²⁰ full of zeal for making conversions,¹²¹ and scrupulous in the fulfillment of all his religious duties;¹²² but he was not too strong.¹²³ Amador Correa¹²⁴ was over

letter in *Cartas* 1598, 23-28; Frois, *Geschichte* 29-30). There he very soon learned Japanese and was already able to preach in Bungo in 1555 (see his letter from Bungo of September 10, 1555, in *JapSin.* 4, 43-47v; abbreviated in *Cartas* 1598, 42v-47). In 1556 Yamaguchi was burned down by the rebels. Torres then went to Bungo (*Cartas* 1598, 51; Frois 50-51). Melchior Nunes Barreto consequently encountered the priests Torres and Gago and the brothers Juan Fernández, Luis de Almeida, who had entered in Japan, and Silva in Funai (Ōita), the capital of Bungo, in July, 1556. In November of this same year Barreto again sailed away (Ayres, *Subsidios* 100 108). From 1555 to 1563 Silva worked with great zeal in Bungo, where he preached along with Juan Fernández and served the sick in the hospital which had been founded by Almeida (*Cartas* 1598, 50 77 78v; Frois, *Geschichte* 71 112-113). He then went with a charter of the king of Bungo from Funai to Kawajiri on the southwestern boundary of the kingdom, where he zealously preached and learned how to read and write Chinese characters from a bonze. When he fell seriously ill because of his excessive labors and severe penances, Torres sent him Brother Almeida, who found him reduced to a skeleton. Since medicines proved to be of no avail, the ailing brother wished to see Father Torres, who was living in Takase seven leagues away, before he died. He was taken there by Almeida on a ship and died ten days after his arrival, at the end of April or the beginning of May, 1564, "a shining example of patience and humility and of many other virtues" (Frois, *Geschichte* 199-200; Almeida's letter of October 14, 1564, in *Cartas* 1598, 154v-157). Almeida ended his obituary with the following: "He fell ill from his very exertions in preaching day and night without thinking of eating and drinking, for I never saw such a zealous brother. He was never idle for a single hour, and he thus learned not only the Japanese, but also the very difficult Chinese, script. He composed a Japanese grammar and a very comprehensive dictionary. His great longing to herald the law of God caused him to undertake more work than his mortified body could bear. The penitential practices which he took upon himself during that first time after his coming to Japan can neither be described nor told" (*Cartas* 1598, 156-v).

¹¹⁷ Ginnaro, who was the source for later authors such as Nieremberg, erroneously states that Silva had entered in Portugal and had sailed as a novice to India (*Saverio Orientale*, t. 1, l. 2, 335). Contemporary sources know nothing of his reception in Portugal. His life is consequently missing even in Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa, Evora, and Coimbra*. In November, 1559, Cabral wrote that he had been nine years in the order (DI IV 448). He thus entered in 1550. In this year no Jesuits sailed for India.

¹¹⁸ Ginnaro writes that Silva was thirty-seven when he died, and that he had been fourteen years in the order (337). The sources which he gives in his biography of the brother have nothing about this. He apparently took this data from a now lost Japanese catalog. In November, 1559, Cabral wrote that he was twenty-three, and nine years in the order (DI IV 448). The original with Cabral's signature clearly has "23." Can this be an error for "32"? It is hardly likely that Silva entered the order at fourteen and at sixteen was sent by Xavier to Japan. Silva's letter of September 10, 1555, gives evidence of mature authorship.

¹¹⁹ Cabral calls him an "idiota," that is, one who knew no Latin.

¹²⁰ This is indicated by his letter of September 10, 1555, by his rapid acquisition of Japanese, and by his composition of a Japanese grammar. Nunes Barreto, who met him in Japan in 1556, wrote of him: "Sabe mui bem a lingua, em que nom tenha o *muxaree* que os japões acham em Joam Fernández" (DI IV 512).

¹²¹ See his obituary in Almeida's letter of October 14, 1564.

¹²² In 1559 Nunes Barreto wrote of him: "Muito boom Irmão, pore mui escrupuloso e desenquietado de diversos spiritos de temores, e outras cousas que o perturbão, . . . faz fruido e parecia quaise igual na virtude a Joam Fernández, posto que não tam constante" (DI IV 512).

¹²³ Cabral wrote in 1559: "Creio não ter muitas forças corporais" (*ibid.* 448).

¹²⁴ From 1552 to 1560 Amador Correa taught reading, writing, and Christian doctrine in the elementary school in Goa (*ibid.* II 343-344 469; III 16*; IV 292 303 732). He also helped there in the mass conversions of 1559 and 1560 (*ibid.* IV 329 655 680 685 865) and pronounced his vows as a scholastic there in 1553 (*ibid.* VII 78). He was in Cochín from 1561 to 1565, first as a teacher of the elementary classes (*ibid.* V 248 403 620), and in 1564 as a Latin student. In this year he also wrote the interesting and detailed annual

twenty when he entered the Society in Goa in 1551¹²⁵ and exchanged his soldier's uniform for that of a scholastic novice,¹²⁶ since he wished to become a priest.¹²⁷ He was not too well and inclined to melancholy.¹²⁸ Master Francis advised him to always remember that the influence and edification of the Society depended upon each individual member. He should consequently strive to live up to this great obligation.¹²⁹

Teixeira, who had to serve Xavier,¹³⁰ later described him in the following terms:¹³¹

Father Master Francis was of a good and strong build,¹³² rather large than small. His face was well proportioned, fair, and reddish in color,¹³³ cheerful and most charming.¹³⁴ His eyes were between black and chestnut in color,¹³⁵ his brow broad, his hair and beard black.¹³⁶ His dress was poor but clean. He wore a cassock without a belt or mantle, as was the custom of the priests of India; and when he walked he raised it with both his hands a little above his breast. He usually had his eyes raised

report of the college (*ibid.* VI 165-181) and a private letter in which he recalled Xavier's words when the latter admonished him in 1552 (*ibid.* 430). At the end of 1565 he was subminister in Goa (*ibid.* 625), and he was still there as a brother in December, 1567 (*ibid.* VII 411). He was then ordained and sent to Bassein in 1569, where he was carried off by a fever a few days after his arrival (*ibid.* VIII 62).

¹²⁵ He was said to be twenty-nine years old and nine years in the order in November, 1559 (*ibid.* IV 461). In December, 1566, he was thirty-four years old and fifteen years in the order, and he had entered in India (*ibid.* VII 76). Since he did not take his vows as a scholastic until 1553, he probably entered in 1551.

¹²⁶ In 1564 he wrote from Cochín to the brothers of the college: "Alguns dos que aquy estamos, saymos de vida de soldados" (*ibid.* VI 169).

¹²⁷ In 1559 Cabral wrote of him: "Insina na escolla a escrever e contar, e não creio que se quietará só com isto" (*ibid.* IV 461).

¹²⁸ In November, 1559, Quadros wrote of him: "Mal desposto e mui malenconizado, sayo-se da Companhia averá hum anno e agora não está nella firme" (*ibid.* 403-404). Cabral wrote that he "naturalmente hé malenconizado" (*ibid.* 461), and Gonçalves da Silveira that he was "en la virtud y cuerpo flaco" (*ibid.* 472).

¹²⁹ He wrote to a confrere in Portugal in 1565: "Em especial fuy consolado em me trazer à memoria huma cousa, de que me tenho pouco aproveitado por meu descuido, a qual me encommendou muito o nosso bem-aventurado Padre Mestre Francisco, que hé cuidadosos e cuidar cada hum de nós em particular que o peso e edificação da Companhia está em nossa propria pessoa, e assym trabalhar de correspondermos a tamanho peso e obrigação" (*ibid.* VI 430). — Little is known of two more confreres whom Xavier met in Goa in 1552: Estevão Limpo and Vicente Machado. Both greeted Antonio Dias on December 15, 1552 (*ibid.* II 537). Vicente Machado is probably to be identified with the Vicente Camacho mentioned in the catalog for the beginning of 1553 in Goa (*ibid.* 620). On September 10, 1555, Duarte da Silva wrote from Bungo that he had received a letter this year of 1555 from Manuel de Távora, who was going to Malacca to fetch Xavier's body. He wrote about the confreres Simão de Vera, Polycarpo [Frois], Vicente Camacho, Baltasar Nunes, and André Fernandes, who were all making the Exercises (*JapSin.* 4, 46v, 2a via).

¹³⁰ DI IV 804.

¹³¹ The original Portuguese text of the description, which Teixeira added after the death of Xavier, is lost. The Italian translation (P. 2, c. 25), which Tursellinus had (5, 12), varies somewhat from the Spanish (MX II 882). Though it is abbreviated at the end, it is at times more exact.

¹³² "Di giusta statura et corpulento" (It.), "corpore Franciscus fuit satis amplo robustoque" (Turs.). The Spanish translation omits these words.

¹³³ "Mediocramente bianco" (It.), "blanco y colorado" (Sp.), "colore candido" (Turs.).

¹³⁴ "Molto alegre" (It.), "alegre y de muy buena gracia" (Sp.), "facie honesta ac liberali, vultu hilari quidem, sed vivo et ardenti" (Turs.).

¹³⁵ "Gli occhi fra nero et colore di castagna" (It.), "los ojos negros" (Sp.), "caesiis vegetisque oculis" (Turs.).

¹³⁶ "Li capeli et la barba nera" (It.), "el cabello y barba negra" (Sp.), "naso modico, barba et capillo natura nigro, sed iam aetate aut curis potius cano" (Turs.).

to heaven, at the sight of which they say he received special consolation and joy as from the homeland to which he expected to go; and thus his face was so joyful and inflamed that it caused much joy to all who saw him. And it happened at times that some of the brethren happened to feel sad and as a means to cheer themselves up they would go to see him. He was very affable with externs, cheerful and friendly with those of the house, especially with those whom he believed to be humble and simple, and who had a low opinion and regard for themselves; but on the other hand he showed himself severe, grave, and at times rigorous with those who were proud and had a high concept and opinion of themselves until they came to know and humble themselves; and that is what he advised superiors to do. He was one who ate little ¹³⁷ but, to avoid being singular when he was with others, he would eat something of all that was offered to him. He took very special care of those who were sick, for whom he had great compassion as he showed as soon as he arrived here; for immediately after he had embraced his brothers, he asked if there were any who were ill in the house. When he was told that there were, he went to visit them right away before he entered his own room. . . . At that time when he arrived in Goa, he was visited by many people of the city because of the great respect and love which all had for him; and he received them with great affability and kindness, going as soon as they called to receive and speak with them, so that he sometimes had to interrupt the Hours which he had begun to pray six or seven times so that he might go to receive and speak with those who had come to call on him; and just as often he would recommence the Hours with such devotion as if he had been at prayer all along. ¹³⁸

Xavier had taken to his heart the young, only sixteen-year-old novice Teixeira, whose innocence shone forth from his eyes. ¹³⁹ About this time, as a substitute for the reading at table, Francis had the confreres give a detailed account of their earlier lives in the refectory—where they were from, who were their parents, what lowly offices they had held in the world, the propensities which they had had, and the errors into which they had fallen (with the exception of serious sins). Xavier would then summarize what they had said. As he did so, he would first humble, and then encourage them with the sure hope of future glory; and he would give a very effective remedy for everything on the basis of his own experience. He would ask others in the presence of the rest what method they used in the examination of their conscience and for confession, and he showed them how they could better themselves in these. ¹⁴⁰

The first to mount the reading pulpit was the young Teixeira. He did well, and in the midst of his report, Xavier turned to one next to him at table and said:

"Do you not hear how well my son Teixeira expresses himself?"

He then turned to the speaker and said:

"Yes, Brother Teixeira, I said that you perform your task very well."

A second confrere, Francisco Durão, was especially dear to Xavier because of his dovelike simplicity.

"Brother," the priest told him one day, "pay attention to my failings and also ask the others about them and then come back and tell them to me!"

¹³⁷ "Era molto temperato nel mangiare et bere" (It.). "Era hombre de poco comer" (Sp.).

¹³⁸ The preceding is not in the Italian text.

¹³⁹ Melchior Nunes Barreto said of him in 1560: "Manoel Teixeira há 10 annos que está na Companhia, sempre constante em sua vocação; e como entrou de pouca idade, hé tam puro que a pureza interior se mostra no exterior" (DI IV 508). In 1559 Quadros described him as "bom filho, mas menino na condição" (*ibid.* 403).

¹⁴⁰ According to Frois on December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* II 453: *Soeiro 193v).

At Mass Master Francis was accustomed to hurry before the Consecration in order that before the Communion he might have his Lord longer present with him in the Host. The novice consequently returned and reported to him the results of his investigations:

"They say, Father, that Your Reverence is a saint, that you say Mass too quickly, and that at the *Lavabo* Your Reverence strikes the little jug with the chalice."

This was all that he knew. Xavier however answered him as follows:

"Brother Durão, you have not paid good attention; go and pay attention and ask in detail and then come back!"

On another occasion, when all the priests and brothers of the college were together, he ordered Durão to say something about God. Since the novice could think of nothing else to say, he began to speak of the sufferings of Christ. After the priest had listened to him for some time, he said to him:

"Brother, we all know the Passion of Christ. We would now like to hear something about our own passions and failings. Now therefore begin with these."

And Durão did this also with all the thoroughness that could have been expected.¹⁴¹

6. THE "PADRE SANTO" (FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1552)¹

Xavier had each of his new confreres come to him so that he might ask them about their previous lives and give them pertinent advice for their spiritual progress. But it was his own example that had the most influence upon them all. Throughout the whole of India he was called the *Padre santo*,² not only by the Christians but also by the pagans and Mohammedans, who showed him their respect.³

¹⁴¹ According to *Soeiro 193v.

¹ On Xavier's spirituality, see the following: Quadros in 1555 (DI III 329-354); *Teixeira It. in 1582 (P. 3, c. 7-8a); Tursellinus in 1596 (6, 5-18; *Lacerda in 1615 (Lisbon, RProcess I, 102v-109v); the *minutes of the auditors in 1618 (Q 6221a, ff. 89-117v 291-310); the *Relatio of 1619 (Q 6223, ff. 9v-49); *Confalonierius in 1624 (Q 4236, ff. 355v-417v); Bartoli, *Asia*, in 1653 (4, 38-53); Brou in 1912 (II 276-284); Laborde, *L'Esprit de Saint François Xavier* (Bordeaux, 1920; an Italian translation of Laborde was published with new citations under the title of *Lo Spirito ed il Cuore di S. Francesco Saverio* [Alba, 1923, 1939], and a Spanish translation under the title of Laborde-Testore, *El Espiritu de San Francisco Javier* [Bilbao-Madrid, 1943]); Testore, *S. Francesco Saverio* (Alba, 1932); Schurhammer, *Der heilige Franz Xavier* (Freiburg im Br., 1925) 237-248; "François de Xavier," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* V (1963) 1099-1107, reprinted in GS III 207-216 with further bibliography); Ubillos, *El Espiritu de San-Francisco Javier* (Bilbao, 1946). See the indices in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier* I-IV. — Laborde cites Xavier's letters mostly from Cros, Testore from MX I, Schurhammer from the critical edition of 1944-1945. [See also Xavier Leon-Dufour, S.J., *Saint François Xavier: Itinéraire mystique de l'Apôtre* (Paris, 1953; this has been translated by H. P. Oiz, S.J., under the title *Saint Francis Xavier: The Mystical Progress of the Apostle* [Bombay, 1976]). — Translator's addition.]

² See the following letters in DI I: Lancilotto 133, Lobo 269, H. Henriques 280, Melchior Gonçalves 311-312, Baltasar Nunes 317-318, Pérez 367, Barzaeus 402, Paulo do Vale 431-432, Vicente de Lagos 453, Morais junior 460-462, A. Gomes 519; and in DI II: Melchior Nunes Barreto 494-495; MX II 137-138, and testimonies, *ibid.* 272 304 306 312 316 382 384 390 487-489; also Vols. II, p. 23, and III, pp. 28 196. On Xavier's call to holiness see Lopetegui, "San Francisco Javier y San Ignacio de Loyola," *Studia Missionalia* VII (1953) 2-17.

³ Cf. Pérez (DI I 367-368), Frois (*ibid.* 531), the testimonies in MX II 311 422-423 425 427, and Lisbon RProcess I 184v.

An ardent love for Christ, his King, enlightened his whole being. On one occasion Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote from Bassein to his confreres in Coimbra:

At the beginning of February God our Lord unexpectedly wished to bring Padre Mestre Francisco to us from Japão, and I believe that he came more moved by divine inspiration than by human reason because of the great need there was for his coming to put in order the things of the Society in these parts of India. What joy was brought to my soul by his arrival, you can know, my Brothers, when you reflect what it is to see a man on earth whose conversation is in heaven, though he walks here below. O my Brothers, what virtues I saw in him in the few days that I conversed with him! O what a heart, so afire with the love of God! With what flames it is burning with love for his neighbor! O what zeal for helping souls that are sick or dead! What diligence in reviving them and restoring them to the state of grace, since he is a servant of Christ for the most important work here on earth, that is, the justification of the impious and of the sinner! O what affability he has, always smiling with a calm and cheerful face, always smiling but never laughing: always smiling because he ever has a spiritual joy.... And still he never laughs, since he is always self-recollected, and he never abandons himself to creatures.⁴

This was the impression which the "holy father" made upon all with whom he dealt. In the midst of the toils and hardships of the broiling Fishery Coast, his heart burned with an intense love for God and overflowed with such delights that it threatened to burst with joy. He thus asked Him either to diminish them or to take him to Himself in the happiness of heaven, since all these consolations made him feel more keenly that he was still a pilgrim on earth, far from the Beatific Vision.⁵ In the church of São Thomé he had been accustomed to spend many hours of the night in prayer;⁶ and in Malacca, when Antonio and Diogo Pereira and Rodrigo de Sequeira watched him at night between the cracks of the palm-leaf walls, they found him kneeling for the greater portion of the time before his crucifix in profound prayer.⁷ Bravo, the novice who used to sleep in the sacristy of the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte with Xavier before the latter's departure for Japan, found him kneeling at night in the church, or, if he was tired, prostrate on the steps of the altar, or resting on his hands in prayer, since wherever it was possible he used to sleep in a place where he could rise unnoticed at night for prayer.⁸ A secular priest who sheltered him in his home on several occasions saw him at night leaning against a chair absorbed in prayer, since he could not find a better place for this.⁹ When Francis' friends sought him in Ternate, they found him in quiet contemplation in the denseness of a forest, or scourging himself so that he might share in the sufferings of his Lord.¹⁰ On the Moro Islands where, in the midst of uncertain friends and Moorish foes and in the face of great privations and constant dangers of death, he sought to bring salvation to the natives, he experienced a greater abundance of consolations than he had ever before in his life; and he wrote to his confreres that one could there lose one's sight from shedding tears of joy.¹¹ In Japan he walked barefooted

⁴ Letter of December 7, 1552, in DI II 494-495. On Xavier's love of God, see Laborde 5-10.

⁵ EX I 174-175 (Vol. II, pp. 338-340); cf. Quadros in DI III 333.

⁶ Quadros in DI III 332-333 (Vol. II, pp. 588-593).

⁷ Quadros in DI III 333-334 (Vol. III, pp. 28-29), MX II 201-213.

⁸ Teixeira 875, *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7; Tursellinus 6, 5.

⁹ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7; Tursellinus 6, 5. The priest with whom he lived was Pedro Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochín, the only one with whom Xavier frequently resided.

¹⁰ Teixeira 875, *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7.

¹¹ EX I 379-380 (Vol. III, p. 187), Quadros in DI III 333.

in the face because of the great reverence which they felt for him.¹⁷ Gonçalo Fernandes, a close friend of the saintly priest, would only receive him kneeling with his family; and whenever Diogo Pereira spoke to him, it was always with his head uncovered.¹⁸

Francis' room in St. Paul's College was near the bell tower of the church, and it was there that he would withdraw after his noon meal to pray. When he had to go out, he took with him a native student, Andreas Vaz, as his companion. The latter, a son of a Brahman family from the large village of Carambolim near Goa, was one of the first and best students of the college.¹⁹ In 1548 he had already learned Latin,²⁰ and in 1549 he had made the Exercises under Cosme de Torres.²¹ At the time that Francis returned from Japan, he was seventeen years old. One day Francis asked him to wake him up at two in the afternoon since he had some important business to discuss with the viceroy. When Andreas came at the designated time, he found him seated in a chair with his face inflamed, his eyes raised towards heaven, and in a trance. His caller shuffled his feet, rattled the door, and coughed aloud, but Xavier was oblivious to it all. It was only later, when Andreas came again and tugged at his clothing, that Francis came to himself. "My son," he asked, "is it already time?" Andreas replied: "Father, the clock has already struck four." Francis said: "Let us go, my son!" He then went hurriedly through the streets of the city with his young companion. Still carried away from himself, he failed to notice where he was going until finally, as night fell, he returned to the college without having visited the viceroy. "Son," he told Andreas, "we shall have time for that some other day. God wished this day for Himself."²²

Perhaps it was one of the two chapels, of S. Antão and S. Jerónimo, whose names were later changed (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 39).—The Xavier chapel, near which, according to tradition the saint had his ecstasy, and near the door of which he planted a jackfruit tree, and in which he composed, according to F. N. Xavier, the sonnet "No me mueve, Dios," was in 1861, at the time of his writing, for the most part in ruins (*Resumo* 116-119), but it was rebuilt in 1884 (Saldanha, *Hist.* II 22).

¹⁷ Quadros (DI III 332).

¹⁸ *Lacerda in Lisbon RProcess I 103-v.

¹⁹ DI IV 658. He is named among the best pupils in the college in 1547 (*ibid.* I 221). In 1557 he had already received the subdiaconate or diaconate, and he was helping in the church of S. João in his native town as a catechist and interpreter for the priests in their preaching and hearing of confessions (*ibid.* III 725-726). In 1558 he was the first native to be ordained to the priesthood. His parents were present for this, and he was appointed the parish priest of Carambolim (*ibid.* 725; IV 192-193 658). He is mentioned in 1565 for the last time as the priest of the village (*O Chronista de Tissuary* 4 [1869] 68). He seems to have died in this same year, since the archbishop, lacking a replacement, handed the parish over to the Jesuits, who took possession of it in November (DI VI 542 618).

²⁰ DI I 411.

²¹ *Ibid.* 478.

²² We give the report according to Lacerda's text in Lisbon RProcess I 103v-104, to which Lucena refers in 1600. In Tursellinus, as in Lacerda, Xavier wishes to visit the viceroy because of an important matter, and Tursellinus adds: "Postero igitur die Proregem adit placatque" (3, 14). But in Lucena the viceroy becomes the governor D. João de Castro, and the anecdote is therefore set back to 1548. According to him the ailing governor had already handed the rule over to others, and Xavier was accustomed to visit and console him (6, 4). He is followed in this by Seb. Gonçalves (3, 20) and Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 30), whereas Bartoli, following Tursellinus, retains the viceroy (*Asia* 4, 39). We follow Lacerda for the following reasons: (1) Lacerda, who had been born in India and had entered the Society in Goa in 1557, had received his account from Andreas Vaz himself. According to him Xavier wished to see the viceroy about an important matter. The viceroy must therefore have been D. Affonso de Noronha, and

Francis celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with great devotion, and the fact that he had to omit it so frequently during his long voyages at sea was a source of grief to him.²³ When he celebrated Mass, his face seemed to shine like that of an angel, and he frequently wept from the excess of his feelings, particularly at the Consecration and Communion.²⁴ At times those who were present at his Mass shared his emotions;²⁵ and more than once he was seen enraptured and suspended near the altar, as was noted by Dr. Saraiva in Malacca,²⁶ by the king of the Maldives in Cochin,²⁷ and also by others.²⁸ Before the Communion he recited a prayer in Latin which he had composed himself. It ran as follows:²⁹

the year 1552. Xavier met him in Goa and had to speak with him about the China embassy and voyage and many other important matters of government. Castro received his appointment as viceroy during the night of May 20-21, 1548, sixteen days before he died. At this time he was already deathly ill, and before April 26 he had already handed over to others all of his administration. Xavier had already met him in March in Bassein and thus had no further matters of importance to discuss with the ailing governor in Goa, not even as his confessor, since this office was held by Frey Antonio do Casal. (2) According to Lacerda, Andreas Vaz was at the time of his visit seventeen years old, and thus twenty-three when he was ordained in 1558. If he had been seventeen in 1548, he would not have been ordained to the priesthood until he was twenty-seven. This seems unlikely since he was one of the most gifted students in the college and was already teaching Latin in 1548.—Bartoli gives a further anecdote which is not mentioned by any witness or author before him: A raging elephant was making a square in Goa unsafe. Everyone fled, but Xavier came on absorbed in God and did not notice the animal. People called to him from a distance, but without success. The raging elephant however turned suddenly around and did not injure him (*Asia* 4, 39). Bartoli, as usual, gives no source for this incident. Xavier is here apparently confused with the Franciscan Frey Christovão Tambaranha. He was a native of Alcacer do Sal and the first guardian of the monastery of S. Antonio, which was founded there in 1524. He later went to India and returned from there to Portugal, where he died in Montemor o Novo. One day he was busy with the construction of the monastery of S. Francisco when an elephant became mad and intent on killing the workers. When it went after the priest, its driver, a Nāyar, called out to the animal in his native tongue: "Tambaranhe, ta!" ("This is a good man!") The raging beast then immediately calmed down (Fernando da Soledade, *Historia Seraphica* IV [Lisboa, 1709] 253).

²³ Xavier names among the great sacrifices which future missionaries to the universities of Japan would have to endure, at least at the beginning, the fact that they would have to forego the celebration of Mass (EX II 289 299-300); see also Ubillos 242-249.

²⁴ "Quando diceva la Messa si vedeva in lui particolare devotione, massime nella consecratione et communione, bagnandosi tutto il viso de lachrime" (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7).

²⁵ Lucena writes: "With respect to the devotion which he incited in those who heard him celebrating Mass, Antonio d'Andrade, *almoxarife* of the excellent lord D. Theodosio II, the duke of Bragança, recently told us the following in the city of Barcellos: When he was in India, Father Master Francis one day happened to ask him to serve him at his Mass. He went and found himself so consoled and happy that even though he was young and a soldier, he immediately sought the priest again the next day, and also many times later, so that he might serve his Mass and receive within his soul such new consolations" (5, 5).

²⁶ MX II 189.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 511.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 532 539 546 556 593 616. There were even individuals who imagined that they had seen the saintly priest distribute Holy Communion at his Mass kneeling and suspended above the earth, as some persons assured Lacerda (*Lacerda 107v). Teixeira writes with prudence: "Et non mancò chi dicesse haverlo visto alzarsi di terra, mentre diceva la messa, benchè di questo non ha tanta certezza" (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7).

²⁹ We give the text according to *Teixeira It. (P. 3, c. 7), which is different in some particulars from that in Tursellinus 4, 7 (1596: 6, 5), which we have published in EX I 461-462. Lucena states that Xavier had given it after long insistence to a pious woman who wished to know what detained him so long before he received Communion (5, 5).

Everlasting God, Creator of all things, remember that You alone have created the souls of infidels, whom You have made to Your image and likeness. Behold, o Lord, how the infernal regions are being filled with them to Your dishonor. Remember, O Lord, that Jesus Christ, Your Son, has suffered for them, and has so generously shed his blood for them. Do not permit, O Lord, that Jesus Christ, Your Son and our Lord, be scorned by the pagans, but that, You, being reconciled through the prayers of Your chosen saints and Your Church, the most blessed Bride of Christ, may be mindful of Your mercy and forget their idolatry and unbelief; and grant that they know whom You have sent, Jesus Christ, Your Son, our Lord, who is the Salvation, Life, and Resurrection, through whom we have been saved and freed, and to whom may there be honor for ever and ever. Amen!

Francis also executed his oral and ejaculatory prayers with great devotion. Although he had permission to use the new breviary of Quiñones with its three lessons, he always read the older breviary with its nine lessons; and before each Hour, he recited the *Veni Creator*. If it was interrupted by a visitor, he always recited the hymn again from its beginning.³⁰

The image of his crucified Savior, which had been impressed upon his mind when he made the Exercises in Paris, had never disappeared from him. When others, after the heat and burden of the day, had gone to rest, he found light and strength to continue generously in assisting those in need by meditating upon the sufferings of his King. During a stormy night during his voyage from Malacca to India, when all seemed lost, he knelt before his crucifix in his cabin and was consoled by the love of his Lord and His infinite deserts.³¹ In the cross he found strength in all his human frailties and consolation in all his pains and griefs. The sight of his King, who had been crucified for him, made him forget all his own sufferings; but this same sight also made him long for further toils so that he might be more like Him. When God showed him the cross of his future missionary labors in a dream in Rome, he cried out: "More! More! More!"³² In the first letter which he wrote to Rome after completing his voyage to India, which had been replete with constant sacrifices, he wrote that one who has once tasted the cross of Christ finds his relief in pains and difficulties, and dies from grief when the cross is absent.³³ He taught his young companion on Amboina, Manuel of Hatiwi, that it is good to die for Jesus Christ, and that a true Christian must die upon the cross.³⁴ He wrote to his confreres in Goa from Kagoshima that one who has not experienced the sufferings of Christ within himself cannot

Thomas Tamburinus, S.J., writes in his treatise *De Sacrificio Missae* that one who adds something to the Mass, not to change the rite but only for his private devotion, commits a venial sin. To the objection that Xavier had added the prayer *Aeternae Deus*, he replied that he probably had permission from the pope for this. The excuse that Xavier had done this before the Council of Trent, which did not end until 1563, and before the constitution of Pius V of 1570, is not valid, since the Council of Carthage had already forbidden such private additions in 397; and this had been ratified by the ecumenical Council of Constantinople. The African council of Milevum had issued a similar prohibition, which was ratified in 408 by Innocent I (*Opera omnia* [Venetiis, 1719] 470-471). But the African councils dealt only with public prayers; and at Xavier's time there was greater freedom in this regard than later.

³⁰ "Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7; cf. Vols. II, pp. 457 590 594 602; III, p. 28.

³¹ EX I 393-394; MX II 191.

³² Vol. I, pp. 339 728; cf. Vol. II, pp. 272-273. On Xavier's love of the cross, see Tursellinus 6, 7; Laborde 101-109 129-134; Ubillos 212-241; GS III 209-210, and M. M. P., *De la dévotion de Saint François Xavier à Jésus-Christ crucifié* (Paris, 1679).

³³ EX I 127; cf. II 57.

³⁴ Vol. III, p. 93.

inspire this feeling in others.³⁵ His love for his crucified King was also the source of his longing for martyrdom.³⁶

Francis' love for God made him unmindful of himself. He never permitted the great ideal of the Exercises, the close following of Christ, to fade from his mind. He wished to be poor like Him. He took up his residence in the hospitals of Mozambique, Goa, and Malacca.³⁷ For the love of God, he begged as a poor man of Christ for his daily food in St. Paul's College.³⁸ Like the priests of India, he wore a sleeveless, black, cotton cassock without a belt or mantle over his frock; and when the *mordomo* of the hospital in Goa had another made of silk for him, he refused it and asked that it be given to a poor priest.³⁹ He went in his poor cassock through the thorny brush of the Fishery Coast and wore upon his head a battered biretta. When Martim Affonso de Sousa, the governor, gave him a quilt, two barrels of wine, and a fine Portuguese frock, he gave them all to the poor.⁴⁰ Teixeira noted that when he returned from Japan to Goa, he was wearing a tattered, sleeveless cassock and beneath it a spotted frock made of Portuguese materials.⁴¹ When he boarded a ship, all that he took with him as a rule was a surplice, a breviary, and a book of spiritual reading. If he needed a shirt, shoes, or something else, he would obtain them from those with whom he was traveling. The reverence in which he was held was so great that the best things of the ship were placed at his disposal.⁴² During one of his voyages, his shoes became completely worn out. A soldier, a friend of his, offered him a new pair. These were yellow in color, like those worn by others of his rank. As he showed them to Francis, he excused himself by saying: "I am sorry that these are yellow and that Your Reverence will consequently refuse them." To this Francis replied: "That's a cheap excuse for not giving me the shoes. May I not also be smart and elegant?" But when the ship reached harbor (it was Malacca, if the one who reported this remembered correctly), Francis asked his benefactor with apologies: "May I have your permission to conceal the origins of these shoes and have them dyed black so that the boys won't laugh at me?" It was a request that the soldier readily granted.⁴³

³⁵ EX II 199; cf. 212.

³⁶ Mansilhas, his companion on the Fishery Coast, testified that Xavier had many times offered himself up for a martyr's death out of love for God and for his holy faith (Vol. II, p. 458). Thomé Lobo had already written from Goa in 1548: "Padre Mestre Francisco is always seeking labors in order to find a martyr's death in strange lands, and he is now saying that he wants to go to Japan" (DI I 171). At about this same time Melchior Gonçalves had written: "We can all say that we have a living martyr among us, and I believe that he will soon become one, for I already see that he looks for nothing else" (*ibid.* 312); see also Xavier's letter to Mansilhas of November 10, 1544 (EX I 242).

³⁷ In Lisbon (vol. I, p. 600), on the voyage to India (*ibid.* p. 718, Vol. II, pp. 20-21), in Mozambique (*ibid.* pp. 63-97), Goa (*ibid.* pp. 153-280), and Malacca (Vol. III, p. 15). On Xavier's love for poverty, see Tursellinus 6, 7; Laborde 87-92; Ubillos 69-75.

³⁸ Quadros in DI III 335.

³⁹ Vol. II, pp. 205-206.

⁴⁰ As his companion Artiaga testified in 1556 (MX II 376-377); see also Vol. II, pp. 280-339, 457-470-471.

⁴¹ "Il suo vestito era molto povero et quando venne dal Giappone era coperto d'una veste vecchia et rotta, et con una sottana di panno de Portogallo tutta rappezzata" (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8a). Tursellinus translates *veste* with *subucula* and *sottana* with *tunica* (6, 7).

⁴² Quadros in DI III 335; *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8a.

⁴³ *Lacerda: "Cum navigaret interdum detriti fuere calcei eius quae habebat, et quidam miles eius familiaris obtulit illi alios novos dicens illi qualiter se paenitebat illos esse coloris flavi et Vestra Reverentia non accepturus est illos. Sed ille ridens respondit militi:

Francis was most moderate in his food and drink.⁴⁴ When he was sailing to India, the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa decided that he should eat with the officers; but he preferred to live on alms and to beg for his daily food.⁴⁵ On Cape Comorin,⁴⁶ the Moluccas,⁴⁷ and in Japan,⁴⁸ he contented himself with the restricted diet of the natives, and he ate only one meal a day.⁴⁹ Diogo de Abreu heard from Affonso Martins, the vicar of Malacca, that Xavier, because of his excessive labors, frequently remained for two or three days there without eating or drinking.⁵⁰ When he was invited to dinner by Portuguese, he would nevertheless take a bit of everything so as not to be singular or to give offense.⁵¹ For years he drank no wine,⁵² and he frequently said that priests and religious should refrain from wine as far as possible since it loosened one's tongue and was a stimulus to sensual passions. Nevertheless, after his return from Japan, he ate everything that was given to him, and he even drank a little, much-watered wine since he had been physically weakened by his great labors in that land.⁵³ His bed was a rough frame strung with coconut fibers like those used by the natives of India,⁵⁴ or a mat made of rice straw (often in the hospital by the bed of the patient that was most seriously ill).⁵⁵ His pillow was at times a stone⁵⁶ or, in Japan, a wooden support.⁵⁷ At other times he took his sleep on the bare boards of a ship with ropes or an anchor as a rest for his head.⁵⁸ And at times he had only the bare earth on which to sleep⁵⁹ during his few hours of repose at night.⁶⁰

'Est hoc bonum excusationis genus ad non dandum calceos. Non ero etiam ego elegans et pulcher?' Cum appulerunt portum, quem petebant, et puto fuisse Malacam, petiit veniam a milite his verbis: 'Non licebit bona vestra venia infitiri, et tingere eos atramento, ut me non irrideant pueri?' Cuius interrogationi miles respondit perhumane et ille ita fecit" (108).

⁴⁴ MX II 217 302 538 552; Teixeira 882; Quadros in DI III 335; Valignano 19.

⁴⁵ Vol. II, p. 20.

⁴⁶ Cf. Artiaga's testimony in MX II 376-377 (Vol. II, p. 457); see also *ibid.* p. 560; Teixeira 850.

⁴⁷ EX I 379; MX II 302 (Vol. III, pp. 75-76 180).

⁴⁸ EX II 151; Frois, *Geschichte* 11; see also Vilela's letter of April 24, 1554, on food in Japan (*Cartas* 1598, 30), and Quadros in DI III 334.

⁴⁹ MX II 217.

⁵⁰ MX II 283; Quadros (DI III 333); see also two witnesses in the second Goa process: Aires Gonçalves and Antonio da Fonseca (*Relatio* 1619 37v).

⁵¹ According to Artiaga (MX II 376).

⁵² *Ibid.* and Melchior Gonçalves in 1548 (DI I 312).

⁵³ Valignano 19 (cf. Vol. II, p. 21); Teixeira, who corrected Ribadeneyra in 1584 with the observation: "Hera o Padre Mestre Francisco, segundo nelle vimos, mui temperado em tudo, mas no comer não tinha extremo ou particularidade alguma, mas segia o conselho do Senhor: 'Manducate quae aponuntur vobis.' E asy lhe vimos muitas vezes comer carne, se avia, e beber vinho se lho davão, e amdar com o commum dos outros Padres e Irmãos ou pessoas com quem comia, segundo vi todo o tempo que neste collegio de Goa esteve quando tornou de Jappão, de que eu tive cuidado delle; mas tudo com muita temperança e modestia" (FN IV 970).

⁵⁴ MX II 201 212 423; Vols. II, p. 97; III, p. 28; see the picture in GS IV, pl. 2, n. 13.

⁵⁵ Teixeira learned this from D. Luis de Ataíde, the viceroy, who was *mordomo* of the hospital in Xavier's time (842); Vol. II, pp. 65-66 206.

⁵⁶ Jerónima Pereira heard this from her brother Antonio Pereira and from Diogo Pereira (MX II 201); Vol. III, p. 28.

⁵⁷ The *makura* (see Schütte, *Kulturgegensätze* 208-209 224-225; picture in Brinkmann 100).

⁵⁸ On the voyage from Mozambique to Goa in 1542, as Teixeira learned in India (840); Vol. II, p. 131.

⁵⁹ For example, on the Fishery Coast (MX II 376-377 538; Teixeira 850 (Vol. II, pp. 339-340).

⁶⁰ According to Quadros from two to three hours (DI III 333), or from three to four (*ibid.* 332).

Xavier's unpretentious exterior effectively concealed his office of papal legate. His humility prevented him from making this dignity be known. The bishop was the only one to whom he presented his credentials, and he let him know at the time that he placed himself entirely under his obedience.⁶¹ He dealt with priests wherever he went with the same humility and as a consequence became an object of their affection.⁶² He felt a deep repugnance for pride and boasting. At the time that Antonio Gomes was causing him such deep concern, Teixeira often heard him say: "Arrogance! Arrogance! the ruin that you have caused, are causing, and will continue to cause! and how opposed you are to the institute and perfection of the Society of Jesus!"⁶³

Though all who knew Francis looked upon him as a saint and apostle, he deemed himself to be the greatest of sinners and unworthy of any favors from God. On Cape Comorin he was once asked if it was true that he had raised a dead person to life. The question, however, proved to be such a source of embarrassment to him that the one who posed it felt sorry for him and let the matter drop. Though Francis habitually made little of his own good works, he openly revealed his faults with great confusion.⁶⁴ In the letter which he wrote from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa, he mentioned his own "continuous sins and great transgressions," and recommended himself to their prayers. But he also earnestly exhorted them to strive for true interior humility, and he warned them against the dangers of arrogance.⁶⁵

From this knowledge of his own infirmities and helplessness Xavier drew his unbounded confidence in God. It was this trust in God that gave him the courage to sail to India in order to bring the light of the Gospel to the pagans there.⁶⁶ When God called him when he was at the tomb of the apostle in São Thomé to sail to the Malay Peninsula and its neighboring islands, he wrote to his companions in Goa that if he did not find a ship sailing for Malacca, he would sail on a Moorish or pagan vessel; and if he did not find one of these, he would sail on a *catamaran*, placing all his hopes in God alone.⁶⁷ On Amboina he was told about the abandoned Christians on the Moro Islands, which were inhabited by head-

⁶¹ Teixeira 842; *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8; Vol. II, p. 156; DI III 335.

⁶² Teixeira 842. He also desired from his subjects a humble submission and obedience to the bishop and his vicars (Quadros in DI III 335).

⁶³ In the eighth chapter of the third part of his life of Xavier, Teixeira treats of his humility in detail, and he notes the following: "Questa humiltà interiore et dispregio di se stesso, che haveva, il P. Francesco desiderava che fosse in tutti quelli della Compagnia et così solea dire, che senza la vera humiltà interiore et dispregio di se stesso non poteva alcuno essere vero figliuolo della Compagnia, ne servire bene a Dio in quella, percioche non essendo tali, non sarebono buoni, ne per se, ne per altri. Et spesso l'habbiamo udito dire con grande affetto et sospiri: 'O openione, openione di se stesso, quanto mal hai fatto, fai et sei per fare et quanto contraria sei al Instituto et perfectione della Compagnia del Giesù!'" (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8). On Xavier's humility see the testimonies in MX II 264 273 279 283 287 291 305-306 313 372-374 390, and his letters in EX I 80-81 128 174 272-273 326 465; II 16 65-66 131 287, and especially his letter from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa, *ibid.* 191-196. See also the compilations in Tursellinus 6, 8; Laborde 49-60; Ubillos 18-26; GS III 209; and Huonder, "Die Eintracht unter den Missionaren," KM 38 (1909/10) 53-55 83-86.

⁶⁴ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8: "Soleva il Padre occultare molto le sue bone opere et atti et manifestare li suoi mancamenti vergognandosi molto" (See Vol. II, pp. 389-390).

⁶⁵ EX II 191-199 206-207. Teixeira refers especially to this letter in his chapter on Xavier's humility (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8).

⁶⁶ EX I 57 80-81 92 128. On Xavier's trust in God, see GS III 209-210; Tursellinus 6, 9; Laborde 111-121; Ubillos 27-42; Vol. II, p. 96; Vol. III, p. 8.

⁶⁷ EX I 292-293 (Vol. II, p. 594).

hunters who mixed poison with the food and drink they gave to others. When he decided to go there, his friends strove to prevent him from sailing, but to no avail. When they even offered him antidotes for these poisons, he told them that trust in God was the best of all such preventitives.⁶⁸ After his return from Moro, where he had lived in constant peril of death and without any means of assistance in the case of illness, he wrote that the islands there should not be called the Moro Islands but the "Islands of Hope in God."⁶⁹ During a stormy night on his voyage from Malacca to India, he asked God to free him from that particular danger so that he might experience ever greater dangers in heralding the faith.⁷⁰ When his friends attempted to dissuade him from sailing to Japan where ships and travelers were alike threatened by pirates, he was astonished by their little faith and sailed off in spite of all that they had said, placing all his confidence in God, for whose service he was endangering his life.⁷¹ He wrote to his confreres in Goa from Japan of the severe storm which he had encountered on his way, and of how God had given him the grace to place all his trust in Him; and he advised them never to trust in their own strength but in that of God alone.⁷²

Francis impressed all, even the rudest of men, with the purity of his soul.⁷³ He seemed to be like an angel from heaven in the midst of a corrupt world.⁷⁴ During his long voyages, his companions could find no defects in him.⁷⁵ Joam da Cruz, one of the most prominent members of the Parava caste, who had had the opportunity of observing the saint for three years on the Fishery Coast, and who was converted by him, later testified that Francis had not only led a chaste life that could never be praised enough, but that he had made every effort to encourage everyone else, whether of high or low estate, to live an unstained life.⁷⁶ According to Antonio Pereira, who brought Xavier from Malacca to India in 1552, it was universally held that Francis had remained inviolate throughout his life, and that he had been preserved from all the perversions of the flesh.⁷⁷ Lope d'Aguiar, one of the four scribes of the *ouvidor-geral* in Goa,⁷⁸ said of him:

⁶⁸ EX I 325-326 (Vol. III, pp. 132-133).

⁶⁹ EX I 379-380 (Vol. III, p. 187).

⁷⁰ EX I 393-394.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* II 56-57 65-66 131 148-151.

⁷² *Ibid.* 182-184 191-192 201-202 204-206; for the voyage to China, see *ibid.* 278 361-362, and for Sancian 493-495.

⁷³ On Xavier's chastity, see Vols. II, pp. 131 457-458 590 605; III, pp. 27-28; Tursellinus 6, 6; Laborde 79-85; Ubillos 76-84.

⁷⁴ Mansilhas testified of him: "His life was more that of a saint and of an angel than of a man" (MX II 316). Lourenço Soares de Figueiró, who met the saint in Malacca in 1545, said that his life was more angelic than human, and more so than could be said (*ibid.* 312).

⁷⁵ Thus, for example, on the voyage from Mozambique to Goa, Xavier's penitent Antonio de Sousa (MX II 373); also on the voyage from Malacca to Ambonia, Soveral da Fonseca (*ibid.* 390).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 310 (Vol. II, pp. 337-338).

⁷⁷ Antonio Pereira testified in Malacca in 1556 that he had known Xavier from the time when he came to India with M. A. de Sousa (1542) until his death. He had always seen him living a very virtuous and holy life. The priest had made great efforts to convert the infidels to the Christian faith in Tuticorin, Maluco, Amboina, Moro, and Japan; and in all these regions "era avido e tido por virgem e fóra de todolos estimulos e corrupção da carne" (MX II 417). The same was also testified by Affonso Teixeira (*ibid.* 423); Duarte de Miranda (*ibid.* 372), who had been with Xavier on Ternate; and by two residents of Malacca, Antonio Mendes (*ibid.* 420) and Gomes Freire (*ibid.* 425).

⁷⁸ Aguiar was with Xavier in Goa in 1552. He had been, it seems, born in Obidos as the son of Antonio Pires and Maria Vaz. He sailed to India in 1537 as an *escudeiro*

When Padre Mestre Francisco was in the city of Guoa in the house of São Paulo, he lived a very saintly life; and he was so virtuous that whenever there was any need of him, and he was called for confessions or other works of mercy, he undertook them all with a great spirit of charity; and there was so much faith in his life and virtues that when they said in the said city that the said Mestre Francisco was preaching, all the friends of Jesus Christ strove to hear him. And living so virtuously, and being publicly esteemed as being a virgin and having been such from his baptism, he left the house of São Paulo, where he was rector, and embarked for Malacca to go from there to China.⁷⁹

The same⁸⁰ was also said by Juan de Lizano, his confessor on the Fishery Coast,⁸¹ and by Gaspar Coelho, the vicar of São Thomé, with whom Francis had lived for four months, and to whom he had frequently confessed. Coelho declared that in all the priest's confessions he had been unable to find even a venial sin, and he was certain that he had lived his entire life as a virgin: he had even told this to him as to his spiritual father.⁸² He had, in fact, revealed his whole life to him and had told him how he had been deterred for two years from joining his fellow students and his teacher on their nightly excursions into the Latin Quarter of Paris by his fear of the ugly sores on their faces, that is, until his teacher died as a consequence of his debauchery and a new, virtuous teacher took his place. Until that very hour when he told this to him, he had consequently never sinned with a woman.⁸³

fidalgo of the royal house. We encounter him there from 1545 to 1557 as one of the four secretaries of the *ouvidor-geral* in Goa. In 1545 he accompanied the latter from Goa to Cannanore (Q 1706-1707), and in 1548 to Diu (Q 3985a). He sailed with Xavier from Goa to Malacca in 1552. In 1557 he was in Bassein as secretary and witness at the second Bassein process (MX II 389-393). On him see Lagoa, *Grandes* II 152-153.

⁷⁹ MX II 391.

⁸⁰ According to Quadros in DI III 338: "Averiguado se tem isto de seus confessores ser virgem."

⁸¹ Artiaga, Xavier's companion on the Fishery Coast, declared that the deceased Juan de Lizano, who was also with him on that mission and at times heard the confession of Father Master Francis, had told him that Xavier was a virgin; and he added: "Parecia que o sabia de suas confissões" (MX II 376).

⁸² During his four-month stay in San Thomé, Xavier was accustomed to confess frequently to the *vigario*, Gaspar Coelho, according to Francisco Garcia (*ibid.* 287); according to Galeote Pereira, he did so every day (*ibid.* 272). Pereira had heard the pastor say that he had found no venial sins in him, and that his penitent had without doubt retained his baptismal innocence. Trustworthy individuals had told Garcia that they had heard the *vigario* of San Thomé say that he could swear that he had found no venial sins in him. All openly declared, especially the said pastor, that the priest was a virgin. A *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house, Manuel Mendes Raposo, also testified that as far as the virtue of chastity was concerned, Master Francis had been "muy castiçimo," and that he had frequently heard Coelho say that he had never discovered in him a venial sin and blessed was the mother that had borne him (*ibid.* 272). In 1554 Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote that Coelho told him and all who would listen to him in Goa "que el sabia de cierta certeza que Maestro Francisco era virgen, y que él se lo descobrara como a amigo y Padre spiritual suio" (DI III 78). See Vol. II, p. 605.

⁸³ Coelho's written testimony on Xavier is preserved in a copy. It was sent from Goa to Coimbra at the end of 1554 along with a letter of Aires Brandão, and it has been published in DI III 194-195. In it Coelho gave an account of what Xavier had told him about his earlier life and his stay in Paris. He had been restrained from sinning by the fear of syphilis. His teacher eventually died of this disease and was replaced by another, virtuous man. He then brought his account to an end with the following: "E elle se foi alando com a vertude de seu mestre e castidade, donde nunca em seus dias conhecera mulher até aquella presente hora que elle contava aquilo. Isto me disse per modo de amizade grande e mistica conversação que tinhamos sem jectantia." Brodrick cites *Monumenta Xaveriana* II 497-498 for this. Our text accurately repeats the original

Xavier's integrity was also manifested by the great care which he ever took to make a frequent examination of conscience. He also recommended this practice to the priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus whom he sent to work in different regions. Every day they were to examine their consciences at least twice; and if they had an extraordinary amount of work to do, they should examine their consciences at least once a day, since this was most important.⁸⁴ He also insisted that they should mortify their passions and conquer themselves. From Japan he wrote to his confreres in Goa that he always remembered what Ignatius had said, namely, that those of the Society should strive earnestly to overcome themselves.⁸⁵

He regarded this internal mortification as being of greater importance than external penances,⁸⁶ though he also practiced these. In São Thomé and Ternate, it was frequently noted how he withdrew to pray and meditate and to scourge himself.⁸⁷ His constant self-denial in eating and sleeping, and his continuous practice of poverty and charity, were of a no less penitential character. He did not, however, want his subjects to imitate in their external practices of penance the excesses of the students of the order in Coimbra, which only provoked laughter and ridicule among the people. Instead of performing such penances, they should

of Brandão in *Goa 10*, but Brodrick then continues: "The Portuguese of the original is execrable [the Portuguese is perfectly correct and does not deserve Brodrick's qualification]. The last sentence runs: '*De donde nunca em seus dias conhecera mulher.*' The older biographers averted their eyes from the confession altogether [Teixeira, Xavier's first biographer, cites Coelho's account!] and the modern, such as Cros, Michel, and even Brou, render the final words thus: '*De sorte que jamais, jusqu'à ce jour, je m'eus de telles accointances!*' [Brou's translation is correct, and Brodrick's double exclamation points are thus not pertinent.] The illiterate '*de donde*' might possibly be rendered 'from which time' and that would raise a fresh question [Brodrick wishes to say that this could mean that Xavier had *previously* had immoral relations with women, but he then continues:] But there is much good evidence that Francis always maintained his integrity complete, however near he came to losing it in Paris" (34). But '*de donde*' is not in Brandão's original, nor is it in the text cited in MX. Instead, it is on p. 178 of the uncited edition of the *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* of 1887, which is swarming with errors. Brandão's original in *Goa 10*, which has *donde* and not *de donde*, is consequently to be cited here. See our review of Brodrick's life of Xavier in GS IV 925. In the Italian translation of his life of Xavier, Teixeira notes with respect to Coelho's account: "Nel raccontare che il Padre fece della sua vita al vicario chiaramente raccolse secondo l'istesso vicario depoi con giuramento affirmò, esser il Padre puro e casto et vergine como nacque. Questo anchora affirmorno molti testimonii et la esperienza anchora lo mostrò nella sua vita, perche sempre s'ha scorto in lui grandissimo amore alla castità et odio contro i carnali, sì nelle sue prediche et conversationi, come anche nella pratica. Imperoche non poteva sopportar di vedere ne pur una minima machia in niuno" (*Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 9; see also P. 3, c. 7, and MX II 859).

⁸⁴ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7.

⁸⁵ EX II 150.

⁸⁶ On Xavier's spirit of penance, see Laborde 61-67.

⁸⁷ Cf. Coelho (DI III 194); Vol. II, p. 591; Teixeira 875, and *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7. The disciplines which were discovered in the possession of the old Christians of Japan were made of cords, like those recommended by Ignatius in his Exercises. But at the public disciplines which Barzaeus introduced into Goa in 1551, which imitated those in Lisbon, many scourged themselves to blood. In December, 1552, Frois reported that many women whom Barzaeus had converted disciplined themselves three or four times a week in their homes; mothers made disciplines for their children with balls of thorns; and eight- and nine-year-old boys during the penitential processions entered the church with their backs covered with blood (DI II 482-483). According to the remissorial processes of the seventeenth century, Xavier was also accustomed to take this type of discipline. In the second Goa process of 1615, for example, witnesses 32 33 40 46 50 55 and 56 testified that the saint scourged himself for a sinner.

mortify themselves through their service of the sick and of those in prison, and they should collect alms for these and for the poor.⁸⁸

One of the means which Xavier insisted upon with all his subjects for the preservation of their chastity was the great care which they should have in associating with women. He himself was never seen speaking in private with women. His dealings with them were always open, modest, and respectful; and he desired the same of his confreres. He did not want to have them visit women in their homes except in the case of urgent need, when, for example, they heard the confessions of those who were ill, or when they consoled those who were in difficulties; and they should do so in the presence of their husbands or parents. If this proved to be impossible, they should take with them some neighbor of good repute. He also used to say that these visits to women were as a rule of little advantage and of great danger, and that there was need of much prudence in this wicked world. He also maintained that when there was a quarrel between a husband and wife, it was always better to take the part of the man. He also believed that it was better to hear the confessions of men than those of women, and to employ one's time with the former rather than the latter, since the good produced in men was usually more sure and lasting, and that, if a man was good, his whole family would be the same. In fine, he was so chaste himself and so zealous for this virtue of chastity that he could not tolerate the least stain in this regard either in himself or in others.⁸⁹

Along with his love for his crucified Redeemer and his reverence for the Blessed Trinity,⁹⁰ Francis had a tender devotion to the Mother of his Lord,⁹¹ the immaculately conceived Virgin.⁹² On the Fishery Coast he openly wore her rosary about his neck.⁹³ He closed his instructions to the Christians with a prayer to her.⁹⁴ He visited her chapels wherever he went, and he knelt in earnest prayer for hours before her altars.⁹⁵ He asked that indulgences be obtained in Rome for her chapels on the island of Goa.⁹⁶ He carried her image with him to distant Japan,⁹⁷ and the sanctuary which he thought of erecting in the capital Miyako was to bear her name so that seafarers might appeal to her intercession during storms they encountered on the China Sea,⁹⁸ as he had invoked her during the

⁸⁸ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7.

⁸⁹ "Circa la virtù della castità visse sempre purissimo il P. Francisco percioche altro d'essere sempre stato vergine, si sentì in lui pochissima contradizione in resistere al vizio contrario et con tutto ciò era tanto cauto in quella parte come se non fosse stato quel che habbiamo detto." These are the words used by Teixeira to introduce his discussion on Xavier's prudence in dealing with women, which concludes his biography of the saint (*Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8a); see his instruction for Barzaeus in EX II 431-433.

⁹⁰ Cf. Pérez, *Informação* 76; Teixeira 896; EX II 205; DI I 317; Ubillos 250-254.

⁹¹ On Xavier's devotion to Mary, see Schurhammer, "Maria und der heilige Franz Xaver" (GS III 216-225; cf. 210); Laborde 11-18; Ubillos 10-14; Christoval de Berlanga, *El Apostól de las Indias* (Valencia, 1693) 59-74. "Era il P. Francisco devotissimo della Santissima Trinità et similmente alla B. Vergine" (Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7).

⁹² On October 5, 1549, Polanco wrote to Oviedo that all in the Society, as far as he knew, held the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (MI: *Epp.* II 549). It was held by Xavier, as is indicated by his Large Catechism (cf. GS III 223).

⁹³ MX II 375.

⁹⁴ EX I 108-109 115 163-164 456 458-459.

⁹⁵ In San Thomé (MX II 488 947), in Nossa Senhora do Monte in Malacca (EX II 166, MX II 380-381 427-428), in Nossa Senhora da Barra in Ternate (*ibid.* 175-176).

⁹⁶ EX I 140.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* II 200-201.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 229-230.

fearful night on his voyage from Malacca to India when he was returning from the Moluccas.⁹⁹

Francis also had a great devotion to the angels, his friends and protectors.¹⁰⁰ He taught the Christians that every evening before they went to sleep they should recommend themselves to their guardian angel.¹⁰¹ He chose St. Michael the Archangel, the Conqueror of the Devil¹⁰² and the Patron of the Church, as the patron of his Japanese mission.¹⁰³

Through fasting and prayer, through vigilance over his senses, through constant self-conquest in matters both great and small, and through the practice of severe penances, Francis preserved his innocence of heart in the midst of a corrupt world. He sought to bring to his fellowmen that happiness which, as a consequence, filled his own soul; and he strove to inspire his disciples with his own zeal for souls.¹⁰⁴ His love for God thus made him become all things to all. Nine months after Xavier's departure for China, Gaspar Barzaeus wrote the following:

I make use of all the means¹⁰⁵ which I find in the world to see if I can use them to serve God as much as I have to His disservice. I seek to edify and win my neighbor in every way. If I do this with good zeal or with bad zeal, God knows; it is sufficient that I was bad. With those who laugh, I try to laugh; with those who sing, I sometimes sing; with those who rejoice, I at times rejoice; with those who weep, I strive to weep.¹⁰⁶ In fine, I have taken greatly to heart that saying of Sam Paulo: "I made myself all things to all men so that I might gain all."¹⁰⁷ . . . If I knew that someone would profit from my dancing, I would dance. Up till now the Lord has helped me much in these and similar things. It may be that they are closer to dissipation than to recollection of spirit. I console myself at times in perceiving something of this in Padre Mestre Francisco, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to loosen.¹⁰⁸

Master Francis was a friend and helper of the sick and leprous, of the poor and imprisoned, of the weak and helpless. He preferred to have his residence near those who were ill. He celebrated Mass for them, preached to them, visited, nursed, and consoled them, furnished them with food and medicines, and moved them to confess their sins. If one was in a particularly perilous state, he would stretch out on a mat at night near his bed so that he could be of help to him at any hour.¹⁰⁹ The poor lepers, who were stationed before the gates of Goa

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* I 393-394.

¹⁰⁰ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 7; EX I 357 394, II 205.

¹⁰¹ EX I 452-453.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* I 115 382-383 454.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* II 205.

¹⁰⁴ On Xavier's zeal for souls, see GS III 210-211; Tursellinus 6, 10-11; Laborde 69-78 155-180; Ubillos 129-211.

¹⁰⁵ Letter of December 7, 1552, in DI II 494-495.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Rom. 12:15: "Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 1 Cor. 9:22.

¹⁰⁸ Letter to Ignatius of January 12, 1553 (DI II 595-596).

¹⁰⁹ On Xavier and the sick, see the testimonies on Xavier's activities during his voyage to India in MX II 187-188; Lopes Rebello, in the second Goa process (**Summarium* 805); and Vol. II, pp. 19-22 131. In Mozambique: Mestre João (MX II 211-212); Saraiva (*ibid.* 187-188); Mansilhas (*ibid.* 317); Teixeira 839-840; Vol. II, pp. 63-67 95-96. In Goa: Saraiva (MX II 187-188); Menelão (Lisbon RProcess Lisbon I 86); Silva Pereira (second Goa process: **Summarium* 807); Teixeira 842-843 882; Vol. II, pp. 206-208. In Cochín: Seb. Affonso (MX II 501). In Malacca: Soares de Figueiró (*ibid.* 312-313); Vol. III, pp. 23 28. In Amboina: Gaspar Lopes (MX II 176); Palha (*ibid.* 199); Vol. III, pp. 123-124. In general: Christovão Carvalho (MX II 304).

and were avidly shunned by others because of the danger of infection, became his dearest friends soon after his arrival in India.¹¹⁰ He was a regular guest of prisoners in their filthy, ill-smelling jails;¹¹¹ and he was often seen begging from door to door so that he might help the poor.¹¹²

Francis was a friend and fearless champion of his new converts. He went tirelessly from house to house, from village to village, indifferent to the scorching rays of the tropical sun. During his visits he listened patiently to their endless complaints and controversies. He was zealous in defending his protégés from the encroachments of the ruthlessly greedy Portuguese soldiers, merchants, and officials, and also from those of the pagan authorities; and he was ever ready to lay down his life for his flock.¹¹³ He carefully studied their habits and customs,¹¹⁴ and he strove to adapt himself to them where there was no question of sin so that he would not impose a heavier yoke upon them than what God demanded.¹¹⁵ At times he earnestly sought to learn the language of the country in which he was working.¹¹⁶ And if God led him as a pioneer and superior to new foundations,¹¹⁷ he never left his beloved children in Christ behind as orphans.

¹¹⁰ EX I 126; Vol. II, pp. 208-211.

¹¹¹ EX I 125; Vol. II, pp. 208-211.

¹¹² On Xavier and the poor, see the testimonies in MX II: for Goa 461, Cochin 501, Malacca 423 425 427; Vol. II: for his voyage to India 19-22, Goa 208; Vol. II: for Malacca and Ternate 23 195-196.

¹¹³ Cf. Vol. II, pp. 441-443 446-451 457-458.

¹¹⁴ Xavier had obtained from a Mādhva Brahman on the Fishery Coast the secret teachings of his sect (Vol. II, pp. 357-359). He had obtained an extensive account of the land and people of Macassar from Antonio de Paiva (Vol. III, pp. 523-531), and precise information on the Moluccas and, especially, the Moro Islands from his friend Palha and his Spanish countrymen of Villalobo's fleet (Vol. III, pp. 122-123 127-136). He asked and received information on China from Portuguese merchants who sailed there (*ibid.* 49-51, and the account in Almeida Calado 113-117). He also received an extremely valuable treatise on Japan from Jorge Alvares, who had recently come from there (*ibid.* 99-112); and he had further accounts drawn up in Goa by Lancilotto from data furnished by Anjirō (*ibid.* 88-89 121-125). He had also obtained in Lisbon the recently published description of Abyssinia and its people by Francisco Alvares (Vol. I, pp. 679-691). Bellessort is consequently wrong in portraying Xavier as a *conquistador* moving restlessly from one adventure to another, who abandoned India on the basis of mere rumors in order to sail to Malacca and Macassar (see our review in GS IV 913 919). Brodrick also errs when he maintains that the Portuguese, and Xavier himself, made no efforts to obtain a knowledge of the real India and its religions, and that his knowledge of China consisted in a few slight generalities which he had happened to hear in Japan (see our review in GS IV 926 929-932).

¹¹⁵ On January 23, 1572, Vilela wrote to the general of the order: "If there is ever a land where one must adapt oneself as far as possible to the customs of the people, it is Japan. Father Torres thus said that one of the things which Father Master Francis had insisted upon with him had been the following: If something did not offend God, it seemed much better not to change it if the change did not contribute to the greater service of God than to leave it be. He said this with respect to dress, eating, and similar things, which are of no account in themselves, but which create resentment if they are changed. And the superior should adopt the opinion of the majority of the priests who have had many years of experience" (**JapSin.* 7, 88).

¹¹⁶ First the difficult Tamil language (Vol. II, pp. 307-308 434 457), then the easier Malay (Vol. III, pp. 30-31 44), and finally Japanese.

¹¹⁷ Xavier sought for light for four months at the tomb of the apostle in São Thomé, and he was finally convinced that God was calling him from India to the Malay islands in the east (EX I 292-293; Vol. II, pp. 593-595). Bellessort is of another opinion: Xavier was disillusioned in Negapatam since the king of Jaffna, the murderer of the Christians on Manār, had not been immediately punished: "Il avait hâte de s'éloigner. On lui avait parlé de Malacca, où les âmes languissaient faute de secours spirituel, et plus loin, d'un nouvel Orient qui se lèverait à la parole du Christ. Sur la foi de ces on-dit, les hommes,

He took care of the missionaries who took his place, and he would not permit them to leave their flocks even when they were threatened by death and martyrdom.¹¹⁸ He sought alms for the building of churches and for the support of teachers,¹¹⁹ and he founded schools for the children of new converts so that they might be instructed in the faith and be trained as catechists and priests for their people.¹²⁰ His letters to Europe were an ardent appeal for a holy crusade for the conversion of the pagans.¹²¹

In his care for the natives, Francis did not forget the Portuguese. His cheerful manner had a universal appeal.¹²² As a nobleman he knew how to converse with officers and to win them for God. If soldiers became embarrassed when he came up as they were gambling at cards, he told them with a smile to keep on playing, since they were laymen and not monks.¹²³ He asked sinners to invite him to dine with them; and when he had gained their friendship, he persuaded them to marry or dismiss the partners of their sins and to become reconciled to God through a general confession.¹²⁴ Many such instances could be told. Among these was that of a rich merchant in Malacca from whom he took seven concubines. One day after his sermon he invited himself to dinner with him, as he did in such cases. Since his host was unmarried and there were no others in the house, his servants had to wait upon the priest. Francis praised them all and asked each one of them her name, from what country and race she was, and how long she had been a Christian; and he showed himself to be much pleased with their answers. The kindness with which his guest treated his servants, and the interest which he showed in them without giving the least sign of displeasure, encouraged his host to invite him several more times to dinner. After Francis had become acquainted with the field of battle and was sure of the merchant's friendship and had learned from him his preferences with respect to his servants, he asked him why he wanted to have so many. Would it not be better to dismiss some of them? His host agreed with him and dismissed one of them. At the next visit he dismissed another, and he did the same on each subsequent occasion. Finally, when they had all gone, his host made a general confession and provided for his former servants.¹²⁵

le mèneraient au bout du monde. Il y serait bientôt" (151). At the end of 1547 Xavier met the first Japanese in Malacca and obtained the first information on their native land. He collected further information over a period of months on the missionary prospects in that recently discovered land, and he asked for light until God finally let him know clearly that it was to His service that he go there himself (EX II 117 148; see also 10 21-25 37-38 45-46 65-66, and GS III 568-569).

¹¹⁸ He showed this when he dismissed Morais junior and his companion for having left the Moro mission without permission.

¹¹⁹ For example, for the Fishery Coast and Travancore, for which he received the "slipper money" of the queen and an alms of Iniquitriberim.

¹²⁰ For this purpose he took over the direction of the College of St. Paul in Goa and founded the college in Quilon, and his principal reason for dismissing A. Gomes was that he had expelled the native students from the college in Goa.

¹²¹ Cf. EX I 166-168 (his appeal to the universities of Europe) 329-330; II 45-46 277-279; cf. GS III 211, and Vol. II, pp. 407-409.

¹²² Cf. Vol. II, pp. 224-225.

¹²³ Vol. III, p. 23; cf. 124.

¹²⁴ Cf. Vols. II, pp. 227-228; III, pp. 25-27 195-196.

¹²⁵ Teixeira gives the anecdote in his chapter on Xavier's stay in Malacca before sailing on to Japan in 1549, but without giving the year or the name of the merchant (875-876). He gives as his source the testimonies of people of that city. The maidservants were, according to the Spanish translation, "*criadas de buen parecer*," according to the Italian (P. 2, c. 16), "*fantescche nobili, le quali teneva come schiave*." The Spanish text

On his frequent voyages Francis was constantly seeking the good of others, and there were numerous anecdotes in circulation about the conversions he had made. Thus, for example, he converted the pilot of the ship on which he was sailing from Quilon to Ceylon in 1545. After they had landed in Colombo, the pilot dismissed the woman with whom he had been living, made a general confession, and began a new life.¹²⁶ Another report was on what had happened on a voyage he made from Cochin to Malacca. A prominent Portuguese was sailing on the same ship and had shamelessly brought his concubine along with him. Others on the ship were distressed by this and were astounded to see how Francis made friends with the man and spoke intimately to him without uttering a word of reproach. When they landed in Malacca, he said simply to him: "Sir, it is now time." The *fidalgo* then replied: "Father, I understand." Francis married the two and put their affair in order.¹²⁷

Even more famous was another anecdote—the conversion of a dice player—which made the rounds in India with many variations. One day Francis was sailing from Goa to Cochin. On the ship was a soldier, a passionate gambler, slanderer, and blasphemer, who had not been to confession for seven years. After he had lost all of his money through his gambling, he began to curse fiercely.

mentions a second, and many other invitations. The Italian mentions only a second and some others, mostly on Sundays and feast days. According to Bartoli, his host was called *Veloso* (*Asia* 4, 48, pp. 265-268). Valignano makes two instances of this. In the first the sinner dismisses all seven, in the second he dismisses all but one, whom he marries (90-91). He is followed in this by Bartoli.—In the second Malacca process of 1616 some further anecdotes are reported without being dated and most are, at best, of questionable historical interest. The process is lost and only extant in Barradas' extracts (GS IV 431-465). The testimonies are mostly from hearsay, for example, with regard to Xavier's sea-water miracle (437, a confusion of Xavier with later Jesuits), a raising from the dead in Quilon (438), and a second in Manār (440, the so-called miracle of the well transferred from Kombuturē), a parallel of the Velho prophecy on Sancian transferred to Cochin (451), an unhistorical voyage and prophecy of Xavier on the island of Lantang in China (452), a similarly unfounded claim that all the sick in the hospital who were touched by Xavier's hand were cured (451), and a false assertion that Xavier sailed from Malacca to Goa in order to obtain clothes and mantles for the native women of the Portuguese of Malacca (*ibid.*, a confusion of Xavier with later Jesuits who in 1560 and 1561 effected a change in women's dress in Malacca; cf. DI V 309-310). We therefore maintain that the following anecdote recorded in the second Malacca process, which one witness placed in Malacca and another in China, is unhistorical. It is in direct contrast to Xavier's known rule, and one which he insisted upon with others, namely, on the need of prudence in conversing with women. The story is given as follows by Barradas: "Another witness recalled another instance in the same city [Malacca], more for the sake of astonishment than imitation. In Malacca there was a Chinese merchant who had two female slaves whom he misused and in a way that is not permitted. The saint invited himself to eat in the evening with him and to spend the night with him. The man was astounded and could not believe it, but he finally had to provide a bed in a room for him. Before the saint retired there to pray, he asked him for one of the slave women. He had hardly entered the room with her when he began to discipline himself severely. At the same time he gave the slave another discipline and ordered her to do the same. The master of the house, who had been secretly watching him, came into the room and said: 'Father, may God never wish that you scourge yourself to blood for my sins!' He then handed over to him the two occasions of his sins, separating himself from them. And he gave to each of them a dowry. Another testified in the same account that the same had happened with respect to a citizen in China" (451).

¹²⁶ Teixeira heard of the incident from the pilot himself, and he testified that he and many of his confreres knew him as a zealous Christian up to the time of his death (856-857); Vol. II, p. 546.

¹²⁷ Lucena 6, 12.

His comrade, João Pinheiro,¹²⁸ reproached him for swearing in such a fashion when a priest was near and reciting his breviary. Francis, whose attention had been attracted by the uproar, asked what was the reason for it. When he learned that the man had lost all his money, he asked Pinheiro to lend him some *pardaus*. He then encouraged the soldier to try again. He did so and won everything back. This prompted the man to eventually say that he was ready to confess his sins. After they arrived in Cochin, the priest went with him to the chapel of São João that lay outside the city. There he heard his confession and gave him only a light penance, telling him that he would make up for what was lacking. He then left his penitent and disappeared into a neighboring coconut grove. Since he did not return at once, the soldier quietly followed him and discovered that Francis was scourging himself to blood. He threw himself at his feet, seized the discipline and whipped himself to atone for his sins; and from then on he gave all an example of a Christian life.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ On March 7, 1548, Pinheiro received in Lisbon the title to three voyages as secretary of the Maluco ship (Q 3822).

¹²⁹ According to the account of Martim Darvellos in the Cochin process of 1616, who heard the anecdote from João Pinheiro. He adds, however, erroneously, that Xavier had come from Damão to Chaul, and that he had there by chance heard of the blasphemer. He had then sailed from Chaul to Cochin and had there reembarked on the same ship in order to convert him (MX II 459-460, and Barradas in GS IV 441). But Xavier was never in Damão; which did not become Portuguese until 1559; and he never sailed directly from Chaul to Cochin. A similar account was given by two witnesses in the Goa process of 1615—by Aires Gonçalves de Miranda, "from hearsay and public rumor" (**Relatio* 1619 27v); and by Anna Tostada, the daughter-in-law of Diogo Pereira, who appealed to a soldier as an eyewitness (*ibid.* 37). Another witness at the second Cochin process, the merchant Pedro Henriques, declared that he had heard the anecdote from many trustworthy men, and that it was known in the whole of India. Without giving either time or place, he reported that a Portuguese, while playing at dice, had lost his own money and the money which had been entrusted to him, and that in his despair he wanted to hang or drown himself. Xavier knew the state he was in through a supernatural enlightenment. He asked for fifty *pardaus* from his friends and told the Portuguese to play again. The man won everything back. When he wished to continue playing, the priest ordered him to stop. From then on the man never gambled again (MX II 469-470; Barradas 444). In the second Lisbon process, Luis de Brito de Azevedo, who had been born in Goa in 1616, declared that he had heard of the affair from three persons of great authority, who had told him how the priest had come from the east [Malacca, in 1548] to Goa and had discussed an important matter with the viceroy [D. João de Castro]. When he left the palace, he met a great sinner who wanted to sail that same day from Goa with the fleet for Malabar. Although he had just returned from such a great distance, the priest did not even visit St. Paul's College but reembarked with the man so that he might convert him. On their way he learned from the soldier that he had not confessed for six years. When Xavier told him that he had sailed with him solely for his sake, the man was ready to go to confession. He did so when they came to land, and he later entered a monastery (48v-49).—In 1583 Valignano placed the incident of Xavier's scourging himself for a sinner and thus converting him in a palm grove in Cannanore (*Hist.* 75). Connected with this is the "local redaction" in Cannanore, according to which Xavier scourged himself in the palm forest a mile from the coast. In 1920 Father Alborghetti, S.J., sent us a report of its substance: "The Portuguese built on the site a small chapel with a picture of Xavier. It was knocked down about seventeen years ago, when the railroad station was built there. The moisture of the monsoon had destroyed the painting. In the Portuguese church dedicated to the Trinity, I erected a chapel with a statue of Xavier and paintings from his life and a glass window recalling his scourging. The palm grove was cut down by the Dutch so that the artillery of the fortress would have free scope in event of an attack." Lucena accepts three different anecdotes: The first is a further edition of Valignano's account: Xavier sailed from Cochin to Goa in December, 1544, and on the way landed in Cannanore (2, 20). The second is a variant of the account of F. Henriques: The soldier played cards, lost six hundred *cruzados*, and was in danger of losing everything. Xavier helped him. He

There were also other conversions which moved men to speak of Xavier's preternatural knowledge of the status of a person's soul. Diogo Madeira,¹³⁰ a married man living in Goa, had sailed with Xavier from Negapatam to São Thomé in 1545. During the voyage Francis prophesied a storm and advised against sailing further. Some years later Madeira was in Cochin on the point of carrying out a scheme with a guilty conscience when he unexpectedly met Master Francis near the monastery of Santo Antonio. He went up to greet him and kissed his hand. Francis then asked him how he was doing, and Madeira replied: "Well." But he immediately heard Francis say that he might be doing well as far as his body was concerned, but it was not so with his soul. Madeira then saw that the priest knew of his evil project, and he went to confession.¹³¹

Master Francis treated those who helped him in the conversion of the pagans with much respect and gratitude. He counted the aged bishop of Goa, the secular clergy, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans among his many friends.¹³² But this was particularly true of his confreres in the Society of Jesus, those "holy souls," whom God had entrusted to him, unworthy though he deemed himself to be of

shuffled the cards for him and told him to play again. After the man had regained his losses, he wished to continue playing, but Xavier ordered him to stop. The gambler was converted and from then on would have nothing to do with cards. The author introduces the story in his chapter on Xavier's activities in Malacca in 1545, but he notes that the place and time were not known (3, 12). The third anecdote, a variant on the testimony of Darvellos is placed in 1548: Shortly after Pérez' departure from Goa on April 6, 1548, the governor sent some ships with food and munitions and eight *fustas* with soldiers for D. Alvaro, whom he had sent to Aden. Xavier by chance heard that there was a soldier on these *fustas* who had not confessed for eighteen years. He sailed with him in order to convert him. He sat beside him when he was gambling, won his friendship, and finally asked him who had heard his confession before his embarkment. The man told him that he had gone to confession to the vicar in Goa but had not received absolution. At the next place where they landed, Xavier heard his confession and gave him a light penance. He scourged himself in the woods and then sailed back to Goa. The following is to be noted on this: Lucena takes the eight *fustas* from Correa (*Lendas* IV 635), but Xavier could not at the time abandon the deathly ill governor. Tursellinus received from Lucena a copy of his third anecdote for the second edition of his life of Xavier, published in 1596 (3, 15). Bartoli already had at his disposition the processes of 1615 and 1616. He assumes two different anecdotes. The first of these corresponds to the second of Lucena and is placed on the voyage from Mailapur to Malacca in 1545 (2, 2). The second corresponds to Lucena's third, but with two additions. He used for it the testimony of Brito de Azevedo in the first Lisbon process (the converted gambler enters a monastery) and the now lost testimony of the eyewitness Francisco Ledi, who in 1566 leased from the viceroy D. Antão de Noronha the village of Mapalem in the Praganá Manorá in the territory of Bassein (cf. *O Oriente Português* 7-9 [1934/35] 144). According to it Xavier landed in the neighborhood of Quilon (2, 29). Sousa, like Lucena, gives three incidents in his *Oriente Conquistado*: The first corresponds to the first in Lucena (1, 1, 1, 26). The second follows the second incident in Bartoli, but he places the site of the scourging at Cariapatão, twenty-three leagues north of Goa, where the ship took on water (1, 1, 1, 36). The third incident corresponds to Bartoli's first (1, 3, 1, 2). Brou accepts four instances: The first corresponds to Lucena's first (I 300), the second follows Darvellos' testimony (I 300-301), the third corresponds to Lucena's second (I 337), the fourth is a combination of Lucena's third and Sousa, *Or. Conq.* 1, 1, 1, 36 (II 32-33).

¹³⁰ In 1560 Diogo Madeira sailed as captain of a *fusta* with the fleet of the viceroy Constantino de Bragança to Jaffna (Couto 7, 9, 1, p. 304). After the capture of the capital during a revolt of the people, he was imprisoned by Sankily, the king of Jaffna (Queyroz 376).

¹³¹ See his testimony at the Goa process in 1556 (MX II 214-215).

¹³² See on this Quadros in DI III 335, Coelho *ibid.* 164, *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8a, and Huonder, "Die Eintracht unter den Missionären," KM 38 (1909/10) 53-55 83-86.

their care.¹³³ In his love and care for them, he was a father to them all, but especially to those who bore the cross of Christ on missions far from the Portuguese forts—on the Fishery Coast, in Travancore, and on the islands of the Moluccas.¹³⁴ Nevertheless he used to say and write to all that without true, prompt, and joyful obedience one could not be a true son of the Society nor persevere in it with joy, merit, and consolation. He wanted all of the priests and brothers of the Society to be truly obedient. Their obedience should not only be prompt and indifferent to their own religious superiors but also to secular authorities; and he used to say that it was much safer to obey and to be ruled than to command and to let oneself be led by one's own judgment and discretion. He also told, and even ordered, superiors to correct and punish those who failed to obey in any way.¹³⁵

Along with his love for Christ, his King and Lord, Francis had a deep affection for the Society of Jesus.¹³⁶ He was grateful to the Society, after God, for his vocation as an apostle to the pagans, for his knowledge of Christ, and for the inner happiness which he experienced, and which surpassed all earthly joys. He was also indebted to his helpers in the combat. They were for him "a society of love,"¹³⁷ "a holy society,"¹³⁸ and of the order itself he once wrote: "If I should ever forget the Society of the name of Jesus, then may my right hand be forgotten."¹³⁹ He never forgot his companions at the University of Paris.¹⁴⁰ He bore their signatures along with his vow formula as precious relics with him on all his voyages.¹⁴¹ He frequently thought of the earlier years which he had spent with them.¹⁴² He repeatedly asked them to write to him about the Society and the works which it was accomplishing.¹⁴³ He recommended himself to the prayers of his confreres,¹⁴⁴ and especially to those of the professed.¹⁴⁵ In all his difficulties and dangers, he was encouraged by his confidence in their deserts.¹⁴⁶ From year to year he waited with holy impatience for the mail from Europe; and when it arrived, he read their letters with tears of joy.¹⁴⁷ The news which he received of the confirmation of the Society¹⁴⁸ and of its progress in Europe filled him with a similar delight.¹⁴⁹

Francis was particularly pleased with the letters which he received from Ignatius,¹⁵⁰ "the father of his soul," his "only father in *Christi visceribus*."¹⁵¹ He

¹³³ EX II 287; cf. 211-212.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* I 106; II 394.

¹³⁵ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8a, Laborde 93-99, Ubillos 85-102.

¹³⁶ Cf. GS III 210, Laborde 19-26, Ubillos 103-124.

¹³⁷ EX II 7-8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* I 393, DI I 317-318.

¹³⁹ EX I 395.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* II 375.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* I 370; II 577-578; Vol. III, p. 134.

¹⁴² EX I 172 175-176 272; Vol. II, p. 409.

¹⁴³ EX I 29-30 89 127-128; II 15-16 66 351 375.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 259 330 393-396.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* II 293.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* II 149 205-206.

¹⁴⁷ DI I 317; II 287.

¹⁴⁸ EX I 175-176; Vol. II, p. 409.

¹⁴⁹ DI I 317-318.

¹⁵⁰ On this see A. Huonder, "Ignatius von Loyola und Franz Xaver, ein Freundschaftsbund zweier Heiligen," KM 50 (1922) 185-190; O. Karrer, "Ignatius and Franz Xaver," *Jesuitenkalender für das Jahr 1923* (Regensburg, 1922) 30-40; L. Lopetegui, "San Francisco Javier y San Ignacio de Loyola de 1548 a 1556," *Studia Missionalia* 7 (1952) 5-32; and H. Marín, "San Francisco Javier y San Ignacio de Loyola," *Razón y Fé* 146 (1952) 45-58.

was deeply moved by the letter which Ignatius had written to him appointing him provincial of India, and which he had ended with the words: "Entirely yours, without being able to forget you at any time." Francis wrote his reply to this letter on his knees and with his eyes filled with tears. It was the most intimate letter which he ever sent from India,¹⁵² and he closed it with the words: "Your least son, and the one in farthest exile."¹⁵³ He thanked Ignatius for his vocation to the Society of Jesus,¹⁵⁴ and he ascribed to his prayers the divine protection which he had experienced in the difficulties and dangers of Japan.¹⁵⁵ He was convinced that Ignatius was guided by the Holy Spirit and that God spoke to him through his letters.¹⁵⁶ Along with a relic of St. Thomas and the signatures of his other first companions, Francis carried that of Ignatius in a reliquary which he wore about his neck.¹⁵⁷ He constantly recalled Ignatius' admonitions,¹⁵⁸ and in his own letters and instructions he frequently recalled passages from the Exercises, as he did from the Scriptures,¹⁵⁹ for master and disciple were both inspired by the same spirit from the time that they were living together in Paris.¹⁶⁰ Francis always strove to instill his love for Ignatius and his Society in the hearts of his subjects. In his conversations with them, as Teixeira had frequently observed, he was accustomed to call the general of the order "our blessed Father Ignatius," "the saintly Father Ignatius." And he also heard him say in his general instructions and private conversations: "Brothers, if each one of us were now standing before our blessed Father Ignatius, what an entirely different knowledge would he have of each one of us from that which we each have of ourselves!" When he wished to give some special order or advice, Francis would also say: "I therefore ask, order, and command this for the love, reverence, and obedience which we owe to our blessed Father Ignatius," as Teixeira heard him say and saw him write on various occasions.¹⁶¹

¹⁵¹ EX II 5 7 16.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 286-293. In the second Goa process of 1615, Gaspar do Souro, who attended Xavier's lessons in Goa as an eleven-year-old boy in 1552 and entered the Society there in 1556, declared that Xavier always read the letters he received from the founder of the order on his knees, and that he also answered them in this position (**Relatio* 1619, 21); but this is an exaggeration.

¹⁵³ "Menor hijo y en destierro maior" (EX II 293). Xavier closed his last letter to Ignatius shortly before his departure for China with these same words (*ibid.* 376).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* I 9-11 26.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* II 287.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* I 80-81.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* II 577-578.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 150.

¹⁵⁹ In Vol. I, pp. 216-224, we practically reconstructed the text of St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises from Xavier's words. On this see also Fermin de Urmeneta, "Ascética Xaveriana. Reminiscencias de los 'Ejercicios' en las cartas de Javier," *Manresa* 24 (1952) 265-279, and I. Iparraguirre, "Los Ejercicios espirituales Ignacianos, el método misional de S. Francisco Javier y la misión Jesuítica de la India en el siglo XVI," *Studia Missionalia* 5 (1950) 3-43.

¹⁶⁰ L. Michel enumerates fourteen points to indicate that the same spirit inspired Ignatius and Xavier. He finds a difference in outlook in only two: Ignatius gave orders in virtue of holy obedience only from weighty reasons (FN II 487), whereas Xavier did this frequently. Ignatius would have preferred that Xavier had remained in India and sent another to China, whereas Xavier went there himself (*Vie de S. François Xavier* [Paris, 1908] 454-467). But Xavier was in India, where the great distances and the rare postal service could bring it about that a mission could remain empty for years if his orders were not immediately obeyed. With respect to the voyage to China, Ignatius was still of the opinion that Xavier was also in this led by the Holy Spirit (DI III 3).

¹⁶¹ As Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra in 1584 (FN IV 971-972; see also **Teixeira It.*, P. 3, c. 8a).—A reader of this section on Xavier's spirituality may perhaps here miss

7. THE CARES OF THE PROVINCIAL (MARCH—APRIL, 1552)

March was already coming to a close, and the time for sailing to China was growing nearer. Francis was busy with preparations for the voyage and with the care of his confreres in St. Paul's College, but he was also occupied with other spiritual labors in Goa and with the many visitors who came to see him. He had moreover to think of the distant stations and confreres. News had come from Ormuz, Bassein, and San Thomé that required his interventions.

On March 23 he wrote a letter to Father Gonçalo Rodrigues, who had been sent to take the place of Master Gaspar in Ormuz in 1551.¹ He had to order him in virtue of holy obedience to be subject to the vicar of the city in all things, and to preach, hear confessions, and celebrate Mass only with his permission. Under no circumstances should he break with him, and he should also remain on good terms with the beneficiaries.² He began his letter as follows:

God our Lord knows how much happier I would be to know you personally than to write to you, since there are many things which can be treated better in words and face to face than they can through letters.

I am very glad to hear news of you from those who come from there, though I would have been much happier to have seen a letter from you in which you would have given me an account of the fruit which you have produced, or to say it better, that which God does through you, and what He ceases to do and to confide to you because of the impediments and faults coming from your part....

What I commend you to do in virtue of obedience is that you should be very obedient to the *Padre vigario*,³ and that you should preach and hear confessions and

deductions from the saint's graphology. Girolamo Moretti, O.F.M.Con., who died in 1963, wrote a comprehensive *Trattato di Grafologia*, which appeared in an eighth, enlarged edition in 1955. He was of the opinion that the most improbable things can be concluded from the examination of a person's writing. He also wrote *I Santi della Scrittura. Esami grafologici* (Padova, 1952), which has been translated into German, French, Dutch, and English. On pp. 166-171 of this work, he discusses Xavier and, as a sample of his writing, uses the saint's letter to Ignatius of January 29, 1552. In this regard one should make a comparison of the three samples of Xavier's writing given in EX I, 1, and note the great difference between Xavier's writing in 1540, 1545, and 1552. This should have been taken into account in his analysis. See also with respect to his conclusions the critical observations of A. Rodewyck in *Geist und Leben* 31 (1958) 218-226. On Moretti, see *Scritture, Rivista di Problemi Grafologici* I (Ancona, 1971) 11-15.

¹ Gonçalo Rodrigues was born in 1517 or 1518 in Calheiros (Braga), a son of João de Prol and Constança de Velas. He entered the Society in Coimbra in 1545, having been moved to do so by the preaching of Strada (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 624; DI IV 453). He sailed as a priest to India in 1551 (DI II 199 238), arriving there at the beginning of September. Eight days later he was sent to Ormuz to take the place of Master Gaspar (*ibid.* 410). After laboring with success (*ibid.* 331-377), he had to return gravely ill to Goa in 1553 (*ibid.* 484 518). In 1554 he was in Bassein (*ibid.* 187), and in 1555 he was sent to Abyssinia in order to learn the Negus' opinion on the sending of the patriarch (see his letter in Beccari X 48-51, and the accounts of Paes, *ibid.* III 27-33, and Almeida, *ibid.* V 351-367). He returned in 1556. In 1557 he was again on the Bassein-Thāna mission, where he founded the station of Trindade (see his letters, *ibid.* III 690-693; IV 96-105 113-118). He was sick in Goa in 1560. In 1561 he accompanied the embassy to Adil Khān (see his letters, *ibid.* V 129-145). In 1561 he was again in Thāna as superior (*ibid.* V 268 619 631-632; VI 84-85). In October, 1564, he returned deathly ill to Goa (*ibid.* VI 337-338 602), where he died at the beginning of 1565, "after having served as a true servant of God in the Society" (*ibid.* 492). The judgments of 1559 and 1560 speak highly of him (*ibid.* IV 385-386 399 543 469 519). See Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 624-640. He is not to be confused with the Spaniard Gonzalo Rodríguez, who sailed to India in 1561.

² EX II 321-326. Xavier sent Brother Alvaro Mendes to help him (*ibid.* 451).

³ In 1545 the vicar was Roque Domingues, who however went to India in this same year (Q 1525). In 1547 the captain of Ormuz wrote that the vicar was young and not

say Mass with his permission and good pleasure. And attend to what I command you in virtue of obedience, that you do not for any reason break with the *Padre vigario*. Do what you can well with him.... Show great respect to the other *Padres*,⁴ and see that you do not condemn anyone; be friendly to all. They should find an example in you in the way that you obey the *Padre vigario*, and the people should consequently take example from you so that they fully obey the *Padre vigario* in all things. And see that the fruit which you have to produce is more to be had by giving them an example of obedience and humility than by preaching.

Avoid being singular, and put aside the favor of the world, and abhor all vain opinion of yourself. This presumption of seeking to be singular does harm to many of our Society. I have dismissed many from the Society of the name of Jesus after returning from Japão because I found them subject to this vice and to others. Take great care that you do not do something for which you would be dismissed. In order to live in humility in our Society, you should remember how much greater need you have of the Society than the Society has of you. Therefore be ever watchful, and never be forgetful of yourself. For what remembrance will one have of others if one forgets oneself? I am writing these lines to you because of the love which I have for you and the good which I desire for you, and also because of some things which have reached this city from there and are not of much humility and obedience and edification.

I have ordered Mestre Gaspar to write to you, since he has experience of that land, so that he may give you advice on how you may better serve God our Lord; and you may thus reckon his letters as though they were mine so that you may follow them.

I warn you not to intervene in marriage cases, and not to absolve those who are secretly married without the express command or permission of the *Padre vigario*; and I order you this in virtue of obedience so that you comply with it.

When Mestre Gaspar went to Ormuz, I gave him certain rules so that he might guide himself by them. It seems to me that the copy is there with you.⁵ Read it once each week so that it will remain better in your memory, and so that you may help yourself in the things pertaining to the service of God.

Since it is very important for the service of God that you show much obedience and humility towards the *Padre vigario*, I order you in virtue of obedience through this present letter that you ask pardon with much humility, getting down upon your knees, for all the disobediences and failures of the past, and that you kiss his hand, telling him that you are doing this through obedience; he will then give you an order so that you may practice obedience. And for greater conformity and humility, you should once each week kiss his hand....

See to it that in your preaching you do not offend anyone. Do not seek to preach subtle and learned matters but only moral questions. With much modesty and piety reproach the sins of the people. Reprehend public sinners fraternally and in secret....

Write to me in great detail what God is doing through you in that city and of the friendship that exists between you and the *vigario* and the other *Padres* and all the people; for from this college letters will be sent to me in China, where I am now going; and I shall be very happy there to see your letters. I am leaving Goa twenty days from now.

Affairs in Japão are going very prosperously. Padre Cosme de Torrez and João Fernández are staying there with the many Christians who have already been converted and are being every day converted. They know the language well and, because of this, are producing very great fruit. This year Brothers are going there to help them. The hardships which they endure there are much greater than I can put in writing, and without making a comparison, greater than those which you are experiencing there and the Brothers who are in these regions, no matter how great they may be. I am writing

suitied for the difficult position (Q 3206). In 1549 the vicar was Antonio de Moura (DI I 660).

⁴ There were in addition to the vicar in Ormuz four beneficiaries (Botelho, *Tombo* 96).

⁵ EX II 80-101.

this to you so that you may constantly remember them in your sacrifices and prayers to God our Lord.

When you write to the college, write also with great brevity and obedience and reverence to the Lord Bishop, and give him an account of what you are doing there since he is our prelate, and has so much love for us, and favors us in all that he can.

I am writing this letter to you as to a man who has virtue and perfection to understand and savour, and not to a weak man in whom I little trust. . . . And since, through the mercy of God, we shall soon see each other in the glory of paradise, I say no more than that you remember with what love I am writing this letter to you, and this so that you may receive it with that true intent, love, and good will with which I am writing to you.

From this college of Santa Fé of Goa on the twenty-second of March, 1552.

Show this letter to the *Padre vigario*.

Your Brother in Christ,

Francisco.

On March 27 Xavier wrote a second letter for André de Carvalho, the brother of Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, to Simon Rodrigues.⁶ Carvalho was sick in body and soul. He suffered from constant headaches in the Indian climate, and an irresistible homesickness was pulling him back to Morocco, where his father and his two brothers were fighting against the Moors. He hoped that in Portugal his health would improve and that he would be able to continue his studies. Xavier ordered him to go to Cochin and to sail for Portugal with the next fleet at the beginning of 1553. His accompanying letter was brief and addressed to Simon Rodrigues, and since the latter was on the point of traveling to Rome for the general congregation, it was addressed in his absence to the rector of the college of Coimbra. It read as follows:

My dearest Brother in Christ, Mestre Simão.

I shall be brief in writing to you at this time since I must write to you at length through many other letters in order to let you know the news of our Society in these parts of India. It seems proper for me to send to Portugal André Carvalho, the bearer of this present letter, because he is sick in these parts and there is his native country, where he will perhaps be better. He is a leading person in this Kingdom, from what all tell me, and a person from whom much can be hoped because of the virtues which God our Lord has given him and in His mercy will increase. I can write nothing of him except that he has much virtue. I hope in God our Lord that, after he has acquired learning and virtues in greater abundance, he will produce much fruit in the Society. I earnestly ask you for the love of the service of God our Lord, my Brother, Mestre Simão, that you receive him with that love and charity with which André de Carvalho and I hope that he will be received and consoled.

I shall write to you in great detail the news in these parts of India before I leave for China, which will be fifteen days from now. May God our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise, since I do not know when we shall see each other again physically in this life. Know for certain, my Brother, Mestre Simão, that I keep you impressed upon my soul; and since I am constantly seeing you in spirit, the physical sight of you, which I so greatly desire to see, does not now cause me such concern as it did, and this is so because I see you ever present in my soul.

Written in Goa, today, the twenty-seventh of March, 1552.

Mestre Francisco.

⁶ *Ibid.* 327-330. According to Franco, Xavier told him at the time of his departure that he would die where his relatives had lost their lives [in Africa] (*Ano Santo* 50).

In Bassein Melchior Gonçalves had given serious scandal to the people, and Xavier had already written to Misser Paulo from Cochin that he should be called back to Goa. He now came⁷ with a letter from Father Melchior Nunes Barreto, whom Francis had sent to Bassein at the beginning of March with the scholastic Luis Frois⁸ so that he might take Gonçalves' place as superior. Barreto was consequently alone with Father Francisco Lopes, who, in keeping with Xavier's instructions,⁹ had been sent there as a preacher in 1550. But Xavier had now to recall him also from there to Goa. New assistants were consequently needed in Bassein. Xavier had already sent there Paulo Guzerate, who had been a student for many years in St. Paul's College, as an interpreter. Father Francisco Henriques and three scholastics—Fernão do Souro, Gil Barreto, and Manuel Teixeira—were now similarly designated for the Bassein mission. They were to sail there after his own departure.¹⁰ Francis answered Barreto's letter on April 3:¹¹

I received your letter through Belchior Gonçalves. I am very happy with it. May it please God to grant you the grace to give a good fragrance to our Society since the people there have been so scandalized by us. For the service of God I recommend to you as much as I can that you edify those people to the extent of your abilities. If you are prudent and humble, I hope in God that you will produce much fruit.

I am sending you Francisco Amriques so that he may remain with Manuel in Tanaa;¹² and Jorio can stay with you¹³ in order to take care of the affairs of the house, and Barreto¹⁴ to teach, and you to edify, to teach Christian doctrine, to preach, and to

⁷ He was dismissed by Xavier (EX II 347; Pérez, *Informação* 71; Polanco IV 551).

⁸ Seb. Gonçalves wrote that Xavier had sent Father Belchior Gonçalves and Brother Luis Frois to Bassein before the winter of 1549. A copy of his text has by error *Simão Luis Froez* (3, 22) instead of *Irmão Luis Froez*. This has led to the false assumption that Simão de Vera was perhaps sent with Frois (DI I 563, corrected in VIII 777). At the end of October, 1551, Frois accompanied Barzaeus from Bassein to Chaul. On December 1, 1552, he noted that he had been at that time for a year on the Bassein mission (*ibid.* II 459-460). On January 12, 1549, Xavier wrote that there were two confreres in Bassein (EX II 9); and on February 2, 1549, he left Melchior Gonçalves there with a helper (*ibid.* 74). In October, 1549, Gago wrote that Belchior Gonçalves was in Bassein with two brothers (DI I 563). On April 24, 1552, Xavier wrote to Barzaeus from Cochin that he should exercise Baltasar Nunes and the brother who came with Belchior Gonçalves from Bassein much in lowly tasks (EX II 441-442). By this brother is meant Frois, since we encounter him in Goa from April, 1552, on. There, in St. Paul's College, he was an eyewitness of Xavier's last days in that city (DI II 455). He has given an extensive account (*ibid.* 450-456) of the frequent reports which Xavier gave at the time on Japan (*JapSin.* 5, 135; 6, 113; 8, 225). He also frequently served his Mass, as he wrote to his confreres in Coimbra and Evora in 1593 (Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 971).

⁹ In June, 1549, Xavier had written from Malacca to Goa that if preachers came from Portugal that year, one of them should be sent to Bassein, even if A. Gomes was the only preacher left in the college in Goa; and he had given this order to A. Gomes under holy obedience (EX II 129). The letter reached Goa in March, 1550, and Lopes was accordingly sent to Bassein, perhaps with Frois. Lopes had entered the order in Goa in 1548 and was ordained to the priesthood there in 1549. He was a good priest but had studied only the rudiments of theology. He lacked not only the necessary knowledge but also the requisite prudence. He is to be distinguished from different namesakes. One of these entered the order in Goa in 1556; the other there in 1581; the third entered in Portugal in 1589 and sailed to India in 1592.

¹⁰ We conclude this from the fact, for example, that Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra that he had been present at Xavier's departure from Goa. The latter took with him three confreres and the Chinese Antonio, "E estas 4 pessoas vimos ir com elle todos os que emtão neste collegio de Goa estavamos" (FN IV 969).

¹¹ EX II 330-334. The letter was dictated, which explains its faulty orthography.

¹² Teixeira.

¹³ Fernão do Souro.

¹⁴ Gil Barreto.

instruct. I am very happy with what you write about the order which you have established for preaching.¹⁵ Practice yourself as much as you can in preaching, for I hope in God our Lord that if you are humble you will become a great preacher.

Send Francisco Lopez to this college at once with the first ship that sails here from there, and under no circumstances may he remain there.

Read the items which I have recommended to you many times. Experience will teach you many things if you are humble and prudent; in the meantime guide yourself by the instructions which you have obtained from here. Francisco Amriquez is going to be under your obedience; and see to it that you order him in virtue of obedience that he avoid scandalizing anyone, and that he should be very patient and agreeable; and you should take pains to learn if the people are offended by him or by the others and immediately employ remedies if they are. And see to it that you are very vigilant with respect to yourself and then with respect to the others; and see to it that you immediately dismiss from the Society those who are caught in public sins and give great scandal to the people, for I shall regard those whom you dismiss from the Society as being dismissed, since I confide so much in your prudence that you will dismiss them with just cause and reason.

With respect to the revenues of the college there, see that they are used more on spiritual than on material temples. Build only those material temples which are necessary and cannot be avoided. All the rest will be for spiritual temples. I therefore order you to take in native boys and teach them when they are small so that when they grow up they shall produce fruit.

During the past days I have sent there Paulo Gozarate,¹⁶ who was taught here in the college for many years; he has a very good tongue for teaching the Christians of the land and to preach to them all that which the *Padre* tells him.

With respect to the revenues of the house there, it seems to me that it will be good to employ them in accordance with the intention of the King, just as you have written to me, and also so that the people are not scandalized. If you can easily see to it that some cottons¹⁷ come to this house, so that those here can be clothed in them, do so; and if this cannot be done without depriving those who are there, then, in that case, use them all there to the service of God.

Be very zealous in preaching and hearing confessions and visit the hospital,¹⁸ the prisoners, and the Misericordia. Doing these things with humility and charity, God will grant you favor with the people. Even though you should not gain favor with your preaching, you will produce much fruit. And take care of what I recommend, that you be very friendly with the *vigaryo* and all the *Padres* and the captain, and the officials of the King, and of all the people, since upon your knowing how to obtain the good

¹⁵ On December 7, 1552, M. Nunes Barreto wrote from Bassein to his confreres in Coimbra about his preaching in Goa: "The whole time up until February [1552], five whole months, I was preaching and hearing confessions in Goa, but in the manner which you there know, with very little humility and little devotion, *buscando pontinhos pera agradar por via de letrado, ... querendo alumear a outros sem em mim ser abrazado, espirava como candeia que tem o pavio humido e não desposto pera, ardendo primeiro bem em si, alumear a acender outros*" (DI II 494). Cabral also passed judgment on Barreto's preaching in 1559: "Muito letrado e visto na Escritura ... e inda que no pregar nam tem muita graça, folgam muito todos de o ouvir" (*ibid.* IV 451).

¹⁶ Called "Gujarati" from his native land. Xavier ordered Torres to give the Exercises to four of the native Latin students in St. Paul's College: Diogo (from Mozambique), André [Vaz] (from Carambolim), Paulo (from Gujarāt), and Manuel (probably the Chinese who sailed with Xavier to Japan). They made these with many tears and a great understanding of Christ, as he wrote on January 25, 1549 (DI I 478).

¹⁷ Xavier is speaking of *teadas*, the valued cotton textiles of Thāna (Dalgado II 364). The city was famed for its looms, especially those of the silk weavers (DI II 541). Before it was destroyed by the Moors, it had five thousand silk looms alone, as Francisco Henriques wrote in 1556 (*ibid.* III 591). The art of weaving also flourished in Bassein (Botelho, *Caritas* 7).

¹⁸ The hospital lay "defronte da fortaleza, pera a banda do mar, junto da Misericordia" (Botelho, *Tombo* 217).

will of these men, making yourself loved by them, depends the fruit you will produce with your preaching. Write to me in Malaqua in September in great detail about the fruit which you are producing; and also write frequently to this college. May God our Lord join us together in the glory of paradise. Amen.

Written in Goa on the third day of April, 1552.

Francisco.

During the night of Passion Sunday, the same day that Xavier wrote this letter, Father Domingos Carvalho, one of the three whom Francis had called to Japan, died piously. He had received him into the Society in Goa, and Carvalho had always been an example for all because of his meekness and humility. As a teacher of the humanities, he had not only instructed his pupils in Latin, but he had also inspired them with a love of virtue. He had always been constant in his vocation, and although he had been spitting blood for a year and a half he had retained his longing to die in Japan.¹⁹ Master Gaspar, the second one to be called there, was now out of the question; and the third, Gago, was destined for China.²⁰ It was about this time that Xavier dictated a letter to him for Cipriano, the old, thoughtless and tactless zealot who had quarreled with the vicar in San Thomé as had his companion Gonçalo Fernandes. He had thus given public scandal and needed to be given a sharp rebuke.²¹ At the beginning of his letter Francis went straight to the point:

You have carried out very badly the instructions which I gave on what you should do in Sancto Thomé.²² It is clear that little remains of the conversation of our blessed Father Ignatio.²³ It seems very bad to me that you are bringing accusations and complaints against the *vigairo*. You always use your strong temper. All that you do on the one hand you destroy on the other. Know for certain that I am displeased with the quarrels which you provoke there. If the *vigairo* does not do what he should, he will not emend his ways because of your corrections, especially when they are given with little prudence, as you give them. You are now so accustomed to do your own will that no matter where you are you offend everyone with your way of acting, and would make others believe that it is your temperament to be so violent.²⁴ May it please God that some day you do penance for these follies.

For the love of our Lord I ask you to subdue your will, and that in the future you emend the past; for it is not a trait of character to be so irritable but a great neglect which you have of God and of your conscience and of the love of your neighbors. And know for certain that at the hour of your death you will certainly discover that what I am telling you is true. I earnestly ask you in the name of our blessed Father Ignatio that in these few days which remain to you,²⁵ you greatly emend yourself so that you become docile, meek, patient, and humble. And know for certain that everything is gained through humility. If you cannot do as much as you desire, do what you can do well. Nothing is achieved in these parts of India by force, and the good which is done through humility fails to be done when you seek to do things through shouting

¹⁹ DI II 452 512.

²⁰ EX II 340 361 371 472; DI II 411 (this is the first time he is mentioned as being destined for China) 453-454 581.

²¹ EX II 384-391.

²² Cyprian was sent to San Thomé before Xavier's departure for Japan in 1549. The instruction which Xavier gave him is lost (EX II 80).

²³ Cyprian had entered the Society in Rome (MI *Epp.* I 184; EX II 361; DI III 297-302).

²⁴ In 1543 Simão Rodrigues wrote to Ignatius about Cyprian: "Le devéis excribir que ubedesca y se humilie y quebre su juizio, porque es hecho tan gran sátrapa que diera consejo al imperador, y sy no lo recibiere, entonces pensará más acertar" (*Ep. Broëti* 532).

²⁵ In November, 1555, Cyprian wrote that he was sixty-five years old (DI III 301).

and impatience.... I know well that none of these things will be of any use, but I am not unaware that at the hour of your death you will be sorry for them.

It seems to me that Gonçalo Fernández²⁶ is also of your temperament, untractable and little patient. And with the pretext of the service of God our Lord, you hide your impatience, saying that the zeal for God and for souls moves you to do what you do. What you cannot obtain from the *vigairo* through humility, you will not attain through discord.

For the love and obedience which you would have towards Father Ignatio, I ask you that, after you have read this letter, you go to the *vigairo* and kneel down on both knees upon the earth and ask his pardon for all that has passed and kiss his hand; and I would be more consoled if you would kiss his feet and promise him that as long as you are to remain there, you will not deviate in anything from his will. And believe me that in the hour of your death you will be glad to have done this; and confide in God our Lord and do not doubt that when God sees your humility, and it has been manifested to the people, that all which you will ask for the service of God and the salvation of souls will be granted to you. You and others are clearly wrong in this: without possessing much humility and giving great signs of it to the people with whom you converse, you ask that the people do what you demand as to Brothers of the Society; and you do not remember and do not lay a foundation in the virtues of our Father Ignatio, because of which God gave him so much authority among the people....

I know full well that if we were present to each other that you would tell me that you are not to blame for what you have done, since you did it for the love of God and the salvation of souls. Know for certain and do not doubt that I shall not accept any excuse from you, and that I shall be distressed by nothing so much as by your justifying yourself; and I also confess that I shall not be consoled by anything so much as by your accusing yourself. I ask you above all that you have no open disputes with the *vigario*, priests,²⁷ captains,²⁸ and persons who have authority in the land, even though you see things that have been badly done. Those for which you can provide a good remedy, do so; and do not run the risk of losing through quarreling all that you could well achieve through humility and meekness.

Francis dictated his letter in Portuguese this far. He then, for the conclusion, wrote in Spanish in his own hand:

O Cypriano, if you knew the love with which I am writing these things to you, you would remember me by day and night, and you would perhaps weep in recalling to mind the great love which I have for you; and if the hearts of men could be seen in this life, believe, my Brother Cypriano, that you would see yourself clearly in my soul.

Entirely yours, without ever my being able to forget you.

Francisco.²⁹

²⁶ Nothing further is known about him. He was one of those who had been received by A. Gomes. In 1551 he was sent to San Thomé to replace the ailing brother Gaspar Rodrigues, who returned to Goa. Rodrigues died in Goa on March 29, 1551 (DI I 520 560; II 288 452-453). Gonçalo Fernandes is no longer mentioned in the catalog of 1553. He is not to be confused with his namesakes, for example, the well-known opponent of Nobili, who was gained for the Society by H. Henriques in 1561 and died in 1621 (Besse 199-202 432), and others who entered the Society in Portugal in 1556 and 1561 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 15v 167). João Lopes was sent to San Thomé to take his place in 1552 (DI II 451).

²⁷ *Padres*, that is, the beneficiaries.

²⁸ Meant is the captain of the Coromandel Coast. In 1546 this was Gabriel de Ataíde (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 383).

²⁹ The letter proved to be effective. Cyprian died in San Thomé in 1559, revered by all as a saint. Lancilotto, who had been helped by Cyprian in Quilon in 1554, wrote to Ignatius in 1555: "Elle hé o mesmo Sepriano que sempre foy, e por me parecer que V. R. o conhece muito bem, não me estendo mais" (DI III 227). Frois wrote of him: "Foi a sua morte, en Choromandel, mui sentida e chorada, de todo povo. Os religiosos de S.

8. THE APPOINTMENT OF MASTER GASPAR AS VICE-PROVINCIAL (APRIL 6, 1552)

During the middle of April, 1551,¹ Master Gaspar had received Xavier's letter of November 5, 1549, in Ormuz with joy and gratitude. By calling him to come to Japan with Gago, and Domingos,² it had fulfilled a desire which he had long cherished.³ The letter had been brought by Dom Antão de Noronha's fleet, which had sailed on March 29 from Goa in order to recapture the fortress of al-Katif from the Turks.⁴ It had been forwarded by Antonio Gomes, to whom Xavier had written that Barzaeus should sail with the first ship leaving Ormuz so that he could embark in April in Goa for Japan. At Xavier's request, he had also sent along with it a copy of the long letter⁵ which Francis had sent from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa expressing his high hopes for the spread of the Gospel in the great kingdom of Japan and in the still greater empire of China.⁶

Even before receiving Xavier's letter, Gaspar had dreamed of distant China, where he soon hoped to go, and where, with the permission of Father Antonio Gomes, he hoped to take with him his companions, more than twelve of whom had been won over.⁷ But now, after receiving Xavier's letter, when he spoke of his departure for Japan, he encountered great opposition. His friends and followers in Ormuz did not want him to leave under any circumstance. They even planned on keeping him captive until the time for sailing was past so that he would not be able to leave the city. Barzaeus showed Xavier's order to Dom Antão de Noronha, but he too declared that the service of God and of the king required him to sail with the fleet to al-Katif so that he might encourage the soldiers there in their battle with the Turks. It was only a serious illness which eventually obliged him to remain in Ormuz. He therefore sent his companion André Fernandes on the expedition to take his place.⁸ When the fleet had finally returned

Francisco, que se hay acharão, lhe fizerão o ofitio do seu interramento pregando hum deles sobre o mesmo Padre, mostrando ao povo quanta rezam tinham de sentir a falta de hum pay que tanto trabalhara por sua salvação e que lhe fora tam vivo e continuo e exemplo pera se emmendam" (DI IV 286-287). And M. Nunes Barreto wrote: "Em San Tomé hé falecido o P. Cypriano, homem inteiro e zeloso no serviço de Deus; ali-quando excedia a medida no zelo, mas erão tantas as obras da charidade e virtudes que fazia, que foi chorado não somente dos portugueses e christãos da terra, senão também de gentios e mouros; sentirão todos que perderão hum comum emparo" (*ibid.* 515).

¹ Under normal circumstances Xavier's letter of November 5, 1549, could have reached Goa in the middle of March, 1550, and Ormuz in the middle of April. But the junk bearing it did not reach Malacca until April 2, 1550; the crew had remained longer in China because of the burial of their captain, who had died in Kagoshima (DI III 109). Pérez had sent Xavier's letter from Malacca to India at the end of November (cf. his letters of November 24 and 26, 1550, in DI II 103 and 116). The viceroy was not able to report the reception of the letters from Malacca and to send them on from Cochín until January 23, 1551 (Q 4592; cf. also 4571 4582, and DI II 153). The Malacca ships usually came from Cochín to Goa in the middle of March (Sá III 499); and, after their arrival, the ships sailed, still in this same month, with the mail from Goa to Ormuz, where they usually arrived in April, fifteen days after their departure (DI II 269).

² EX II 214-215.

³ "Tenho já leixado Urmuz pera melhor compryr com a sancta hobidiencia, que me chama pera Japão e pera a China. O Senhor ma deixe comprir os meus desejos que sempre tive tão asezos pera esta parte pera onde me chamão" (DI II 257).

⁴ Q 4746. Couto gives the departure from Goa as being on April 1. He also gives the names of the captains (6, 9, 4).

⁵ DI II 222-223.

⁶ EX II 209-210; see also 217-218.

⁷ Letter of November 24, 1550, to his confreres in Coimbra (DI II 83-85).

⁸ *Ibid.* 257-259.

to Ormuz after the fall of the Turkish fortress, and, with the beginning of September, the time had come for it to sail back to India, Gaspar's admirers in the city sought to prevent his departure so as not lose such a precious treasure. They even maintained a watch to prevent him by force from embarking, and it was only through a ruse that he succeeded in sailing away.⁹ He had persuaded Dom Antão to send a boat to a lonely spot on the island which took his possessions, his two companions, and finally himself to Noronha's galleon without being observed.¹⁰

Xavier's long letter on missionary prospects in Japan and mighty China had still further aroused Gaspar's enthusiasm for this great kingdom.¹¹ From the reports which he had received, it seemed to him that China and Germany were only separated by Great Tartary. In December, 1551, as a proof of this, he sent to Ignatius from Goa a number of rhubarb roots which Tartar caravans had brought from China to Ormuz.¹² He hoped to write to Ignatius from China and, after the country had been converted, to give him a long oral account of it by going to Rome straight through Great Tartary, since nothing is impossible to God.¹³ This same year, five days before Christmas, he had also written a letter to his confreres in Coimbra, to which he added the following postscript:

Farewell in the Lord until we see each other in glory! I shall reveal to you a great temptation which I have: It seems to me that part of China is to be converted, and that I must cross through Tartary for Rome to ask for men from Father Ignatio.¹⁴

Master Gaspar had not returned to Goa from Ormuz empty-handed. It was true that he had brought only two companions with him for Japan: five others had been carried off before his departure by the unbearable summer heat of the island,¹⁵ and he had not been able to take the rest with him at the time of his secret embarkment. Nevertheless two *fidalgos*, both captains in the fleet which brought him back, had at the time of his landing offered to accompany him to Japan.¹⁶ Barzaeus had also brought back with him for Japan rich trappings of brocade, velvet, and silk, all the vessels and vestments for a pontifical High Mass, a large, fine altarpiece, an altar canopy, carpets, other similar objects, and eight hundred *pardaus* in coins.¹⁷

Xavier therefore demanded of Master Gaspar a great sacrifice when he demolished all these dreams for the future with a single stroke by appointing him as his representative in Goa for the duration of his absence in China.¹⁸ It was of

⁹ *Ibid.* 262 269.

¹⁰ According to Trigault, from a lost letter (3, 3, pp. 228-234), probably the detailed Latin report which Gaspar mentions in his letter to Ignatius (DI II 259).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 269.

¹² *Ibid.* 257.

¹³ *Ibid.* 266.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 273.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 273 456.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 244 263.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 244 454; EX II 440.

¹⁸ Gaspar wrote to Ignatius on January 12, 1553: "La orden que dexó el P. Maestro Francisco fué que yo tubiesse cargo, en su absentia, deste collegio y de todos los de la India. Puede V. P. considerar la confusión que yo tengo, consideradas mis flaquezas. Eran muy grandes los desseos que yo sentia de hazer sacrificio de mí al Señor en el Japán y aquel mar Scítico [the North China Sea]; pero siempre hallo más acepto a Dios el sacrificio de la obediencia y propria voluntad que ningún otro" (DI II 580). In a letter that is now lost, he wrote to Simon Rodrigues that he was bearing the intolerable yoke of his new office as a severe punishment for his sins (Trigault 3, 7, pp. 249-250).

no avail that he pleaded his unsuitableness for such a high and responsible office. The only thing he succeeded in obtaining from Xavier was a promise that when André Fernandes sailed as a reporter to Rome, he would take a letter with him in which he, Francis, would ask Ignatius for a successor in India.¹⁹

On April 6 Xavier drew up the document through which he appointed Master Gaspar as rector of St. Paul's College and vice-provincial of all the lands east of the Cape of Good Hope during his own absence. He further ordered him to dismiss immediately from the Society all those who would not obey him, even though they otherwise possessed excellent qualities; and he should never take back into the Society any of those whom he, Xavier, had dismissed before sailing for China. He should, however, surrender his office if Ignatius or, after his death, another general of the order sent a successor.²⁰ And, to give a good example to all, Master Francis was the first to subject himself to his authority.²¹

As a complement to this Xavier dictated a further instruction for Gago with the following legend upon it: "Jesus! This codicil will be opened if Padre Mestre Gaspar should die before the *Praeposito Geral* of the whole Society of the name of Jesus provides for a rector of this college to have charge of it and of all those who are in these parts." He then folded and sealed it with the round black seal of the order. In the document it was ordained that if Father Gaspar should die before Ignatius had sent a successor, Manuel de Morais should take his place; and, if he were absent, Misser Paulo should act as rector of the college and vice-provincial until his arrival. And if Morais were dead, his place should be taken by Melchior Nunes Barreto until the general sent a successor.²²

Xavier also dictated a second document to Gago²³ and handed it to Gaspar along with a sealed letter. The first of these read as follows:

Master Gaspar! What you will do in virtue of obedience is the following: First of all, if Antonio Gomez should leave Dio during the whole of this year in which we are now in so as to go to another part for any reason whatever, you will open up this codicil and send him a copy of what it contains, and the original will remain in your possession. You will also write to him in conformity with the contents of the codicil.

After the ships have sailed for the kingdom, even if Antonio Gomes has made no preparations for sailing from Dio, you will open the codicil and send him a copy of it. You will show the original to the Lord Bishop, and the copy will go with the authentication of the Lord Bishop. And you will earnestly ask the Lord Bishop that he may write to him, and that he may order him as his subject in virtue of obedience what he must do.²⁴ According to my opinion, the best would be that he should stay in Dyo.

¹⁹ He wrote to Ignatius as follows: "O Padre Mestre Francisco, decrarando-lhe eu a minha insufficiencia para hum cargo tamanho, como este que me deixou, ainda que não... recuso os trabalhos por amor de Jesu Christo, todavia sou obrigado a descobrir aos sopriores aquelas cousas que porventura não conhecerão em mim.... Pelo quel elle, doendo-se de mim... ordenou de mandar este noso Irmão André Fernández..., que elle fose representar a V. Sancta Charidade a necessidade que caa temos na nosa Companhia em ausentia do Padre Mestre Francisco, o qual anda em terras tam remotas e pasa por tantos perigos,... de hum varão mui perfeito na virtude" (DI II 591).

²⁰ EX II 335-339.

²¹ On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote that God, "cortando o filo a seus sanctos deseyos que tinha de padecer em Japão," ordained that Xavier should appoint Master Gaspar as his representative, "e pera nisto aynda se mostrar mais decora e excelente umildade do P. Mestre Francisco elle foy o primeiro que se someteo bebayxo de sua obedientia" (DI II 456).

²² EX II 340-342. The original is still extant.

²³ *Ibid.* 382-383. The original of this is also extant, but not the sealed letter that was enclosed with it.

²⁴ In the sealed letter Xavier informed A. Gomes that he was dismissing him from

If André Carvalho does not go this year to the kingdom, dismiss him from the Society. Do not allow him in any way, for I expressly forbid it, to receive orders in Yndia, neither of the Gospel or of the Mass, even if the Lord Bishop should go this year to Cochin. And if André Carvalho should come to Goa in opposition to what I have ordered him, you will not receive him in the college, but you will dismiss him from the Society if he comes here this year. And you will dismiss him from the Society, for this is my intent. And you will tell the Lord Bishop on my behalf that I earnestly ask him the favor of not giving him the orders of the Gospel or of the Mass.²⁵

Francisco.

As rector of St. Paul's College, Gaspar presented Xavier with his plan for its reorganization.

The king had granted the revenues of the pagodas of Goa to the college, which had been founded exclusively for native students,²⁶ and these revenues brought in around 1,500 *pardaus* every year. In addition to this he had given the college an annual income of 800 *milreis* (the equivalent of 2,000 *cruzados*), payable from the revenues of the city of Goa;²⁷ and in 1549 he had expressly declared that this sum should be in addition to the revenues from the pagodas.²⁸ Besides these, the college received the gifts of the pagans and Moors for the king and queen. In 1548 these amounted to 1,300 *cruzados*,²⁹ and in 1549 to 1,000.³⁰ In 1551 the king had relinquished to the Society of Jesus the colleges of Goa and Bassein with all their revenues, and he had decreed that candidates and confreres of the

the Society. On November 16, 1552, the viceroy Noronha wrote to Master Gaspar from Diu: "I found Antonio Gomes here. He is giving very good example and has produced much fruit and he greatly longs to remain in the Society and to remain here the whole time that he is ordered to do so" (DI II 404). But when he learned about his dismissal after the departure of the Portuguese ships at the beginning of 1553, he decided to return to Europe; and on February 1, 1554, he sailed on the *São Bento* from Cochin for Portugal. It was the largest, strongest, and best ship of the fleet, but it was so overladen that it had difficulties in opposing the storms at sea. On April 23, it was wrecked and sank at the mouth of the Rio do Infante (now called the Great Fish River) east of the Cape of Good Hope. As a final remedy, the main mast was chopped down so that it fell towards the land and formed a bridge, which all sought to cross. When its entire length was filled with men, three or four huge waves carried them all off into the deep. When the survivors were counted on the beach, around 150 people were missing: 100 negro slaves and 44 Portuguese, and among these latter was Antonio Gomes (Gomes de Brito I 47-49 61-65). André Fernandes, who had been ordered by Xavier to give an oral report in Portugal and Rome about those who had been dismissed in India, had not yet reached Rome when Polanco, at the request of the general of the order, wrote to Gaspar Barzaeus on December 24, 1553, about the dismissal of A. Gomes: "Del P. Antonio Gómez ha entendido nuestro Padre la despedida que ordenó el P. Maestro Francisco. Las causas no se sabe acá; podría ser que se ubiessen remitido al Hermano que de allá enbiaron, y este no es venido a Roma, ni tanpoco ha escrito. Entendiendo que es buen predicador, si tubiesse subietto en lo demás bueno para la Compañía, párecele a nuestro Padre que se le permitta venir a Roma a dar razón de sí, si él quiere venir.... Y no se piense que sea esta permissão de venir a Roma inprobar lo hecho por el P. Maestro Francisco, que antes se piensa habrá hecho muy bien" (DI III 41-42). On the dismissal of A. Gomes, see also GS III 328-329.

²⁵ Carvalho sailed back for Portugal at the beginning of 1553. On his later life, see Vol. III, pp. 541-542.

²⁶ Cf. the résumé of the revenues in A. Gomes' letter of December 20, 1548 (DI I 418-419).

²⁷ Q 2019: DI I 108-109.

²⁸ Q 4022: DI I 274-276.

²⁹ Q 4091: DI I 418.

³⁰ Q 4270: DI I 565.

order could be maintained and educated in them, since it would be impossible to send a sufficient number of priests from Portugal for the great work of the pagan missions.³¹ When he learned of the catastrophic reform of Antonio Gomes, he had ordered that no changes could be made in the college of Goa except with the approval of the governor and bishop.³²

When Xavier returned from Japan, the College of St. Paul again had around a hundred students, thanks to the measures taken by the viceroy Noronha. These consisted of sixty natives and forty Portuguese who were candidates for the order.³³ Gaspar's plan³⁴ was to divide the college into two separate entities. The first, for which the king had granted the revenues of the pagodas, should maintain a hundred students, natives and mestizos, especially orphans. They should attend the elementary classes for three years, and they should also be given solid instructions in religion. When they reached their fifteenth year, if they did not wish to continue their studies, they should be taught a trade so that they would be able to earn their livelihood. The more gifted students who wished to continue with their studies should be passed on to the second college. This second college should be open not only to native students but also to Portuguese and, particularly, mestizos, for the most part orphans; and they should be up to seventy-two in number after the example of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus. It was to be considered as an apostolic school for the increase of the Society of Jesus and its helpers. The pupils should study Latin and, later, philosophy and theology. They would then be ordained to the priesthood. Their support should be secured partly from surplus of the pagoda revenues, partly through a confraternity of the Name of Jesus founded for this purpose, partly through alms which the pupils, following the practice of the orphans of Pedro Doménech in Lisbon, would collect twice a week from door to door, partly through further alms which the rector would seek. This college should be distinct from the first, and separated from it by the residence of the priests and brothers. Only the students of this college should sing at Mass and chant the Hours in the college church on Sundays and feast days, and Xavier ordered Master Gaspar to look for a music teacher for them.³⁵

Xavier advised Barzaeus to present this plan to the viceroy and to the bishop. If they agreed with it, he should write to Ignatius and obtain his approval.³⁶

The college had unfortunately been erected on an unhealthy site. The hill on which Nossa Senhora do Monte stood blocked the breeze from the north. Because of the sweltering heat, many of the students fell ill. Barzaeus should therefore present the king also with the plan of transferring the students elsewhere when they were ready to study philosophy and theology, for example to Thâna, where there was a more favorable climate.³⁷

³¹ DI II 169-193.

³² *Ibid.* 593.

³³ According to Eredia, on January 24, 1552 (*Ibid.* III 291-292).

³⁴ Barzaeus gave a detailed account of his plans in his two letters to Ignatius of January 18, 1553 (*ibid.* II 593-595), and to Luis Gonçalves da Camara, also of the beginning of 1553 (*ibid.* 612-617).

³⁵ *Ibid.* 615-616.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 595.

³⁷ At the beginning of 1553 Gaspar presented this plan to the king (*ibid.* 607), and on September 5, 1555, Mirón wrote to Ignatius that many Portuguese and mestizos could enter the Society in the college in Goa; but there was one difficulty in the way: "Sólo a esto ay un inconveniente, que dizia Maestro Francisco, que está en gloria, que aquella tierra no es buena para estudiar, y por esta causa quería passar la lógica y

Xavier also gave instructions that, in addition to these two colleges, a day school should be erected in an empty house near St. Paul's College. A brother should there give lessons in Christian doctrine, and also reading and writing, to the boys of the house who had need of these, and also to the sons of the poor residents of the city who wished to attend.³⁸

Along with these suggestions, Xavier gave to Master Gaspar before he left five instructions on the proper administration of his office.

In the first of these he stressed the care to be taken in the temporal administration of the house.³⁹

He should collect and carefully preserve the letters of the king in favor of the college and of its revenues.⁴⁰ He should ask the advice of the procurator of the house⁴¹ and of Cosme Anes, who was experienced in this regard, on what was useful for the welfare and increase of the house, for example, with respect to the revenues of the pagodas, which would frequently be embezzled. He should therefore obtain a provision that those who concealed such goods and possessed them with an evil conscience should be threatened with excommunication. The procurator of the house should take care of things which could offend the people, for example, when it would be necessary to arrest leaseholders who failed to make their payments.⁴²

Gaspar should keep all the money and use it for the needs of the house, of the confreres, and of the native students. He should also assist the confreres elsewhere, who often suffered need and were frequently unable to help others since they did not have the money for their own support, especially the confreres on Cape Comorin, Moro, and in Japan.

He should pay the debts of the house without fail so as not to scandalize the people. He should therefore not undertake to erect any new buildings until the others were paid for: those already constructed were adequate.⁴³ He should

teología en Taná, que es tierra más fresca" (*ibid.* III 285; *ibid.* 57). Lancilotto also wrote in the same year: "O colegio de Guoa hé tão doentio, tão abafado, que hos Padres e Irmãos que nele vivem som cassi todos doentes" (*ibid.* 455).

³⁸ *Ibid.* II 468-469.

³⁹ EX II 391-399. The five instructions were all composed between April 6 and 14, 1552.

⁴⁰ Q 815-816 982 1419 1423 2001 2019 2263 4022 4247 4268 4472 4485 and 4622 represent documents of this type.

⁴¹ On April 12, 1552, the licentiate Manuel Alvares Barradas was named procurator of the college (EX II 376).

⁴² On June 23, 1552, the viceroy issued a decree with respect to the revenues from the pagodas, which ordered the following: When the licentiate Manuel Alvares Barradas, the procurator of the college, goes with this edict to any village of the island of Goa and its environs, all the *gancars* and secretaries must reveal all the secretly held pagoda lands under the penalty of the loss of their office for the secretaries, and of the loss of their goods and five years of banishment to Diu for the *gancars*; and if they are summoned, they must come in order to help draw up the *Tombo* (land register) (DI II 329-330).

⁴³ The wing with the refectory and the dormitory of the students and the church were built in 1542 (Correa IV 289-290). In January, 1544, Xavier wrote that many buildings had been already completed, that the college was very large and could house more than five hundred students (EX I 169). In October, 1545, Lancilotto described the building: The college forms a square with a well with good drinking water in the center and verandas above and below. On one side of the square is the church, on the other the dwelling for the native students, 123 spans (92 feet, 3 inches) in length and 29 spans (21 feet, 9 inches) in width, with the refectory below and the dormitory above. On the other (northwestern) side are three large rooms where the confreres sleep, and on the fourth side there is only the veranda. Next to it is a very large and beautiful garden with two chapels, one dedicated to S. Jerónimo and the other to S. Antão (DI

spend more care on spiritual than material buildings and should therefore be more mindful of the spiritual progress of the confreres and of the native students. He should, of course, take care of the material structures which could not be avoided, for example, the completion of the garden walls and other parts of the house which would otherwise cause distress.

He feared that many would importune the rector to give them alms from the revenues of the house, and that others who had leased the revenues of the house would then ask him to reduce them. Others would, moreover, inform him in and outside of confession more about their temporal than their spiritual needs. He therefore ordered him in virtue of holy obedience to explain to all who came with such requests the extent to which the house was in debt and the needs from which the confreres and native students were suffering. He should tell them about the many works they still had to do, the many needs of the priests outside the house, the requirements of the hospital.⁴⁴ and so forth. He should also tell them that he had been ordered under holy obedience not to use the revenues of the house for anything but its own needs, since they were not even enough for these.

Many married Portuguese would try to obtain the lands of the college through leases that would be passed on to their descendants. Since the house could sustain losses through these, he should consult with the procurator and the friends of the house before the contract for such a lease was drawn up.

He should be very careful in gaining information about the money which was owed to the house. The procurator should give him an account of the past and present leases and of what was still owed to the house by the king. The person to whom he entrusted the administration of the house should be, if possible, his spiritual son or that of another priest of the house; and he should frequently confess, at least every month; and on this occasion he should receive Holy Communion.

When he wrote to him in September, he should send the letters to Pérez in Malacca so that the latter could forward them to him. He should give him a detailed account of the debts which the house still had and of what was still owed to the house, and about everything that concerned the house. It should be a rather long letter with news from Portugal and about the confreres and the fruit which they were producing in the city, about war and peace, and about the priests and brothers away from the house. The letter should be written in a good hand and be legible.

A rich and prominent merchant of the city should administer the revenues of the house, and not a poor man, so that conflicts would be avoided. He should purchase a number of *mainatos*⁴⁵ to do the washing for the house if this appeared to be cheaper than to have the laundry done by externs. He should also appoint a brother as a gardener. As things were presently going, it seemed to him that more was being spent on the negroes and the gardener than would be the case if a brother was made the gardener and two slaves were purchased to help him.

Five hundred *pardaus* had been remitted of the debt owed by Alvaro Affonso.⁴⁶

I 42). In October, 1549, Gomes wrote that the college in Goa was very large and elegant and had large buildings, but that these were not as yet completed (*ibid.* 522 527). See Vol. III, pp. 451-458, for a plan and further details.

⁴⁴ Meant is the hospital for the sick natives built by Misser Paulo in 1546.

⁴⁵ *Mainatos* (*mannatan*), the name given to the members of the washer caste (Dalgado II 12).

⁴⁶ Alvaro Affonso already collected the pagoda revenues of the college in 1549 (DI I 498 808).

He should therefore take care that he paid the remaining five hundred which he still owed. He should not be generous with what did not belong to him and should remember the great needs of the confreres in Japan, Maluco, and on Cape Comorin.

He should send Father Agostinho⁴⁷ every Sunday and feast day to Chorão. No brother of the Society should remain there, and the one who was there at the time, should be recalled.

Before those who made the Exercises were permitted to eat with the confreres, they should declare in the refectory who they had been in the world and what business they had conducted, just as the confreres now did.

He should order Father Manuel de Morais to preach some Sundays and feast days in the cathedral, and he should tell this to him some days before; and if it seemed better to him that he should preach one week and Morais the next, he should adopt this alternative.

With respect to Baltasar Nunes, he should do what he had told him, and this in virtue of holy obedience. He should give him the Exercises and occupy him in humble tasks within the house.⁴⁸

He earnestly recommended the Japanese⁴⁹ to him. He should take care of them and equip them well for their voyage to Portugal.

If it seemed good to him that some of the brothers of the house should make the Exercises for some days so that they might obtain a view of their interior,⁵⁰ he should take care to do so. Those whom he deemed to be good for the Society should be retained; the others should be dismissed. He should never accept individuals into the Society who had no talent for it, even if many urged him to do so.

When Francisco Lopes arrived, he should make the Exercises; and he, Gaspar, should hear his general confession and have him serve in lowly tasks in the kitchen.⁵¹

He should give Matheus the thirty-six *pardaus* which he had lent him, Xavier, in Japan when he asked for them.

He should tell Alvaro Affonso to pay what he owed after Easter.

The priests and brothers should not send any letters directly to the king and to Portugal, but they should send them open to the college so that they might be sent from there to Portugal with the letters which went to Master Simon or to the rector of Santo Antônio in Lisbon.

⁴⁷ He was a secular priest, the son of Diogo de Salas, who was the secretary of the island of Goa and its neighboring islands in 1526. Chorão belonged to these latter. On September 21, 1542, Xavier had given Agostinho permission to use the short breviary of Quiñones (Vol. II, pp. 278-279).

⁴⁸ He persevered in the Society and died in Goa May 11, 1569, after years of sickness, "deixando-nos a todos mui edificados com sua virtude, maixime da paciencia, a qual mostrou bem em todo o descurso da sua doença," as Brother Seb. Fernandes wrote to the general of the order (DI VIII 39). On him, see Vol. III, p. 515.

⁴⁹ Bernardo and Matheus. Bernardo died in Coimbra in 1557; Matheus, "o qual serto a todos nos confundia com sua humildade e continuo oração," as Frois wrote, died in Goa after Xavier's departure in 1552 before he was able to sail for Portugal (DI II 452), but after he had spent some months (Cros, *Vie* II 150, by error: "un mois") in the College of St. Paul (Frois, *Geschichte* 17-18).

⁵⁰ Barzaeus carried out this request after Xavier's departure, as Frois wrote on December 1, 1552: "Pasadas 8 dias dipois da Pascoa, recolheran-se nos Exercicios 8 ou dez Irmãos, e a todos os dava o P. Mestre Gaspar" (*ibid.* 462).

⁵¹ He died in 1568 as a martyr, being slain by the Moors out of hatred for the faith while he was sailing from Cochín to Goa, as Father Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo wrote to Rome on December 28, 1568 (*ibid.* VII 599 607-608 693-694). On him, see Vol. III, p. 614.

Xavier's second instruction for Master Gaspar as rector of St. Paul's College read as follows: ⁵²

First of all, be mindful of yourself, since, as you know, Scripture says: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?" ⁵³

Secondly, treat the Fathers and Brothers with great love, charity, and modesty, and not with harshness and rigor, unless they misuse your kindness; for then it will be to their profit and good that you show some severity towards them, especially when you perceive some self-opinion and pride in them; for just as it is good to pardon more easily those who err through ignorance and negligence, so it is necessary that you reproach and humiliate with much care and diligence those who proceed along the way of self-opinion and pride; and in no way should they think that on this account their errors and defects are passed over; for know for certain, and do not doubt, that one of the things which causes great damage to proud and imperfect subjects and leads them to ruin is that they feel that their superiors are weak, remiss, and fearful in repressing and punishing their defects, since they take occasion from this to grow further in their self-opinion and pride.

Do not aim at taking many people into the Society, but few and good, since the Society has need of such; for we see that those who are few and good are worth more and do more than many who are not so.

Never receive into the Society persons of little talents, weak, and of little use, since the Society does not have need of these, but of persons of great worth and of great gifts.

Always exercise those whom you receive in true abnegation and interior mortification of their passions more than in exterior oddities; and if, to assist interior mortification, you impose some exterior mortifications, these should be things which edify, such as serving in the hospital, begging alms for the poor, and similar works, and not things which cause laughter and ridicule in others, and vainglory and vanity in themselves. ⁵⁴

It will at times be a great help if in public, before their confreres, they tell their defects, what kind of people they were in the world, and the offices and occupations which they had in it, so that they are humbled by these and kept so; but such mortifications should be adapted to the subjects, to the disposition and virtue which you perceive in them; for if this is not the case, it causes harm instead of being useful.

Never ordain in the Society persons who have not been approved for their knowledge and virtues during the course of many years, since the priests of the Society have such a great need of this because of their institute and ministries, and so many difficulties occur when the opposite is seen. ⁵⁵

Always prefer the obligation of your office and those whom you have because of it to the advantage of those outside, since we are obliged first of all to ours, and our Lord will demand an accounting of them from us. And know for certain that just as that one goes in error who, to please men, looks at the exterior which pleases him and forgets the interior, God, and his conscience, so he also goes in error and off the road who, taking care of others, looks more at what pertains to those outside than to those of the house and the obligations of his office. Deal therefore with these first, and afterwards with those outside, in as far as you can help them in the Lord.

As for the manner of assisting them, the more universal, the better it will be, as in preaching, teaching, hearing confessions, and so forth. In this you must ever be

⁵² EX II 400-403.

⁵³ Eccli. 14:5.

⁵⁴ Xavier is alluding here to the "*fervores*" in Coimbra; cf. Vol. III, pp. 219-219.

⁵⁵ See Lancilotto's letter of January 25, 1550, where he says with regard to A. Gomes that too many were accepted and many were ordained to the priesthood: "Io veggo ricevere molti qua la Compagnia e farse molti sacerdoti, le quale doe cose, se bene me ricordo, acostuma V. R. [Ignatius] considerare molto più che qua se usa" (DI II 11). On this account Xavier, after his return from Japan, found that he had to dismiss several who had been received by Gomes.

most attentive to the persons who converse with you, for some come at times for what is temporal rather than spiritual; and they approach the sacraments and confess more to confess and reveal their physical than their spiritual needs, since they feel more the lack of what is physical than spiritual; these consequently do not as a rule gain any profit, and you should send them directly on their way at once.

Do not be greatly concerned if those who do not come to you with good intentions do not think or speak well of you; nor should those of the world ever see that you fear them when you do what you should and they do not, since you should know that fear of the world in this regard is to share something of it, and to have more respect for it than for God.

Xavier's third instruction for Master Gaspar dealt with humility,⁵⁶ a virtue which was so lacking in Antonio Gomes, and which Xavier had so much at heart. It read as follows:

First, seek to obtain much humility with respect to preaching, attributing first and foremost everything to God.

Secondly, I shall keep the people before my eyes, seeing how God gives devotion to the people so that they hear His word; and because of this respect for the devotion of the people, He gives me the grace to preach and the people devotion to listen to me.

To strive to have much love for the people, reflecting upon the obligation which I have towards them, since God, through their intercession, grants me the grace to preach.

I shall also reflect on how this good comes to me through the prayers and merits of those of the Society, who with much charity and love and humility ask God for favors and gifts for those of the Society, and this for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.

To think constantly on how I am bound to greatly humble myself, since what I preach is not mine but is freely given by God; and to use this grace with love and fear as one who has to give a strict accounting to God our Lord, being careful not to attribute any part of it to myself unless there are many faults and sins and vainglories and negligences and ingratitude both against God and against the people and those of the Society, for whose sake God gave me this grace.

To ask from God with much insistence that he grant me to feel within my soul the impediments which I place on my part, because of which He ceases to grant me greater graces and to make use of me in great affairs.

Interiorly humbling myself much before God, who sees the hearts of men, being extremely careful not to give offense to the people, neither in preaching, nor in talking, nor in working, humiliating myself much before the people; since, as I have already said, you owe so much to them.

That which you have above all to do, meditating on the points just mentioned, is to note very attentively the things which God our Lord gives you to feel within your soul, writing them down in a little book, impressing them in your soul, for in this consists their fruit; and you should meditate on those things which God our Lord communicates to you; and from these will come others to your great advantage. And meditating on the things which God communicates to you, these will be further increased solely through the mercy of God; and you will obtain much profit from them if you persevere in this holy exercise of humility and interior recognition of your faults, since all progress consists in this. For the love of God our Lord, and for the very great debt which you owe to our Father Ignacio and to all the Society of the name of Jesus, I ask you once and again, and many times, as much as I can, that you exercise yourself continuously in these exercises of humility; for if you do the contrary, I fear that you will be lost, as you will know from experience that many are lost for lack of humility. See to it that you are not one of these.

⁵⁶ EX II 403-409.

Do not forget at any time to remember how many preachers there are in hell who had more grace for preaching than you have, and that in their sermons they obtained greater fruit than you have; and further, that they were instruments so that many abandoned their sins; and what is an even greater marvel, that they were instrumental for many to be in glory; but they, unfortunate as they were, went to hell, since they attributed to themselves what was of God, grasping the hand of the world, being happy to be praised by it, growing in a vain opinion of themselves and great pride, through which they were ruined. Each one should consequently look to himself; for, if we see well, we do not have anything in which we can pride ourselves except our infirmities, which are alone our works; for God does the good works to show his goodness for our confusion, when we see that through such mean instruments He seeks to manifest Himself to others.

Be careful not to condemn the Brothers of the Society by thinking that you do more than they, that they are not doing anything; hold it for most certain that God, because of the Brothers who are serving in low and humble offices, for the sake of their merits, grants you more favors and gives you more grace to work well, so that you are more indebted to them than they are to you. This inner knowledge will help you never to condemn them, but rather to love them, and to humble yourself at all times.

Francisco.⁵⁷

To this exhortation on humility for Master Gaspar, Xavier added another, more detailed instruction, in which he partially repeated his earlier advice and added other that was new. It was particularly concerned with his office as vice-provincial.⁵⁸

Above all he advised Gaspar to make his meditation frequently upon the rules of humility.

He should show great modesty and no strictness towards the confreres outside of Goa unless they misused his kindness. He should, nevertheless, reprimand and punish every failing in obedience. If confreres, however, became disobedient through negligence or forgetfulness, he should be milder in his corrections.

He should therefore avoid admitting individuals who were of slight abilities, judgment, and reason, weak and unsuitable, and others who asked to be received more out of temporal needs than from supernatural motives.

He or Father Morais, and no others, should give the Exercises to those who entered, and they should take great care in watching over them. Those who had finished the Exercises should be employed in low and humble works, for example, in the hospitals or in the offices of the house. During their Exercises they should give him a precise account of the diligence they used in making their meditations. If they were negligent in this, they could be dismissed, or the Exercises could be interrupted for a few days so that they would feel their negligence and spend the remaining time in a better manner. Before they made the Exercises, they should be warned not to make any vows without first informing the one giving the Exercises. The vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience should be pronounced only for the time that they were in the Society, so that they would not be bound by them if they were dismissed. They should take the vows in his, Gaspar's, presence according to the formula which he gave them, and they should receive the Blessed Sacrament at the time. Confreres in other regions could not accept

⁵⁷ Over the beginning of this instruction Barzaeus wrote: "Em os pontos seguintes me ocuparei cada dia huma ora ou mea, e no tempo mais apto e conveniente," and he filled the intervals and margin with his reflections on the individual points. These have been published in EX II 409-411.

⁵⁸ EX II 411-428.

candidates for the order without Gaspar's permission, and the individuals concerned should, if it could be easily done, come to Goa for this.

The confreres outside of Goa should, if they had others under them or were working for the care of souls, write every year in detail to Ignatius about their work; and when they did so, they should avoid giving offense to the readers. In addition to this they should send a general letter to the confreres in Europe. Master Gaspar himself should also send a detailed letter to the rector of Coimbra and a second to Ignatius, both very edifyingly composed on the good that was being done in Goa; and, in the one to Ignatius, he should add how greatly it would be to the service of God if he obtained some spiritual favors, for example, plenary indulgences for those who confessed and communicated on different occasions during the year, and these indulgences must come in authentic bulls with seals hanging from them, since many would otherwise doubt their authenticity. In the letter he should mention the great fruit that had been obtained through the Jubilee which he had sent; and he should add how much more would be obtained if the indulgences were sent, which would last for many years, and which should be made available to all those living beyond the Cape of Good Hope. He should write the same to Master Simon or to the rector of the college in Coimbra so that the king would write on this account to Ignatius.

He should avoid receiving into the Society those who were still too young, and also those whose acceptance was forbidden by Ignatius,⁵⁹ for example, those of Jewish descent,⁶⁰ or those of little talent, especially if they lacked a formal education.⁶¹ He should only take in a few, those who were necessary for the offices of the house and some others, if they possessed very good qualities, in order to help the needs of those who were somewhat ill, or to be sent to Cape Comorin. He should never let one of these be ordained to the priesthood, since this had been so strictly forbidden by Ignatius,⁶² unless they possessed the necessary knowledge and had been tested and approved during the course of years.

He should reflect on how many scandals were perpetrated by those who, though they were imperfect and uneducated, had been ordained priests.⁶³ And he should not let himself be deceived by the external exercises of piety of any of these, for

⁵⁹ At the end of 1546 seven impediments for reception were determined, a list of which was received by Xavier in Malacca at the end of 1547. The following were not to be received: (1) *homicida*, (2) *renegado*, (3) *herético*, (4) *infame*, (5) *escomulgado*, (6) *si ha estado en alguna religión*, (7) *si ha sido heremita sub habitu monachali* (MI Const. I 178-180; cf. II 20-25). More were excluded in 1550: (8) *ligado por matrimonio*, (9) *esclavo*, (10) *loco* (*ibid.* I 391; II 24-25).

⁶⁰ Simon Rodrigues added an impediment: "Se por alguma via descende de christão novo" (*Ep. Broži* 861). On this see EX II 419.

⁶¹ Between 1549 and 1550 A. Gomes had dismissed all the Indian students from the college and had replaced them with twenty-eight Portuguese, all young, uneducated men who had scarcely learned how to read and write (Q 4354 4355 4572 4582).

⁶² In January, 1551, Lancilotto wrote to Ignatius: "Cum expectemus Constitutiones Societatis, speramus multa declarari quae in dubium veniunt quotidie, ut de scientia coadiutorum, de expulsiōe receptorum et de obligatione votorum et multa alia de quibus interrogati nescimus respondere" (DI II 173-174).

⁶³ Xavier had had Mansilhas ordained for the Fishery Coast and Morais junior for Socotra, and A. Gomes had had Nóbrega ordained; but all three had to be dismissed from the Society. Of Mansilhas Lancilotto had written to Ignatius in 1546: "Franciscus de Mansilla est vir bonae mentis ac intentionis, sed penitus ineruditus, neque scit legere officium quod quotidie persolvere tenetur, neque videtur posse discere tantum ut aliquando sciat celebrare. Nescio quo titulo promotus fuerit ad ordines sacros, est enim iam sacerdos et habet facultatem celebrandi. Dominus parcat illis qui illi dederunt ordines. Bene dixi ego Episcopo, quomodo ordinabat homines tam rudes? Dixit ille: 'Non sunt doctiores, quid remedii?' Satis" (*ibid.* I 138).

in the long run everyone can be recognized for what he is. He should not base himself on sighs and pious sentiments, for these are external manifestations. Instead of these, he should become acquainted with their interior, with their conquering of themselves, and judge them more from the victory which they gained over their disordered inclinations than from their external tears.

His principal care and concern should be with respect to the brothers and priests of the house, to the students, to the orphans as well as the natives, to their spiritual life, and to what concerned the management of the house and its needs. He should therefore be first attentive to the members of the house and only then to those outside.

Since it would be impossible for him to do everything himself, he must delegate some things to suitable individuals, and he must watch over these with great care. He should obtain an account of their work and see if they have executed the commissions given to them, and he should correct their mistakes when necessary. As far as he was permitted by his obligations with respect to the house, he should take up those works which are of general profit, for example, preaching and the hearing of confessions, the settling of feuds, and other pious works.

He should be very careful to obtain reports from the confreres outside, about the good which they were doing and their needs. He should therefore write to them regularly and in detail, and he should have them write to him. From the people coming from the regions where they were, he should gain information on the fruit they were producing and on what was said about them by the people. He should further write to him, Xavier, in Malacca in particular detail about the college and about all the confreres outside. He should also send him news about the condition of India, the fruit which the members of other orders were producing, the news which he received from Portugal and about the confreres in Coimbra and in Rome and in all the regions of Europe where there were members of the order. He should send a copy of the letters which came to him, Xavier, on more than one *via* to Father Pérez in Malacca—letters, that is, of the king, Master Simon, and from Rome—and Pérez would send him through many *vias* all the letters from Europe and India wherever he was. The priests outside the college of Goa, that is, in Bassein, Cochin, Quilon, on Cape Comorin, in San Thomé, and Ormuz, should write to him at length once each year. He, like all the other priests, should be very obedient to the bishop; they should not be a source of distress to him in any way, but rather of joy and consolation, since he loved them so much and was so well disposed towards them, and there were so many reasons for loving and serving him. He should tell the fathers outside of Goa that they should write briefly to the bishop about the fruit which they were producing, without informing him about other affairs. They should only write what was good about the vicars and other priests, never what was bad, for the latter would already have been learned by the bishop from others. The priests in the fortresses should always be on good terms with the vicars, and under no circumstances should they quarrel with them. So that they would take greater care of observing this order, Gaspar should write to them that he, Xavier, had left an instruction in St. Paul's College before setting off for China that the priests of the Society who remained at odds and discord with the vicars should be dismissed.

After his departure, Gaspar should induce the bishop to write to the towns where there were priests of the Society with respect to the Jubilee so that they might have it published. The faithful would thus be able to profit by its spiritual blessings. The Jubilee would last through the whole of 1552 since, because of

the confessions, it could not be gained by all at the same time, and also because of the fact that not all would be ready at the same time.

If any priests came this year from Portugal and there were preachers among them, he should send one of these with a brother to Diu if there was no preacher there;⁶⁴ and he should give him the instructions which he, Xavier, had given him for Ormuz⁶⁵ and at the time of his departure for China.

If a priest came from Portugal who was not a preacher but had talent and some learning and the necessary health to endure hardships, he should send him to Malacca at the time of the April monsoon so that he might go to where Torres was in Japan. He should also seek some alms so that he might bring provisions to those who were in Japan. One of the brothers who seemed suitable for this and had the necessary talent for learning Japanese should go with the priest. And he, Xavier, recommended as earnestly as he could that he take special care of his confreres in Japan and have them commended to God and provided with what they needed.

If all the priests who came from Portugal were learned and good preachers, he should send one of these to Cochin; and if they had more talent for preaching than Eredia, he should have the latter return to Goa so that he might go to Japan; and his place in Cochin should be taken by the priest from Portugal. If, however, the good produced by each of them was equal, Eredia should remain in Cochin and the priest from Portugal should go to Japan.

If among the priests who came from Portugal there were some who had the talent for preaching and were gladly heard by the people, he should send one of these to Bassein to replace Father Nunes Barreto and to look after the revenues of the house there. In this case, Nunes Barreto should return to Goa so that he might sail in April for Malacca, and from there for Japan. He thought it better for Barreto to go to Japan because of his learning, which would be more esteemed there than in India. If he left Cochin, Eredia should remain there. In some way or other Barzaeus should strive to send a priest next year to Japan in order to be a companion there of Father Torres.

The confreres of St. Paul's College should always remain on terms of friendship with the Franciscans and Dominicans. They should avoid quarreling with them, and they should never say anything from the pulpit which could lead the people to conclude that something unedifying or scandalous had occurred, no matter what others would say. If anyone was of a different opinion than that of the priests of the Society and the consequence was injurious to God, he should speak with the bishop so he could summon the two parties to his house and settle their difficulties so that the people did not notice anything that could be a source of scandal, since both parties were looking for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.⁶⁶ Master Gaspar should visit the other religious from time to time, and in this way their mutual love for each other would be increased.

⁶⁴ If A. Gomes left Diu (cf. EX II 382).

⁶⁵ EX II 85-101; cf. 323-326.

⁶⁶ On December 16, 1551, Barzaeus had written to Ignatius about the difficulties which he had with the Dominicans: "Saberá mais V. R. de como nestas partes da Índia não deixão os domynicos de sigirem os seus costumes, em nos quererem ir à mão em algumas virtudes, como llá em essas partes às vezes fazem, buscando algumas opiniões dalguns doutores pera contrariar a mais comum opiniam dos doutores.... Eu sostentei nestas partes, defendendo o aso e totalas armas com que se podem defender os sarracenos ou oufender, porquanto hé este porto onde se elles provem de tudo isso, publicando ser escumunhão, por muitas vezes, vendo quam grande perigo dahi nacia à Igreja; elles trabalharão de mo contrariar com huma opinião de Grigorio nono, por ser de terra de

He should also maintain friendly relations with the vicars of the city.⁶⁷ He should please them when he could, and he should preach in their parishes so that he did all on his part to have them as friends.

He should abstain from worldly affairs. He should let people who wished him to be busy about such matters understand that he was busy with study, preaching, hearing confessions, and spiritual matters, and could not leave spiritual things for temporal, since this was against well ordered charity. These worldly occupations caused much disturbance and brought it about that people no longer felt at home in the order and returned to the world. Many came to confession more to explain their temporal than their spiritual needs. He must be on his guard against these and let them know clearly at once that he could not help them with temporal alms or earthly favors, and this pertained to both men and women. And he should consequently not be concerned if those who came to him without a good intent murmured about him. The worldly-minded should not gain the impression that he feared them.

In the education of the native students and the orphans, he should first look to their spiritual, and then to their temporal, needs. He should take great care that their confessions were heard, that they were instructed, that they were clothed and fed and given shoes and nursed when they were ill, since the college had been primarily erected for the natives, and the king had approved of this. The past scandals had been quite enough.⁶⁸

He must write very briefly to the king about the fruit which was being produced in the whole of India according to the information which he, Gaspar, received from his confreres away from Goa. In a separate letter he should indicate the needs of the college to which His Highness would have to attend. He had ordered gifts for the college but did not know if they had been delivered.⁶⁹ The same was true with respect to the revenues and subsidies which he had granted to

mouros a terra de mouros, ainda que seja por meios de christãos" (DI II 261-262). The superior of the Dominicans in Goa was the Castilian Diego Bermúdez, a thoughtless zealot, as is indicated by his letters (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 514-517 569-574) and by his opposition to Simão Botelho, whom he refused to absolve (Botelho, *Cartas* 35-37). In addition to this there was the influence of Melchior Cano, which compelled Fray Romeo de Castella, the general of the Dominicans, to write a circular letter of January 20, 1549, taking the new Society of Jesus under his protection and ordering all of his subjects under holy obedience to avoid murmuring against the Society, which had been approved by the Holy See (Evora, *Bibl. Pública* 108-2-1, ff. 136-137).

⁶⁷ There was only one parish in Goa until 1543, that of the cathedral. But then, when cholera broke out, the bishop erected two more: Nossa Senhora do Rosario and Nossa Senhora da Luz (Correa IV 289).

⁶⁸ Meant is the scandal which had been provoked by A. Gomes' action against the Indian students of St. Paul's College, which caused the new viceroy at the time of his arrival to order the college to be immediately peopled again with them (cf. Q 4354 4572 4582 4584 4592).

⁶⁹ These gifts of the Indian princes and of the Moors are first mentioned by A. Gomes in December, 1548, in his account of the revenues of St. Paul's College: "Este colegio de Sancta Fee... tem mais totalas dadiuas que se mandam dos reis gentios e mouros à Rainha, donde agora fizemos mil e trezentos cruzados de presentes que lhe mandavam, e se o Governador dera tudo, conforme à provisam que há d'El-Rey para iso, fizeram-se mais de 2,000 cruzados" (DI I 418). In October, 1549, Gago wrote that the gifts which the Moors and the pagans sent to the king and queen had amounted to one thousand *cruzados* during the preceding year (*ibid.* 565). And at the beginning of 1553, Barzaeus wrote to the king: "When Your Highness ordered the revenues of the said college to be determined, you also handed over to it all the gifts which were given there for Your Highness, some of which cannot be had. We ask Your Highness to write about it to the Governor, since on account of these gifts they subtract a part of the grant which Your Highness has given to the said college for its expenses" (*ibid.* II 606).

the college. He should see to it that they were paid.⁷⁰ Barzaeus should write especially to the king that he should send an *alvará* ordering the factors of the fortresses to provide for the needs of those who went from the college to work in other regions. His Highness might similarly send a provision for the confreres in Japan by means of which he ordered ships leaving Malacca to carry them what they needed, since the country of Japan was very poor and there was no one there to provide for them. Barzaeus should also write to Master Simon or to the rector of the college in Lisbon to see that his requests with respect to the revenues of the college and other matters were carried out. At the end of his instruction, Xavier reminded Barzaeus that he should be very prudent in what he wrote since letters from India were read and reviewed by many.

Xavier then added a fifth instruction on the means of avoiding scandal.⁷¹

In its first part he dealt with conversations with women:

Converse with all women, of whatever state and condition they may be, in an open place, for example in the church; and never go to their homes except in a case of extreme necessity, for example, when they are ill, in order to hear their confessions.

When you go to their homes in cases of extreme necessity, it will be with her husband or with those who have charge of the house, or with neighbors who have charge of the house.

When one goes to a woman who is not married, one should go to her house with a person who is known to be a good man, either in the vicinity or in the land, in order to avoid all scandal. I mean this in the case of a great necessity which requires such a visit, since she should come to the church if she is well, as I have said above.

These visits should be made as little as possible, since there are great risks and little is gained for the increase of the service of God.

Since women are generally inconstant and of little perseverance, and take up much time, you should deal with them in this manner: If they are married, take great care and work with their husbands so that they come to God; and spend more time in producing fruit among husbands than among their wives, since more fruit follows from this, since men are more constant and the direction of the house depends upon them. In this way many scandals are avoided and much fruit is produced.

When there are conflicts between a woman and her husband and they make a petition for separation, always strive to reconcile them with each other, speaking more with the husband than with the wife, striving to induce them to make a general confession, giving them some meditations from the first week before absolving them; and postpone giving them absolution so that they will be more disposed to live in the service of God.

Do not believe the pious impulses of women when they say that they would serve God more if they were separated from their husbands rather than being with them, for these are only pious impulses which are of short duration and which are seldom executed without scandal. Avoid giving blame to the husband in public even though it lies with him. Advise him in private that he should make a general confession, and in confession you should reprehend him with great modesty, and see to it that he does not get the impression from you that you favor his wife more than him even though he is to blame. You should rather induce him to accuse himself; and on the basis of his self-accusation you should condemn him with much love, charity, and meekness; for with these men of Yndia, much is achieved by asking and nothing by force.

See that, as I tell you again, you never blame the husband in public, even though he may be at fault, since women are so indomitable that they look for occasions to belittle their husbands, alleging to religious that their husbands are to blame and not they.

⁷⁰ Barzaeus also wrote about this to the king at the beginning of 1553, and the latter granted him everything (*ibid.* 605-606).

⁷¹ EX II 428-434.

Even if the wives are not to blame, do not excuse them as they excuse themselves, but rather show them the obligation which they have to put up with their husbands, since many times they dishonor them and consequently deserve some punishment; and they should accept patiently the present difficulties which they bear, leading them to humility and patience and obedience to their husbands.

Do not believe everything that they tell you, whether husband or wife; listen to both before attributing the blame to either one; and do not show yourself more for one than for the other, since in these cases both are always to blame, even though one is more so than the other; and be very slow in accepting the excuses of the guilty. I say this so that a reconciliation will be effected more easily and scandals will be avoided.

When you cannot reconcile them, send them to the Lord Bishop or to the vicar general; and you must not quarrel with them on any account, for example, by giving the blame to one and not to the other.

And see to it that you use much prudence with this wicked world, looking much to the future in these matters, for the devil never sleeps. Know for certain that it is very imprudent not to fear the difficulties which can be consequent to the works we do, even though they are directed with good zeal; and, for lack of prudence, not seeing the difficulties that would come, many evils frequently arise.

And see to it that you never correct anyone in anger, for these reprehensions are never followed by fruit in persons of the world since, being very imperfect, they ascribe everything to imperfection, and not to the zeal with which it is said.

In the second part of this instruction, Xavier refers to the attitude to be taken with respect to religious of other orders and to the secular clergy:

Always be humble and submissive in dealing with *frades* (religious of other orders) and *Padres* (secular priests), giving way to anger and passion. I mean this not only when you are at fault, but also when you are not to blame and they are at fault; you should not seek a greater vengeance than that you keep silent when you are right, when what is right is neither listened to nor held in any account. Have pity on them when they do what they should not, for sooner or later they will be punished by God, much more than what you or they believe; therefore have compassion on them and always pray to God for them. Do not seek any other revenge neither in thoughts, nor in words, nor in deeds, since they are harmful and dangerous; and all else is flesh and blood.

Know for certain, and do not doubt, that God grants many graces and favors to those persons who are persecuted for His love, having regard for those who persecute them if you endure persecutions with patience; and God will have special care to confound those who persecute you, placing impediments to pious works; but God will cease to do this if you seek to take revenge on them through thoughts or works or words.

If the case should arise, may God avert it! that there should be some conflict between you and the friars, see to it that you do not speak to them with disaffection in the presence of the Governor or of people of the world, since they are not edified by this; but in such a case, if the religious on their part reveal some disagreements with you in their sermons or discourses, you should speak with the Lord Bishop, and they should come together with you in his presence so that the Lord Bishop can bring an end to these disputes. And you should therefore tell the Lord Bishop on my behalf that he may take up the matter without the intervention of any layman.

Take care not to speak against them from the pulpit, even if they say things against us; but, as I have said, the Lord Bishop must be informed so that he may summon you and them and prevent any disagreement from becoming public, since the people are so greatly disedified and scandalized by this. And recognize full well that the good name of the Society does not consist in the esteem and approval of the world, but in that of God alone, who wishes that we avoid all scandal and wrath and disagreement. I commend this very much to you, that you act thus in the way that I order you through obedience. And see to it that in all these controversies you have recourse to the Lord Bishop, whose judgment and opinion you are bound to observe, earnestly asking him as a favor that he might establish peace where the enemy sows discord.

Francisco.

9. THE LAST LETTERS FOR EUROPE (APRIL 7-9, 1552)

Xavier had provided for the immediate future of India through his letters to Ormuz, Bassein and San Thomé, and by his appointment of Master Gaspar as the rector of St. Paul's College and vice-provincial. He had now to think of the more distant lands and the more distant future. Gago and Brother Alvaro Ferreira were destined for China, Brother Pedro de Alcáçova and Duarte da Silva for Japan, and Brother André Fernandes for Europe as a reporter. The two Japanese Bernardo and Matheus should sail with him to Portugal. Xavier also gave him three letters, one for Simon Rodrigues, one for the king, and one for Ignatius, in which he set forth the needs of the mission.

The first of these letters was addressed to Rodrigues, or in the case of his absence in Rome, to the rector of the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon. It bore the date of April 7, and it had been dictated to Gago.¹ It began as follows:

In this year of 52 I came from Yapão to India, and from Cochim I wrote to you at great length about the success in Yapão. I am now letting you know that eight days from now I am leaving for China. We, that is, three companions, two priests, and one layman² are going. We are going with great hope that God our Lord, solely through His mercy, will let us serve Him. I shall write to you from Malaqua at great length about our voyage for China.

Two brothers³ are going this year to Yapão to remain in the city of Amanguchi with Padre Cosme de Torres to learn the language, so that when priests come from Europe, persons of great reliability and much experience, so that they may go to Japão, they may find brothers of the Society who know the language, so that they may faithfully explain the things of God which the priests who come from there will tell them to say. This will be a great help for the priests who are coming from there to stay at the universities of Yapão to manifest the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

After I had returned from Yapão, I found in these parts of India many things of little edification in certain priests and brothers of the Society which obliged me to dismiss them from the Society so that they would never again be received into it; and God knows how much it pained me to discover reasons more than sufficient for their dismissal. The bearer of this present letter will give you the names of those whom I dismissed.⁴

In order that you may give thanks to God our Lord, I would also have you know that I found priests and brothers of the Society who acted well and produced great fruit in souls and still do so today, for example, in preaching, hearing confessions, establishing friendships, and many other pious works, by which I have been greatly consoled.

I left Master Gaspar as rector of this college of Santa Fee in Goa, an individual in whom I have great trust, humble, obedient, to whom God has granted a great gift of preaching. When he is preaching, he moves the people so much to tears that there is great reason for giving thanks to God our Lord.

The brother who is carrying this present letter is going there to present a memorial of the great needs found in these parts both in Yapão and in China, if a way is opening

¹ EX II 342-352.

² Xavier, Gago, and Ferreira.

³ Alcáçova and Duarte da Silva.

⁴ André Fernandes. From data furnished by Fernandes, the provincial Mirón wrote to Ignatius the names of those dismissed: "Los que despedió de la Compañía Maestro Francisco son: Antonio Gómez y Melchior Gonçalves, Manuel de Moraes que fué primero, y Francisco Casco [Gonçalves], y Miguel da Nóbrega, y Monteiro, y Joan Rodríguez, y Alvaro Ferrera; tres destos salieron, scilicet, Miguel da Nóbrega, Monteiro y Joan Rodríguez" (DI III 59). Fernandes learned of the dismissal of Alvaro Ferreira in Cochim, either from Ferreira himself, who had arrived there with the Malacca ship before Fernandes' departure, or through a letter from Malacca.

up, as I trust in God that it will open, and also of the need in these regions of Yndia of priests of the Society who are persons of much experience and great reliability, suited for many great labors, especially those who have to go to Japão and China, and to Urmus and Maluquu.

The persons who are to come to these regions to produce fruit in souls have need of two qualities: the first, that they have had much experience in labors through which they have been tried, and from which they have gained great profit; the second, that they should be well trained for preaching, the hearing of confessions, the answering of the many questions which the pagan priests will ask them in Yapão and China, who never cease asking questions. Priests who are of little account there will not be of much use here. I have dismissed those whom you sent here three years ago, since they were not well trained there;⁵ for, when they left that holy college of Coimbra with much zeal,⁶ but without experience, though they had spent much time outside and had given a great example of themselves and edification to the people, they were like novices here; and things happened which came to the attention of the people and made it necessary that they be dismissed.

If the recipient of the letter should think it good, its bearer should go to Rome and persuade Ignatius to send a man of great experience, one with whom he had conversed and who was experienced in the things of the Society and very reliable, to be the rector of the college and superior of all the confreres. This priest should know the Institute and the Constitutions of the Society so that he could instruct the confreres in India on them. He should also send four or five priests of great experience, even if they did not have much learning and talent for preaching, who would be able to answer the questions that might be posed by the pagan priests in Japan and China, and who were capable of enduring the many physical hardships. There should be many in the different houses of the order in Italy and Spain who had finished their studies and could thus be considered. The hardships in Japan were very severe because of the great cold and the few means for opposing it. There were no beds on which to sleep and a great scarcity of provisions. There were severe persecutions from the pagan priests, and also from the rest of the people until they became known to them. There were many occasions for sins, and they would be treated with the utmost contempt. But what they would feel most keenly was that they would not be able to celebrate Mass at the universities to which they went, and they would thus be deprived of the great benefit of Holy Communion. They could celebrate Mass in Yamaguchi, but the universities were far away and because of the many robbers, it would be impossible for them to take along with them what they would need for the celebration of Mass. Considering the great cold that prevailed there, it seemed to him that if there were some Flemish or German priests of the Society who had been many years in Italy and other regions and who had been well tried and approved, these would be good for Japan and China.

It would perhaps be good if Master Simon persuaded the king to write to Ignatius that he send some very experienced priests for Japan and China and another as a rector for Goa. For this latter office there was need of a man of complete reliability and great capacities, for he would have to take care of many things, since the Society was scattered through so many lands: along the Persian

⁵ Of those dismissed in 1552, A. Gomes, Melchior Gonçalves, and Francisco Gonçalves had come to India in 1548.

⁶ *Fervores*.

Gulf,⁷ in Cambay,⁸ Malabar,⁹ on Cape Comorin, in Malacca, Maluco, and, beyond these, in Moro and Japan.

The bearer of the letter should go to Rome with letters from Rodrigues and also from the king with respect to the sending of the said priests, and he himself was writing to Ignatius.

Those individuals who had been received in India were only suitable for domestic offices in the residences of the priests who came from Portugal or as their companions in their travels. They lacked the necessary knowledge for being ordained to the priesthood if they had not made the required studies before their entrance. But there were very few of these in India. Every year priests as a consequence would have to be sent from Europe, for it would have been better if some who had been ordained in his absence had not been ordained.¹⁰

Rodrigues had always had a great longing to go to India. Perhaps his wish could now be fulfilled. Xavier consequently continued with his letter:

My Brother Mestre, Simão, if God our Lord will be pleased to manifest himself among such an intelligent and gifted people, it seems to me that you should not fail to come to China in order to satisfy your holy desires; and if God leads me there, I shall write to you in great detail about the disposition of the land. I have such a great desire to see you, my Brother Mestre Simão, before my life is ended that I am always thinking of how I can fulfill my desires; and if a way is opened up in China, it seems to me that they will be fulfilled.

Xavier then came to speak yet again of the sending of the priests he had requested:

For the love of Our Lord I ask you as much as I can, Mestre Simão, my dearest Brother, that next year priests come with the qualities which I have described, for there is much greater need of them than you can imagine. I say this from the experience which I have gained here; for I see clearly how greatly they are needed, and this is why I recommend the coming of the priests so earnestly. I have left a recommendation with Padre Mestre Gaspar that he write to you in great detail all the news about the fruit which is being gained in these parts.¹¹

And since I shall write to you at length from Malacca, I shall not say more about this in the present letter except that I wish to see a very long letter from you which will take three days to read about the voyage which you made to Rome and what you experienced there in that holy assembly and about the things which were determined in it, because this is something that I most wish to learn in this life, since I did not deserve to be present because of my sins.¹² And since I fear that your occupations will not give you the occasion to be able to write to me at such length, it would be a great act of charity if you would commission a brother who is there with you to write to me all that has occurred there, since I would be much consoled by this letter.

⁷ Ormuz.

⁸ Diu, Bassein, Thāna.

⁹ Cochin, Quilon.

¹⁰ Nóbrega and Francisco Lopes.

¹¹ Frois wrote the letter on December 1, 1552 (DI II 445-491), at the request of Barzaeus (DI II 441).

¹² Ignatius wished to summon the oldest and most experienced priests to Rome for the jubilee year of 1550 in order to present the Constitutions, which had been completed, for their approval, and to discuss some important matters with respect to the Society. Rodrigues, who was detained by the king, could not reach Rome until the beginning of 1551. He remained there from February 8 until April 3. On his trip and his stay in Rome, see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, pp. 55-65; *Ep. Mixtae* II 514-519; and Polanco, *Chron.* II 10 14-15 162-163 169. Originally Ignatius had thought of calling Xavier to this first general chapter (Q 4116-4118).

I would also be much consoled if the rector of the college of Coimbra would wish to write to me a letter in the name of all the priests and brothers of that holy college of Coimbra, in which he would give me an account of the number of priests and brothers of the house, and of the virtues and desires and learning which God has imparted to them. And since I fear that his occupations will be great, and that he will not have the time for this, I ask and request of him that for the love of God our Lord he commission a brother to write to me in great detail the news about the fathers and brothers, and of their exercises and holy desires to suffer for Christ; for they must remember me in some way, since I, remembering their holy desires, went during these past years to Japão; and I am now going to China in order to open up a way so that they may fulfill their holy desires, and that they may make a sacrifice of themselves. May God our Lord in His mercy, my dearest Brother Mestre Simão, bring us together in the glory of paradise, and also in this present life, if it should be to His service.

Written in the college of Santa Fee in Goa on the seventh of April, 1552.

I earnestly commend that you send the brother who is bringing the present letter to Rome so that he may come back next year with many priests, for if a way is opened in China for the manifestation of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and God should grant me life for some years, it can happen that three or four years from now I shall return to India to look for priests and brothers so that I may return with them in order to close the days of my life in China or Japão.

Francisco.

On the following day, April 8, Xavier wrote a second letter to Rodrigues, It was a letter of recommendation which he gave to the two Japanese, the companions of André Fernandes, for the trip to Portugal.¹³ It read as follows:

My dearest Brother Mestre Simão! Matheus and Bernardo are going there, Japanese by nation, who came with me from Japão to India with the intention of going to Portugal and Rome to see Christianity so that they may afterwards, having returned to their native lands, bear witness of what they have seen to the Japanese. For the love and service of God our Lord, I ask you, my Brother Mestre Simão, that you have great care of them and bring it about that they return contented. For through the testimony which they shall give to their countrymen, they shall obtain much credit for us. For the Japanese maintain that there are no other men in the world apart from them. This comes from the fact that they had never associated with another race until the Portuguese recently discovered those islands, which was eight or nine years ago.¹⁴

The Castilians call these islands Silver Islands.¹⁵ And the Portuguese whom I met in Japão told me that the Castilians who sailed from Nova Espanha¹⁶ for Maluco passed very close to these islands; and if some of the Castilians who sailed from Nova Espanha to discover these islands were lost on the way, it is because, as the Japanese say, on that side from which the Castilians could come to Japão there are many reefs in the sea, and they were lost there.

¹³ EX II 352-358.

¹⁴ Cf. Schurhammer, "O Descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543" (GS II 485-580).

¹⁵ In 1601 Valignano mentioned the different names of Japan, and he noted that "los Castellanos hasta agora le llamarão las Islas Platárias, aunque generalmente corre ya entre ellos este nombre común de Japón" (**Principio* 12). The silver mines of Japan were so rich that the Portuguese annually obtained 500,000 ducats in silver from there, and some Spaniards said that if they were properly exploited they would be as rich as those of Peru (*ibid.* 31v). In 1603 Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., wrote of the islands of Japan in his *Estado da India*: "Estas são as Platarias por que os Castelhanos sempre sospirão" (232).

¹⁶ Mexico.

I am giving this account to you, my Brother Mestre Simão, so that you may tell the King our lord and the Queen, that for the relief of their consciences, they should have a warning given to the Emperor¹⁷ or to the rulers of Castile¹⁸ that they should not send more fleets by way of Nova Espanha¹⁹ to discover the Silver Islands, for no matter how many they are, they will all be lost; for even if they are not lost in the sea, if they should reach the islands of Japão, the people of Japão are so warlike and greedy that no matter how many ships came from Nova Espanha, they would all be taken; and on the other side, the land of Japão is so poor in foodstuffs that they would die of hunger.²⁰ And in addition to this the storms are so great and violent that the ships would have no means of being saved if they were not sheltered in some friendly harbor.

Moreover the Japanese, as I have said, are so greedy that they would kill all in order to obtain the weapons and the wares which they had with them. I have already written this to the King our lord,²¹ but with his occupations he will perhaps not remember it. I am writing to you to relieve my conscience, so that you recall it to Their Highnesses; for I am sad to hear it said that many fleets are leaving Nova Espanha to discover the Silver Islands, and that they are lost on the way; and apart from these islands of Japão no others have been discovered on which silver is to be found.²²

I earnestly commend, my Brother Mestre Simão, that you take care of these Japanese

¹⁷ Charles V.

¹⁸ Philip and Isabella.

¹⁹ The following fleets were equipped by the Spaniards for the exploration of the Western Sea: those of Magalhães in 1519, Gil González de Avila in 1521, Seb. Cabot in 1525, Loaysa in 1525, Saavedra in 1527, Alcázaba in 1539, Alvarado in 1533, and López de Villalobos in 1542 (Torres y Lanzas I, pp. CXCVIII-CXCIX). That they were also looking for Japan, the *Cipangu* of Marco Polo, is indicated, for example, by the account on the expeditions of Loaysa and López de Villalobos and the instructions given to Cabot (*ibid.* CCLV-CCLIX).

²⁰ In 1582 Valignano wrote from Macao in a similar fashion to D. Gonzalo Ronquillo, the governor of the Philippines, with respect to Japan. Its inhabitants comprised a nation "muy noble, capaz y subiecta a la razón, aunque no es para se tratar allá alguna cosa de conquista," since there was nothing to be sought there. It was the most barren and poorest of lands that he had seen. It was, moreover, a land which could not be conquered because of the great courage of its inhabitants and their constant exercise in arms (Sevilla, Archivo de Indias: *Patronato* 1.1.2/24, n. 57).

²¹ The letter, which is no longer extant, was probably written at the beginning of 1552.

²² Xavier was afraid that similar strifes might break out in Japan between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, to the harm of the mission, as they usually were in the Moluccas from the time of the voyage of Magalhães. The quarrel over the line of demarcation continued for a long time, and in 1564 the instruction which Legazpi received for his voyage to the Philippines contained the following: "Y porque podría ser que acertádeses a llegar hasta las islas de los Japones por la navegación que está declarada, que según corresponde en globo, parte destas islas de los Japones están fuera de lo del empeño dentro de la demarcación de S. M., a donde se tiene noticia que los Portugueses vienen a contratar, estareis advertido para no encontrar con ellos si pudieses excusarlo; y en caso que los encontréis excusareis venir en rompimiento con ellos.... Procurareis de ver las cartas de marear que ellos trahen para su navegación, y si pudieses haber algunas dellas, aunque se comprándolas, la habreis..., y si por ventura los Portugueses os acometieren e quisieren pelear con vos, defenderos heis dellos procurando la victoria.... Y si acaso los Portugueses hubiesen pasado los límites del empeño y tubieren sus tratos en la demarcación de S. M., en tal caso... provehereis lo que más convenga al servicio de S. M." (Torres y Lanzas I, pp. CCLIX-CCLX).—On February 14, 1554, Mirón wrote to Ignatius: "Acerca del aviso que encomienda Maestro Francisco se dé al Rey y Reina, que escriban al Emperador que no dexe ir armada en busca de las Islas Platáreas, ya se dió recado acá y a parecido al Cardenal y al Rey que sería mejor darse este aviso por vía del P. Doctor Araoz, mandándole la carta de Maestro Francisco para que la pueda mostrar al Príncipe [Felipe] o a los del consejo de Su Majestad [Consejo de Indias]; porque, si el mesmo escribiesse sobre ello, podrían pensar que lo haze por otros respectos de su provecho, por que los castellanos no fuessen por allá. Yo escribo al P. Araoz sobre ello. Creo que lo hará" (DI III 60). Cf. Brou II 306.

so that they return very content from there to their lands, so that they may be able to report many things with admiration. It seems to me that they will be much surprised to see colleges and disputations. Bernardo helped us much in Japão, and also Matheus. They were poor people and came to love us; and because of this, they came with me from Japão to India with the intention of going to Portugal. Prominent people in Japão have no desire to leave their land. Some prominent Christians, who had been converted, desired to go to Hierusalem to see the land where Christ was born and suffered. I do not know if Matheus and Bernardo, after they have been there, will have this desire of going to Hierusalem.

I wished to bring from Japão a pair of *bonzos*, learned in their sects, so that they might be sent to you in Portugal so that you might see how talented, intelligent, and subtle are the Japanese; but since they had what they could live upon and were prominent, they did not wish to come.

I am happy that these, Matheus and Bernardo, are going there so that they may return in the company of some priests in order to go to Japão, and also to bear witness to those of their land on what a great difference there is between them and us.

I thus bring this to a close, asking God our Lord that, if it should be to his greater service, we may some day be united in China; and if it will not be there, that it will be in the glory of paradise, which will be with greater peace than in this life.

From Goa, the eighth of April, 1552.

Franciscus.

On the same day, April 8, Xavier also wrote a letter to the king.²³ It began:

Senhor! This year of 52 I wrote to Your Highness from Cochin with the ships which were sailing for the kingdom about the Christianity of Japón, and about the disposition that there is in that land, and about the king of Bungo, how great a friend he is of Your Highness; and, as an indication of his friendship, he wrote to Your Highness and sent you his arms.²⁴

This year two brothers of the Society are going to Japón, to the city of Amanguche, where there is a house of the Society, and a father and a brother,²⁵ persons of great reliability; they are with the Christians of Amanguche. May God our Lord be served that, with the great favor of Your Highness, the affairs of the Christianity of Japón may be continuously increased.

I also wrote to Your Highness how I was resolved to go to China because of the great disposition which all tell me exists in those parts for the increase of our holy faith.

Five days from now I am sailing from Goa for Malaca, which is the way to China, to go from there in the company of Diego Pereyra to the court of the king of China. We are taking a very rich present to the king of China, many rich items which Diego Pereyra purchased at his own expense.²⁶ And on the part of Your Highness, I am bringing an item which was never sent by any king or lord to that king, that is, the true law of Jesus Christ our Redeemer and Lord. This gift which Your Highness is sending him is so great that, if he recognizes it, he will esteem it more than his being king, so great and powerful as he is. I trust in God our Lord that He will have pity on a kingdom so great as that of China, and that solely through His mercy a way will be opened so that His creatures and likenesses may adore their Creator and believe in Jesus Christ, Son of God, their Savior.

We are going to China, two priests and a lay brother, and Diego Pereyra, as ambas-

²³ EX II 358-364; *Teixeira It. has a better text than the Spanish. The translation is from it (P. 2, c. 22).

²⁴ The letter is lost. *Teixeira It. here speaks of the duke of Bungo, as Xavier was accustomed to call him (EX II 271).

²⁵ Torres and Fernández.

²⁶ Diogo Pereira had spent from four to five thousand *pardaus* on gifts for the king of China (EX II 461).

sador, to intercede for the Portuguese who are imprisoned,²⁷ and also to conclude peace and friendship between Your Highness and the king of China;²⁸ and we, the priests of the Society of the name of Jesus, servants of Your Highness, are going to sow war and discord among the demons and the persons who adore them, with great requests on God's behalf, first of all to the king, and then to all those of his realm, that they no longer worship the devil, but only the Creator of heaven and of earth, who created them, and Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world, who redeemed them.

Although it seemed to be a grave risk, Xavier continued, to go to a strange land and to reproach so powerful a king and to tell him the truth, two things that were very dangerous among Christians themselves, still he had confidence in the mercy of God who had inspired him, such an unworthy instrument, with this decision despite his sins. He then mentioned his request that he be sent a rector for Goa and chosen priests for India, Japan, and China:

I have asked Your Highness for many favors for those who have served you in these parts; and Your Highness, as a favor to me, has always granted them to me,²⁹ for which I am obliged to serve you; and for these favors I humbly kiss your hands. I am now asking you a favor in the name of the Christianity of these parts, both of the Portuguese as well as those of the land, and also in the name of all paganism, principally that of the Japanese and Chinese; and it is that Your Highness attend to the glory of God and the conversion of souls and the obligation which Your Highness has toward these parts, and that, as I am asking Your Highness as earnestly as I can, Your Highness order and command that for the coming year many priests of the Society of the name of Jesus should come, and not laymen. And these persons should have been tested from many years, not only in the colleges but also in the world, by hearing confessions and producing fruit in souls, by means of which they have been tried and approved; for India has need of these, since scholars without experience and knowledge of the world do not produce much fruit in this land. I therefore greatly ask Your Highness in the name of God and of His images and likenesses that you write to Padre Ignacio in Rome so that he may order some priests of the Society who have been well tested in the world and who are able to bear many labors, even though they are not preachers, to be sent to these parts, since Japón and China and also India have need of them.

At the same time Ignatius should send a priest to be rector of the college of Goa. He should be one in whom he had great confidence and was well instructed in the things of the Society. The coming of these priests would be very profitable for India and especially Japan and China. These latter two lands required men who had experienced numerous persecutions and had been much tested in them.

²⁷ Pereira had received a letter from Gaspar Lopes who was imprisoned in the Chinese interior. In it he wrote that if Pereira found entrance by means of an embassy to the king of China, he would free relatives and friends from their imprisonment. Among the prisoners were, for example, Lançarote and Gonçalo Pereira, Manuel Chaves, Alonso Ramírez, and Fernão Borges. On the two junks pillaged by the Chinese in 1549, there were thirty Portuguese and their slaves. In 1555 there were still sixty persons imprisoned in China (Q 4694 6107).

²⁸ The Portuguese had sent envoys to China in 1514, 1515, and 1516; but the rash actions of Simão de Andrade turned the Chinese into foes in 1519; and in 1521 trade was forbidden with foreigners. Battles broke out with the Portuguese ships. M. A. de Mello, who arrived in 1522, concluded a peace; but he had to sail away with affairs still unsettled. From then on China was practically at a state of war with Portugal, and the Portuguese had to content themselves with smuggling. From 1548 on, Chinese authorities took more severe measures against this as well (T'ien Tsê Chang 35-84).

²⁹ Cf. Xavier's letters of recommendation in EX I 410-417, and II 71.

They must also be endowed with learning in order to be able to answer the many questions which such intelligent and sharp-witted pagans as the Chinese and Japanese posed. He had on this account sent a brother to Portugal³⁰ in order to explain the need that there was for such priests. He was now also writing to Father Master Simon³¹ and Father Ignatius³² about this. The priest whom he was leaving behind as rector of the college in Goa would write in great detail to His Highness about the fruit which the priests and brothers of the Society, who were scattered over so many parts of India, were working. Xavier then brought his letter to a close:

Now, as an end to this letter, I am asking another favor of Your Highness, that you pay particular attention to, and care of, your conscience, more now than ever, remembering the very strict accounting which you will have to give to God our Lord; for one who lives with this concern during his life will be very confident and tranquil at the hour of his death; and one who during his life is not concerned with the accounting which he will have to give to God will find himself so perplexed in the hour of his death, and so unexperienced in giving this account, that he will not succeed in doing so. And so now, to bring this to a close, I urge Your Highness to take a very special care of yourself, and do not leave this business or confide it to any other than to yourself.

May our Lord increase the days of the life of Your Highness for many years, and may He grant you during your life to feel that which you will wish to have done in the hour of your death.

Written in Goa, the eighth of April, 1552.

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

As a final conclusion to this series of letters, Xavier dictated to Gago a letter in Spanish for Ignatius.³³ It began as follows:

Jesus! May the grace and love of Christ our Lord ever help and assist us. Amen.

In the year 1552, in the month of February,³⁴ I wrote to your holy Charity of how I came from Gipón³⁵ to India and of the fruit which was gained there in the conversion of the pagans to our holy faith and of how Padre Cosme de Torres and Juan Hernandez remained in Amanguchi, a leading city of Gipón, with the Christians who had been converted there and many who are converted every day. This year in which we are two of the Society are going to Amanguchi to assist Padre Cosme de Torres and to learn the language so that when priests of great reliability come from there [Europe] to go to the universities of Gipón, they will have persons of the Society who know how to say accurately what the priests will tell them. In Amanguchi there is already, through the mercy of God, a house of the Society, and so far from Rome that from Guoa to Amanguchi there are one thousand and four hundred leagues, and from Rome more than six thousand.

Six days from now, with the help and favor of God our Lord three of us of the Society, two priests and one lay brother, are going to the court of the king of China,³⁶

³⁰ André Fernandes.

³¹ EX II 342-352.

³² The following letter.

³³ *Ibid.* 365-376. The original is preserved.

³⁴ On January 29, 1552.

³⁵ Gago writes *Gipon*. Xavier thus dictated to him the Chinese form. The Portuguese *Japão* comes from the Malay; *Gipon* (Jipon) comes from the Chinese and corresponds to the Japanese *Nippon* (Rising Sun). The *Cipangu* of Marco Polo is the Chinese word for the Land of the Rising Sun (Japan).

³⁶ Peking.

which is near Gipón, a land that is very great and inhabited by a very gifted people and many scholars. From the information which I have of them, they are much devoted to learning; and the more learned one is, the more noble one is and the more esteemed. All the paganism of the sects in Gipón has come from China.³⁷ We are going with great confidence in God our Lord that His name will be manifested in China. May your holy Charity have special care to commend us to God, both those who are in Gipón and those who are going to China. God willing, we shall write in great detail both on how we shall have been received and of the disposition there for the increase of our faith.

After I arrived at the college of Goa, I had to dismiss some persons from the Society. It pained me much to find abundant reasons for doing this; and on the other hand I was very happy to dismiss them. I made Padre Maestro Gaspar rector of the college, a Fleming by birth, a very reliable person, in whom God has placed many virtues, a very great preacher, very generously received by the people, and very highly esteemed by those of the Society. He moves the people so much to tears when he preaches that there is reason for giving much thanks to our Lord. I am leaving all in these parts, both fathers and brothers, subject to him. I have dismissed those who could cause any disedification during my absence for things already passed. All who now remain are such that I am very content to go to China; and if God our Lord should take Maestro Gaspar from this life, I have left a codicil written and signed by my own hand,³⁸ in which I indicate who will then be the rector of this college, to avoid any trouble which could arise in the election of the rector, until your holy Charity provides these parts with a rector. I did this because of the great distance that exists between here and Rome, so as to avoid the difficulties which could follow both in the election of the rector and because of the long time that it takes to go from here to Rome and for an answer to return.

It seemed to me that it pertained much to the service of our Lord God that before I left for China I should leave an order that a brother of the Society³⁹ should go next year to Portugal, and from Portugal to Rome, with letters for your holy Charity to let you know the need there is in these parts for priests who have been much tried and proven in the world, because these are they who produce much fruit in these parts; since those who are learned and do not have experience, and who have not been tried by the persecutions of the world, produce little fruit in these parts; and those whom I dismissed were such.

From the experience which I have of Gipón, the priests who are to go there to produce fruit in souls, especially those who are to go to the universities, have need of two things; the first is that they have been much tried and persecuted in the world, and have much experience and great interior knowledge of themselves, since they will be more persecuted in Gipón than they were perhaps ever in Europe. The land is cold and has few resources. They do not sleep in beds since there are none. It is poor in producing food. They condemn strangers, especially those who come to preach the law of God, until they acquire a relish for God. The priests of Gipón will always persecute them; and it does not seem to me that those who go to the universities will be able to take the things necessary for saying Mass because of the numerous robbers in the lands through which they will have to go. Since they will be in the midst of great difficulties and persecutions and will be deprived of the consolation of the Mass and of the spiritual reinforcements which come to those who receive their Lord, your holy Charity may see the virtue which will be required in those priests who are to go to the universities of Gipón.

It is also necessary that they be learned so that they may answer the many questions posed by the Japanese. It would be good for them to be good philosophers (*artistas*); and it would be no harm at all for them to be dialecticians (*ssofistas*)⁴⁰ so that they

³⁷ Buddhism.

³⁸ EX II 341-342.

³⁹ André Fernandes.

⁴⁰ The text has *ssofistas*, that is, philosophers who were conversant with the *De*

may catch the Japanese in contradictions when they dispute with them. It would be good for them to know something about the spheres, since the Japanese are greatly pleased to learn about the movements of the heavens, about the eclipses of the sun, the waning and waxing of the moon, how rain water, snow and hail, thunder, lightning, comets, and other such natural phenomena are produced. The explanation of such matters is a great help in gaining the good will of the people. It seemed to me a suitable thing to write to your holy Charity this information on the people of Gipón so that you may know the virtues which the priests who are to go there must have.

I have thought many times that some Flemish and German priests of the Society would be good for these parts, since they endure great labors and are well tolerant of the cold; and there, both in Italia and in Espanha, they would be less missed since they do not know the language for preaching. And so that the brothers who are in Gipón should understand them there, it will be necessary that they know how to speak Castilian or Portuguese; and even if they do not know much, they will learn it on the way, since at least two years will pass before they reach Amanguchi.

Xavier then took up his principal request, the sending of a rector to be the superior of the mission in his stead, a priest experienced in the affairs of the Society, especially of the Constitutions, and who had been associated with Ignatius for a long time. The priests and brothers in India were longing for such a person from the general of the order, and if possible he should come with some spiritual favors from Rome such as plenary indulgences on the principal feasts of the year and their octaves. With respect to the other priests, he was writing to Rodrigues, or in his absence, to the rector of Coimbra, that they should not send any priests who could be easily dispensed with in Europe since India did not need individuals of this type. It would also be good if Ignatius gave an order that no priest of the Society could be sent to India who had not first made a pilgrimage to Rome and had received the permission of the general of the order to go to India. It was of particular importance that no one came as rector either from Portugal or from anywhere else who had not previously gone to Rome and whose suitability had been approved by the general of the order. He said this from the experience which he had had with those who had come from Portugal to be the rector of the college. He had therefore left behind the provision that no rector should be accepted from Europe who had not been appointed by the general and who had not received his authority from him. This was to avoid some things which he was not writing about. He then brought his letter to a close:

I would be greatly consoled if your holy Charity commissioned a person of the house to write to me at great length news about all the priests who came from Paris, and about all the others, and about the success with which the affairs of the Society are going, both about the colleges and houses, and about the number of the professed priests, and about some very distinguished individuals who had great qualities before they entered the Society, and about some great scholars who are in it, so that this letter may be a source of recreation for me in the midst of the many difficulties by land and sea in China and Gipón.

May our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise, and also, if it will be to His service, in this present life. This could be more easily accomplished if it were ordered me through obedience. All tell me that one can go from China to Jerusalén.⁴¹ If that

sophismatibus, the last part of the *Organum* of Aristotle. Xavier had already written in this regard to Ignatius from Cochin on January 29, 1552 (EX II 289), and to Rodrigues on January 30, 1552 (*ibid.* 296).

⁴¹ Including Barzaeus. The route went through the following cities: Kanchau, Kao-t'ai, Suhchau-lu, Kamul (where the Mohammedans were first encountered), Turfan, Karashar, Kucha, Aksu, Kaskar, Samarkand, Bochara, Herat, Verami, Kasbin, Soltania, and Tabriz (Q 4562).

should be the case, as they say, I shall write it to your holy Charity, and how many leagues there are, and how long it would take to go.

From Goa, the ninth of April, 1552.

Your least son and farthest exile.

Francysco.

10. THE LAST DISCOURSES (APRIL, 1552)

Xavier had written his last letter for Europe on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Three days later, on April 12, the Tuesday of Holy Week, he made his last provision for St. Paul's College, appointing the licentiate Manuel Alvares Barradas as the procurator of the college with the authority to administer the pagoda lands, to put them out on lease, to defend them at court, and to compose a register of them. Alvares Barradas had been *ouvidor* in Malacca in 1540,¹ and had been appointed *ouvidor* in Cochin in December, 1547,² and had as such taken the place of the imprisoned Duarte da Gama.³ He was at this time living in Goa.

The notary André de Moura, at Xavier's request, read the document of appointment in the presence of Master Gaspar, the rector, Misser Paulo, the priests Manuel de Morais and Antonio Vaz, and the brothers Reimão Pereira, Pedro de Almeida, Christovão da Costa, and Simão de Vera, who had been called together by the ringing of the house bell. Also present as witnesses were Leonardo Nunes, the secretary of the *provedor-mor dos defuntos da India*,⁴ and João Dias,⁵ who was

¹ Q 614.

² Q 3396; cf. 3527 3564 3927.

³ Q 3527. On May 23, 1552, the viceroy issued an order that the villages of the island of Goa and its vicinity should undertake the completion of a register (*tombo*) of St. Paul's College with respect to undeclared pagoda lands; and he insisted in it that all *gancars* and secretaries reveal them to him under the threat of severe penalties (DI II 329-330). On November 5, 1552, Antonio Ferrão, the *tanadar-mor* of the island of Goa and its surroundings, received an order from the viceroy that he should assist the procurator of the college in the drawing up of a land register (APO V 132-133). The work was begun on April 3, 1553, in the village of Neurá o Grande (*ibid.* 134; DI II 573-578).

⁴ Leonardo Nunes came, as it seems, to India in 1537. He sailed with Dom Garcia de Noronha to Diu in 1538, with Dom Estevão da Gama to Suez in 1541, to the pagoda with M. A. de Sousa in 1543, with Dom Fernando to Diu in 1546 (*Crónica* 43-44), where we encounter him on September 15 (Q 2404a). On October 10, he was blown up with the bulwark of S. João and was burned on his hands (Q 2436; Baião, *História* 224). In November D. João de Castro gave him as a reward for his bravery the position of secretary of the *provedor-mor dos defuntos da India* for three years (Q 2548), and at the end of 1546 he completed his important account on the siege of Diu (ed. Baião, *História* 1-105). He sailed with Castro to Broach in 1547 (Q 3423a), and with D. Alvaro de Castro to Socotra and Qishn in 1548. On his return voyage to Portugal in 1549, he wrote his *Crónica de D. João de Castro*, which was completed on February 22, 1550, in Lisbon. He returned to India in 1551, where he took up his position as secretary to the *provedor-mor dos defuntos*. On him see his chronicle published by Ford, pp. XIII-XXVI 43-44 240-241.

⁵ A João Dias is named in 1543. Aleixo de Sousa shipped from Cochin to the captain of Quilon eight ells of velvet and caps through him, as he wrote on December 13, 1543 (Q 1142). We encounter a João Dias, probably the same person, in Diu in 1546. He was captain of the *fusta* of Antonio da Cunha, who came to the help of Diu on May 14 with D. Fernando and Leonardo Nunes. He sailed with three Portuguese to the mainland to obtain food, and in the course of this he was imprisoned by Khoja Safar. At the latter's command he was brought chained before the Portuguese bulwark, where he openly encouraged his countrymen to fight against the Moors (Nunes, *Crónica* 44 47-48). Is he the same one who was dubbed a knight by D. João Mascarenhas in 1546 and is named by him in the ratification of this on February 10, 1550, who came

living in São Paulo, and others. After the document had been read it was signed by the witnesses.⁶

As the time for his departure for China drew nearer, Master Francis was accustomed to give a spiritual conference in the evening in the choir of the church. These were a source of great consolation to his confreres, since his words were so effective that they all were inflamed by them and felt as though they were changed into new men.⁷

During these conferences Xavier spoke again and again of Japan. As Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote to Ignatius in 1554:

At the beginning, the making of converts in these parts encounters very great difficulties, just as our Padre Maestro Francisco found them to be very great in Jipão, though in his humility he did not speak of them when he returned from there. . . . These Japanese are men of such good reason and understanding that I heard Padre Maestro Francisco say that he had not found in the whole world a race so obedient to reason. Those who become Christians, who will now be around four thousand, do not do so out of [worldly] interest nor to obtain help in their lawsuits, nor to obtain favors from the captains; nor are they converted blindly because they are told that they should become Christians, but because they have come to a true knowledge of the law of Christ Jesus our Lord. . . . They listen attentively to the reasons and answer the questions which are asked of them. They ask for the reason of everything about which they doubt, . . . and when they are completely satisfied, they become Christians; . . . and with much fervor of spirit they dispute against the pagans, their relatives and parents, demonstrating to them with arguments that the law of the Creator is the truth, and that theirs is error; and among them are some who, when they cannot defend their faith with reasons, would seek to defend it with their weapons if the priests did not prevent them from doing so. I heard the blessed Padre Maestro Francisco say that he had this great confidence in the Christians whom he had converted in Jipão, that, if it were necessary, they would prefer to die for the faith than to give up the law of Jesus Christ. Many nobles and prominent individuals become Christians, and the more they excel others in intelligence, the more easily they are converted since they are a race very eager to be conformed to reason.⁸

And Frois wrote later from Japan:

Not without reason did blessed Father Master Francis of happy memory leave many other kingdoms aside which he sailed past on his way and went with eager longing to proclaim the law of God in these so distant regions, saying, as I heard him say many

to the help of Diu on August 29, 1546 (thus with D. Alvaro de Castro), and was the son of the Pero Dias who lived in Tavarede in the region of Montemor o Velho (Q 2664 4377)? João Dias Correa was the captain of a ship in Malacca in 1547 when Xavier announced from the pulpit there the victory over the fleet of the Achinese (MX II 461). The Spanish secular priest Juan Delgado, who sheltered Xavier in Amboina, came to India in 1547 with his companion Cosme de Torres, and entered the Society in 1557 in Goa under the name of João Dias, is not to be considered since he was in Malacca in 1552-1553 (Seb. Gonçalves 5, 4); and in the document of April 12, 1552, the witness is definitely called a *padre*.

⁶ DI II 376-381. André de Moura as a notary public accompanied the *tanador-mor* Antonio Ferrão along with Alvares Barradas to Neurá o Grande in 1553 in order to compose the register of the pagoda lands of St. Paul's College (APO V 134).

⁷ Frois on December 1, 1552 (DI II 455; cf. 453). We can partially reconstruct the contents of his conferences from the data of his confreres who were at the time in Goa: Barzaeus, André Fernandes, Teixeira, Durão, Pero de Almeida, and Melchior Nunes Barreto, who however was sent to Bassein at the beginning of March, and Frois, who came from there to Goa at the beginning of April.

⁸ DI III 79-81.

times, that on the entire way from Rome to here there was no other people more suitable or with better dispositions for the acceptance of Christianity than the Japanese.⁹

A half year later he wrote from Miyako, the capital of Japan:

Surely, dearest Brothers, Father Master Francis, whom our Lord has in His glory, did not come without a strong impulse and inspiration of the Holy Spirit with so great a thirst into this farthest part of the yet discovered world to seek out this nation, so far away and so estranged from its Creator; for in their culture, their manners, and their customs, as our Father Master Francis used to say, they excel the Spaniards so much in many things that it is a shame to mention it. And if the people who come here from China do not as yet have a higher regard for Japan, this comes from the fact that they deal only with merchants, people of little courtliness, who live along the coast and are to be compared with the lowest in this kingdom of Meaco and are here called "men of the woods."¹⁰

And in another letter he wrote:

Many times I heard Father Master Francis of happy memory say that the faith could be easily introduced into Japan because of the fine intelligence of the people and their good natural qualities. And he said that he did not remember seeing in Asia a nation that could be compared with it.¹¹

After the heavy defeat of the king of Bungo on the Mimitsugawa River, he wrote:

With good reason Father Master Francis Xavier of blessed memory used to say, immediately after he had gained experience, that not any confrere whatever was adequate for the labors in Japan, for just as the pleasure and consolation of assured success produce extraordinary happiness and joy in the hearts of men, so severe and unexpected trials, afflictions, and oppositions cause those who are not truly qualified and solid in virtue and sustained by the grace and fear of God to have great difficulties in maintaining themselves and keeping themselves on their feet when the storm of tribulation blows.¹²

Durão also wrote in a similar fashion that missionaries in distant regions had to become strong in spirit:

Father Master Francis of blessed memory used to say that those who labor in distant regions should return to the colleges at least every three or four years in order to find consolation among their brethren; and when they had been somewhat renewed in spirit, they should return to their work. And I both heard and saw how, in his conferences to the confreres of the college, he urged them to become strong in spirit, since they would have great need of this if they were sent to distant parts where the devils go in swarms to turn one away from one's vocation.¹³

In later times Teixeira also wrote that in his last exhortations Xavier stressed the need of solid virtue, and especially that of humility:

We often heard him say with sighs and great affection: "O Arrogance! O Arrogance! How much harm you have caused, are causing, and will cause, and how you are

⁹ A letter from Hirado, of October 25, 1564, to Brother Thomas Correa in Rome (*JapSin.* 5, 135).

¹⁰ Letter from Miyako to his confreres in Goa, of April 27, 1565 (*ibid.* 229v-230).

¹¹ Letter from Sakai to the general, of January 25, 1566 (*ibid.* 6, 113v).

¹² Letter from Usuki to the same, of September 29, 1579 (*ibid.* 8, 225v).

¹³ Letter from Cape Comorin to the same, of December 9, 1581 (*Goa* 13, 98v).

opposed to the institute and the perfection of the Society of Jesus!" In his exhortations which he gave us in Goa, and especially before his final trip, to China, he constantly insisted that we must drive out and destroy any overweening opinion of ourselves, telling us that one is what he is before God and his conscience, and nothing more, even if he himself and everyone else thinks otherwise. And there are many people in the world of different status who are more highly esteemed before God than many religious because of the slight opinion and esteem in which they are held and because of the high regard which is often had for such religious. And he used to say that one should never be pleased and delighted by the opinion which others had of him, but rather that he should humble himself the more on this account by pondering on how we are the opposite of this. Through a lack of self-knowledge and humility a man comes to lose humility, and everything becomes swollen with the belief that they are what the world thinks of them. And many are in hell who were the cause of many others going to paradise simply because they lacked the humility and repentance to be saved with the others. And he used to say that in this regard it was a great delusion to pretend to be humble without being so, just as it is similarly a great delusion to wish to be honored for the virtue of one's predecessors and for the great good works which they performed without making timely efforts to imitate them in these.¹⁴

Forty years later, on November 29, 1593, André Fernandes wrote to the general of the order with a hand weak and trembling from age that the spirit of love and harmony among brethren is lessened by a lack of true self-conquest and humility; and he went on to declare:

Father Master Francis used to say that one who has this haughty spirit is near to a fall. Although it was more characteristic of young religious, would to God that it was not also found among the old! The same priest therefore used to say many were very ready to become rectors, but fewer to become servants; and the more one was a superior, the more one made oneself a lord; and this was true not only of superiors, but also of those who have a position of honor. If it is taken from them, they die from grief and become useless.¹⁵

Xavier had written from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa that on the voyage to Japan one's true virtue would be tested during the storms at sea;¹⁶ and in Goa André Fernandes heard him describe the storm which he had himself experienced on his voyage to Japan; and he later wrote of it:

A wind, called *tufão*, blows at times on the China Sea. It has no fixed time but always comes from the north and ends in the south or southwest, where it is already milder. When it is coming from the north, it is extremely violent, especially if the sun is on the south, for then it is said to be colder and more unbearable. It lasts for three or four days. These winds are very dangerous and difficult; and I heard Padre Mestre Francisco say that they did not seem to be winds but rather that the devils went in them since, because of the force of the wind, the ship had to go with it, and the waves of the sea opposed it so that ships are assailed from many sides by the sea and the winds, and many are thus lost and all incur a great risk.¹⁷

To strengthen him in humility Xavier said to Master Gaspar:

What do you say of João Fernández? He is so virtuous and works so much that in order to become his equal you will have to work much.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Teixeira It., P. 3, c. 8; see also Teixeira 883-884.

¹⁵ Letter from Goa to the general, of November 29, 1593 (*Goa* 14, 121v).

¹⁶ EX II 180-184 195-199.

¹⁷ Letter from Cochín to Father Pedro da Fonseca in Portugal (DI V 736).

¹⁸ Quadros on December 6, 1555 (*ibid.* II 342).

The example of the four Japanese, Antonio, Joane, Matheus, and Bernardo, who had come from Japan with Xavier and the ambassador of the king of Bungo, and what they were able to narrate, complemented what Xavier had to say. Matheus edified all with his great humility and continuous prayer.¹⁹ The same was true of Bernardo²⁰ and the two others. Bernardo, who had accompanied Xavier on all his journeys in Japan, could tell how even during his sleep Francis invoked the name of Jesus, how he was able to answer with a single reply in Yamaguchi many doubts that were presented to him, how he cured many who were afflicted with different ills through a sign of the cross or with holy water, how the Japanese looked upon him as a superhuman being sent from heaven,²¹ and of how he used to speak of Ignatius as a great saint.²² Joane could also report how Francis had restored sight to a blind man in Japan and had done many other marvelous things.²³ The enthusiasm thus created in the College of St. Paul was still further enhanced by the baptism of the ambassador of the king of Bungo. Xavier had instructed him in the faith on their voyage from Japan to India, and he was baptized before Xavier's departure for China. His sponsor was the viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha, and he received the name of Lourenço Pereira.²⁴

Over Japan there now rose, however, another kingdom in the distance, China, giant in size, larger than all the other kingdoms of the world; and it was this closed, mysterious land that Father Master Francis now wished to open up and win for Christ. As Quadros later wrote of him, "Padre Mestre Francisco longed more to find an entrance there than in any other land."²⁵ And twenty-two years after being present for Xavier's last exhortation in Goa, Pedro de Almeida wrote: "It is now many years ago that the great Padre Santo Mestre Francisco died, whom I saw greatly inflamed with incomparable zeal for the holy work of making converts."²⁶

As Frois observed, Xavier's young hearers in the College of St. Paul were enkindled by his words:

At the time that Padre Mestre Francisco was here, there was always great fervor in the house; and the Brothers were much inflamed with the desire of accompanying him; and they asked our Lord with great insistence that He would count them among the number of those from whom the priest would decide to make the holy election; for of all the lands to which he had gone up to that time, it was thought that none had greater prospects of martyrdom than China; nor was there any other where more fruit could be gained.²⁷

¹⁹ Frois on December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* II 452).

²⁰ Ribadeneyra, who was his confessor in Rome, wrote of him that his example had inflamed him to the practice of virtue: he seemed to be a living image of the Christians of the primitive Church (FN IV 654-655).

²¹ *Ibid.* 656-657.

²² *Ibid.* 722-723.

²³ He was told this by Melchior Nunes Barreto (DI III 78).

²⁴ Gil Barreto in his letter of December 15, 1552, to his confreres in Coimbra (DI II 511-512); Frois in his letter to his confreres in Rome from Bungo (*JapSin.* 8, 93v), and in his history. When he was writing this latter (1586), the ambassador was still living in Bungo at the court in Funai (17). Gil Barreto is wrong when he writes that one or two of the ambassador's servants (*moços*) had been baptized along with him. Xavier left Japan with five Japanese, that is, with the ambassador, Antonio, Joane, Matheus, and Bernardo. The ambassador sailed from Goa back to Malacca in 1552 with two Japanese, Antonio and Joane (see EX II 241-242).

²⁵ Letter from Goa to Miron of December 6, 1555 (DI III 353).

²⁶ *Ibid.* IX 472.

²⁷ *Ibid.* II 453.

The two chosen to go were Gago and Ferreira. Gago was the only one of the three whom Xavier had called to Japan from Kagoshima, but he was now to go with him instead to China. Brother Alvaro Ferreira was a confrere of great virtue and ability. With the help of Xavier's Japanese companions, he had studied Japanese in the college and had already begun to learn the conjugations. They were now both to learn Chinese in China so that the kingdom of God could be more easily proclaimed there. The Chinese student of the college, Antonio of the Holy Faith, also called simply "Antonio China," was designated to go with the others as an interpreter so that he could immediately instruct in Christian doctrine those who would be converted in his native land. He had been for seven or eight years in the college and had already completed the fourth class in grammar. He was one of the most virtuous and intelligent of the native students whom Frois had come to know in these regions.²⁸ Xavier was to be accompanied as far as Malacca by the ambassador of the king of Bungo, by the two Japanese, Antonio and Joane, and by two more confreres—Pedro de Alcáçova and Duarte da Silva. Alcáçova had been in the Society for a short time in Portugal and had reentered it in India. He was very devoted to prayer and had great zeal and a great desire to suffer for Christ.²⁹ Duarte da Silva was similarly possessed of a great zeal. The two of them were to learn Japanese in Yamaguchi so that they could later accompany the missionaries to the universities of that land as their interpreters.³⁰ For China, Xavier also took with him an Indian servant by the name of Christovão.³¹

11. THE DEPARTURE FROM GOA (APRIL 17, 1552)

Everything was at last ready for the departure. The viceroy, a great friend of the Society, had appointed Diego Pereira as ambassador to the king of China and had given to Xavier the document of his appointment drawn up in the name of his king.¹ He also gave him an elaborately illuminated letter for the king of China² and a letter of reply to the king of Bungo and return gifts, which Brother Alcáçova was to deliver. Among these was a precious cuirass.³ At Xavier's re-

²⁸ *Ibid.* 454. Antonio China sailed with Xavier's body from Sancian to Malacca in February, 1553, and from there in August, 1553, to Ternate with Beira (DI III 654 669-673). There he worked on the Moro mission from 1553 to 1555 (Q 6044; DI III 620). He then returned to India and, in September, 1557, wrote in Cochin for Teixeira a detailed account of Xavier's voyage to China and of his death (*ibid.* 651-675). In 1558 he had charge of the catechumenate in Goa (DI IV 166). When Valignano came to Macao in 1578, he met Antonio there, a "buen christiano, honrrado y viejo." He obtained information from him on Xavier's death (Valignano 260).

²⁹ DI III 453-454.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 454-455.

³¹ According to Valignano, Xavier took with him, in addition to Gago, Alcáçova, and Silva, an "otro Hermano [Ferreira], con un interprete [Antonio China] y un moço [Christovão]" (200). The servant's name is given by Xavier (EX II 512). Seb. Gonçalves calls him a "moço canarim" (5,1), who had been educated in St. Paul's College (5, 3). Brou (and following him Wicki, *Valignano* 211 259) calls him a Malabar (II 320 349 365 447), probably led astray by another Indian servant of Xavier in Japan, the Malabar Amador.

¹ "Avidas as provisões do viso-rrey Dom Afonso de Noronha pera Diogo Pereira ir por embaixador a el-rrei de China, e ninguem o empedir sob pena do caso mayor," as Pérez wrote (*Informação* 72; cf. EX II 455 462 472).

² EX II 515. In 1549 Xavier had also received from the governor such a letter for the king of Japan.

³ Alcáçova in his letter of the beginning of 1554 (*Cartas*, 1598, 23v).

quest he had appointed Dom Alvaro de Ataíde as admiral of the sea of Malacca until he took over his position as captain of the fortress there.⁴ He had further equipped an auxiliary fleet for the city, which had been exhausted by its long siege and was now being threatened again by its enemies. This fleet consisted of the royal galleon *Santiago*⁵ and five *fustas*⁶ with men, munitions, and provisions.⁷ The galleon, a beautiful ship⁸ under the command of Diogo de Sousa,⁹ was to bring the new captain of Ternate, Francisco Lopes de Sousa,¹⁰ to the Moluccas;¹¹ it should also carry Xavier and his companions as far as Malacca.¹² Xavier had also received from the bishop a letter of recommendation¹³ written on parchment and illuminated with gold for the king of China.¹⁴ Pereira's factor had spent from four to five thousand *pardaus* on the gifts¹⁵ which he was to take with him as ambassador from India; and the precious ornaments, carpets, and altarpieces which Master Gaspar had brought with him from Ormuz for Japan were now similarly destined for China.¹⁶

⁴ Pérez, *Informação* 72; Couto 6, 9, 19, p. 364. Couto however does not have Ataíde sail to Malacca until this time. He further adds, erroneously, that the king of Portugal had sent Xavier a gift for the king of China, and that the pope had in this same year sent him a brief appointing him as his nuncio (6, 16, 6, p. 437).

⁵ According to his fellow voyager Lopo d'Aguiar (MX II 391). Another fellow voyager, Antonio d'Abreu de Sousa, gave the name of the galleon at the first Lisbon process, f. 184.

⁶ Pérez, *Informação* 72.

⁷ As the city's agent, Christovão Martins, had requested (Q 4748).

⁸ Couto describes it as "hum galeão muito fermoso" (6, 9, 19, p. 391).

⁹ Lopo d'Aguiar (MX II 391) and Couto (6, 9, 19, p. 361).

¹⁰ At the end of 1537 Francisco Lopes de Sousa and his brother Pedro Lopes de Costa, both *moçofidalgos* and *homens d'armas* (heavy-armed soldiers), sailed for India on the *São Paulo* of the admiral Diogo Lopes de Sousa (Ferreira Paez, *As famosas armadas portuguesas* 47; *Emmentia* 338 367). Soon after their arrival, news came from Goa that the Turks had lifted their siege of Diu. The viceroy, D. Garcia de Noronha, then sailed there with a fleet. After he had rebuilt the fortress, he left Diogo Lopes de Sousa there with nine hundred men and some *fidalgos*. Among these was Francisco Lopes de Sousa, who was appointed chief captain of that coast, and his brother (Castanheda 9, 3). In 1543 Sousa, as captain of a ship, accompanied the governor M. A. de Sousa on his expedition against Bhatkal (*ibid.* 9, 31; Correa IV 307). He returned to Portugal at the beginning of 1546 (Q 1818). In 1551 he sailed again to India as captain of the *Algaravia* (*Nossa Senhora da Visitação*) in the fleet of the admiral, Diogo Lopes de Sousa (*Emmentia* 434). In December, 1552, he arrived as captain in Ternate (Rebello 281-282). At the end of 1553 he sailed from there with Sultan Hairun to the Moro mission, where he remained for thirty-six days and separated the Christians from the Moors in Samafo. He then sailed back to Ternate, where he very soon fell ill and died four days later (according to Couto seven), at the beginning of 1554. He was a good captain (*ibid.* 296 492-493; Q 6044; Couto 6, 10, 11, pp. 472-475).

¹¹ Couto 6, 9, 19, p. 361.

¹² *Ibid.* 6, 10, 6, p. 437.

¹³ "Carta do Bispo pera el-rrei da China e com benção desta [and he adds in smaller letters over this: de] S. Domingos, que então vierão primeiramente por vigairo geral Frey Diogo Belmudez" (Pérez, *Informação* 72). The text, only preserved in a copy, is here, as elsewhere, obviously corrupt and does not make sense. Pérez perhaps wished to say that the vicar general of the Dominicans also gave Xavier his blessing.

¹⁴ "Carta do Bispo iluminada com ouro," as Pérez wrote (*l. c.*), to whom Xavier showed the letter; cf. EX II 455.

¹⁵ On January 21, 1555, Pérez wrote that Diogo Pereira had spent much money through his factor for costly objects to be used as gifts (DI III 248); and in his *Informação* of 1579, he wrote that Xavier had ordered many costly objects to be purchased in Goa with the money furnished by Pereira (71). According to Xavier, Pereira purchased many rich objects as a gift (EX II 361) and spent four to five thousand *pardaus* for the embassy (*ibid.* 461). According to Christovão Carvalho, he spent four thousand *cruzados* (MX II 305). Couto errs in having the king of Portugal send a gift (6, 10, 6, p. 437).

¹⁶ Frois on December 1, 1552 (DI II 454).

The galleon was already lying at anchor off the quay when Xavier made his departing visits to the bishop and the viceroy. Would he ever see them again? The future was uncertain, but he had at least to count upon a long absence. If China opened up, he could perhaps return from there or Japan in three or four years in order to obtain new confreres. The bishop, who had long been plagued by a stone,¹⁷ was old and feeble.¹⁸ In 1546 he had already received permission from the king to return to Portugal;¹⁹ and the viceroy would not remain in India after he had completed his three years of rule. But what if Ignatius recalled him and he traveled overland from China to Rome, or if China remained closed, or he was imprisoned or slain for his faith?

When Francis took leave of his old friend Gonçalo Fernandes, the *patrão-mor*, he told him that he should take care that they saw each other in heaven, since they would not meet again in this life.²⁰ To his friend Gaspar Vaz, the chief pilot of India, he said at his departure that they would see each other again on the Last Day in the Valley of Josaphat.²¹ When he saw his penitent Catarina de Chaves,²² the widow of the former secretary of the city, Diogo Martins,²³ for the

¹⁷ *Ibid.* III 440.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* IV 469.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* I 92-93 214-215.

²⁰ MX II 179. Gonçalo Fernandes was *patrão-mor da Índia* when Xavier and Botelho wrote to the king in January, 1552, that he should give him the office for life (EX II 308; Botelho, *Cartas* 41). Botelho notes that the viceroy had given permission to the one who held the office through a royal decree to sell it to Gonçalo Fernandes, who had already held the office once before. He now had it again and was well suited for it. This office and that of *piloto-mor* should be given for life if the person appointed was appropriate, since it would then be better administered. The *piloto-mor* at the time was a Gaspar Vaz, who conducted the office well. He and the *patrão-mor* petitioned His Highness that they be given these offices for life, and it did not seem to him bad to do so. — When Melchior Nunes Barreto sailed to Japan in 1554, he took with him, in addition to the orphans who had come from Portugal, the young son of the *patrão-mor* so that he might learn the language of the country there with the other boys and thus be able to serve the priests who would later go to the universities of Japan as interpreters (DI III 85-86 181 187 714). By this is probably meant a son of Gonçalo Fernandes, not of Pedro Alvares, to whom the king gave in February, 1550, the position of a *patrão-mor* if one were free or held by someone without a royal patent (Q 4386; Sousa Viterbo 38).

²¹ In 1556 Gaspar Vaz, a *casado* resident in Goa, testified that before he left on his voyage to China, Xavier had come to take his leave of him, "por ser muito seu amigo e o conversar o Padre, lhe dissera que se ficasse embora, que já se não verião mais senão no vale de Jozafat" (MX II 182). He had been born in Cannanore. We encounter him in 1544 as registrar in Malacca (*ibid.* 607), where Freitas left Tabarija under his protection (Vol. III, p. 39). In 1547 he came to Malacca from India, probably on the Coromandel ship, and was present at Xavier's sermon in Malacca when he announced the victory of the fleet over the Achinese. At the end of 1547, the *patrão-mor* Gonçalo Fernandes had informed him that at the time of his departure from Malacca for India Xavier had foretold him a danger on the voyage. He was again in Goa at the beginning of 1548 when Xavier landed there. After the death of D. João de Castro, he had heard from the *contador* of the register that Xavier had said that the governor's successor, Garcia de Sá, would not rule for long (MX II 181-183). In September, 1549, he was a secretary in Goa (Q 4237). In 1552 he was *piloto-mor*. In 1554 he heard from Melchior Nunes Barreto that Xavier's body showed traces of blood. He was a witness in Goa in 1556 (MX II 181-184). In 1557 the governor ratified the privileges which he had enjoyed as *piloto-mor* under the viceroy Noronha: half as much of toll-free goods as pertained to the *patrão-mor* (APO V 329). In 1558 his toll-free goods were doubled (*ibid.* 355). In 1565 he was *contador-mor* (*ibid.* 590), and *piloto-mor* again in 1566 (*ibid.* 611). We believe that there is a question here of one and the same person, different from the *provedor* of the Misericórdia in Diu in 1546 (Q 2647).

²² Seb. Gonçalves calls her a "matrona grave," sister of Beatris Mendes. She had been born in Portugal, was the mother of Joana Antunes, Dona Maria, Dona Paula, and

last time, he told her that she should pray for him since they would not see each other again in this life but only in heaven.²⁴

On the morning of Holy Thursday, April 14,²⁵ Francis paid his departing visit to his great friend Cosme Anes, who lived beyond Nossa Senhora do Monte, near the church of Santa Luzia²⁶ on the northern strand of the city. Cosme Anes had frequently invited the priest to his noon meal; and his niece, the fifteen-year-old Clara Alvares, had regularly attended his instructions in Christian doctrine and knew that the priest was regarded as a saint, in the house.²⁷ The trial with respect to the debts of Cosme Anes' deceased father-in-law, Dr. Francisco Toscano, was coming to an end; and the *provedor-mor dos defuntos*²⁸ had assured him that he would soon terminate it. Cosme Anes had consequently made all the arrangements for sailing back to Portugal with the next fleet at the beginning of 1553, as his wife told the priest one day when he was hearing her confession in the church of Santa Luzia. He told her, however, that the voyage could not be made so soon.²⁹ When Xavier came to take his leave he found her at home with

Isabel Antunes, "gente nobre e liada por parentesco e cunhadio com os Limas, Sylvas, Meneses, Ataides, Noronhas, Pereiras e Gamas, gente muito devota da Companhia" (4, 21; cf. MX II 607). She was already a widow in 1556. We presume that her husband was already dead in 1552, since she does not mention him in her testimony of 1556 (MX II 197-198).

²³ A Diogo Martins was secretary of the factory in Cochin in 1510 (CA IV 274). He is probably the same one who, as secretary of the council in Goa, confirmed the accuracy of the copies (Q 431 1805), but different from his namesake who, because of his deserts at the first siege of Diu in 1538, received the position of a policeman in Mozambique on March 17, 1547 (Q 2921).

²⁴ MX II 198. Seb. Gonçalves adds the following: When Xavier told her at the time of his departure that they would never again see each other in this life, she wept bitterly at being separated from her spiritual father. Because of the frequent conversations she had with him, she had learned contempt of the world and union with God. When he saw her grief, he consoled her and told her that she would see him again before she died. Nevertheless, the priest died without her seeing him again; and when his body was brought to Goa, she revered it with great devotion. When she was dying, surrounded by her relatives and many other prominent persons, her face suddenly glowed with great happiness. When she was asked the reason for this, she said: "Do you not see Father Master Francis? He has kept his word; for when he departed for China, he told me that I would not die without having seen him again. I saw him, and that sight of him brought me this joy." Her niece Isabel Antunes, who was present at her death, told this to Father Christovam Leitão; and Seb. Gonçalves learned of it from him (4, 21).—In the second, lost Malacca process of 1616, a witness stated that he had heard that Xavier had said during his lifetime that he would not return alive, but his body would, and that the ship which brought it would not be lost at sea but would come to an end on the wharf (Barradas 452).

²⁵ The witness Gil Gois, who was present at his departure, said in 1556 that Xavier had told Cosme Anes when he was leaving that they would not see each other again until they came to the Valley of Josaphat, "quo dicto dictus Pater navim conscendit, et post duos vel tres dies profectus est ad Sinas" (MX II 260-261).

²⁶ According to Cosme Anes (*ibid.* 186).

²⁷ According to Clara Alvares in the second, lost Goa process (**Summarium* 821).

²⁸ Dr. Francisco Toscano was *provedor-mor dos defuntos da India* and chancellor from 1544 to 1548 (Q 1222). After his death R. Gonçalves de Caminha became *provedor-mor dos defuntos* (Q 4002) and held this office from 1548 till his own death in 1549. In 1550 the licentiate Christovão Fernandes received this office together with that of chancellor from the viceroy Noronha. He held these until 1553 (APO V 258; see also Q 4651).

²⁹ According to Cosme Anes (MX II 186-187). When unexpected difficulties delayed the trial over the debts of his father-in-law, Toscano, Cosme Anes became very upset; but his wife then told him what Xavier had said to her (MX II 187). The case was decided in favor of Cosme Anes, and as *vedor de fazenda* he remained a true friend of the priests and of the college. When the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas arrived in

her brother Gil de Gois and her husband. As they were speaking, Cosme Anes asked when they would see each other again. Xavier replied: "Only in the Valley of Josaphat."³⁰

In his last exhortation in the church of St. Paul's College, after he had embraced all with tears, Xavier ended his address with a renewed warning on perserverance in one's vocation, deep humility, founded on the knowledge of one's own weakness, and above all on prompt obedience, a virtue which he had so often insisted upon, and which was so loved and esteemed by God and so necessary for those of the Society.³¹

On the afternoon of Holy Thursday, after the Body of the Lord had been deposited with great solemnity in the chapel of the church, he left the college with those who were to accompany him on his way; the ambassador of the king of Bungo; the two Japanese, Antonio and Joane; Father Gago; Brothers Alcáçova, Duarte da Silva, and Ferreira; Antonio China; and the Indian servant Christovão. Some of Xavier's confreres accompanied them to the quay, where the travelers boarded the galleon that was lying there at anchor.³²

1554 and discovered the coffers of the state empty and was unable to pay the revenues of the college, Cosme Anes told the provincial, Baltasar Dias, that he would take care of the college. He was wealthy and confessed to the priests every week or two (Polanco, *Chronicon* IV 663), and the latter conducted all their temporal affairs with the viceroy through him (*ibid.* V 651; cf. DI III 433). He thanked Ignatius for the numerous Masses and suffrages which he applied to him as a benefactor of the order (Polanco, *Chronicon* V 657; cf. DI III 431). He died in Goa in 1560 without seeing Portugal again. When he saw that his death was near, he asked the provincial to let him die in his beloved college in the presence of the priests of the Society so that they might help him with their prayers and sacrifices. His request was granted, and he died surrounded by the priests and brothers of the house. They conducted his funeral as if he had been one of them and buried him in the church of the college (DI IV 730; Valignano 418-419).—Among Xavier's admirers in Goa was also Thomé Gonçalves, whom he had converted during confession, and in whom he inspired a great love for the Society. He was twenty-three at the time of Xavier's departure and entered the order as a simple lay brother in 1571. In the twelve years that he lived in the Society, he edified all through his childlike obedience, as he did also during his long and serious illness. He left his wealth, which amounted to fourteen thousand *pardaus* to the Society for the founding of a professed house. He died in 1581 at the villa of the college, near the church of the Rosario, which had been purchased in 1576. See his obituary in the letter of his provincial, Rui Vicente, of November 8, 1581 (*Goa* 32, 444; see also DI X 40 693 731; XI 556-557 664; and Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 1, 2, 66, who calls him Thomé Gil).

³⁰ MX II 260-261.

³¹ "As deradeyras palavras de sua ultima pratica, dipois que com muitas lagrimas e abraços a todos dentro em sua alma metia, forão da constantia na primeira vocação, umildade mui profunda que nasese em todos do proprio conhecimento, e sobretudo a promtidão da obediencia, e per muitas vezes a rectificou como vertude tam amada e estimada de Deus, e tam necessaria aos da Companhia," Frois wrote as an eyewitness on December 1, 1552 (DI II 455).

³² "Quinta-feira de Endoensas à tarde, dipois de com muita solenidade ser enserado o corpo do Senhor nesta capela, se partio elle e seus companheyros," as Frois wrote (*ibid.* 455). Lopo d'Aguiar, secretary of the *ouvidor-geral* of India, testified in 1556: "Deixou a casa de São Paulo, domde era reitor, e se embarcou pera Malaqua, pera d'ahy ir à China a fazer fruto santo; e na embarcação em que foy, embarquey, que era huma galeão de Su Alteza" (MX II 391). In his Latin life of Ignatius in 1572, and in his Spanish life of the same in 1583, Ribadeneyra had written that Xavier had not taken any of the Society with him on his voyage to China but only two Chinese servants (*pueris, moços*) (FN IV 648-649). Teixeira replied to this in December, 154: "Quando de Goa pera a China partio, levou 3 da Companhia consigo e hum moço chim pera lingoa, scilicet, ao P. Baltezar Gago e ao Irmão Pedro d'Alcáçeva, que de Malaca mandou pera Jappão, e a hum Irmão português que consigo levou até à China [Christovão Ferreira]... e o moço chim, limgoa ou interprete, que se chamava Antonio de Santa Fee.... E estas

The rest of the confreres recommended the wayfarers to God before the Blessed Sacrament. They were sad because of their imminent separation from the holy priest but nonetheless filled with consolation as they reflected on the great undertaking to which the Lord was calling them and on the prospects of martyrdom, which all believed were waiting for them there.³³ In the evening Master Gaspar delivered the sermon on the Passion, and during it he showed a crucifix to the people. Because of his emotions and the many tears of his audience, he had to interrupt his sermon repeatedly, and he could only complete it on the evening of Good Friday.³⁴

In the meantime the galleon had to wait for a favorable wind; and it was not until Easter Sunday, April 17, that it left the bar of the Mandovi River and sailed south into the uncertain future.³⁵

4 pessoas vimos ir com elle todos os que emtão neste collegio de Goa estavamos" (*ibid.* 968-969).

³³ Já, charissimos, podereis considerar o que cada hum destes Irmãos poderia sentir em tam caro apartamento; todavia excedia sobretudo em consolação a grande empreza que levavam e o martirio que por tam certo tinham. Alguns Irmãos o forão acompanhar até praya, e os mais diante do Sanctissimo Sacramento os ficarão encomendando ao mesmo Deus, o qual por sua bondade os queyra em obra tanto sua ajudar," as Frois wrote (DI II 455).

³⁴ According to Frois (*ibid.* 473).

³⁵ In 1581 Teixeira wrote in his life of Xavier that the latter had set sail on April 15 (886). On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote as an eyewitness, a time when his memory was still fresher than that of Teixeira, that he boarded the ship on the afternoon of April 14, Maundy Thursday (DI II 455). After his return from Japan, Alcáçova, a fellow voyager, wrote in his long letter from the beginning of 1554, apparently from notices in a diary, since he constantly gives year, month, and date in his long report, that the ship sailed from Goa on April 17 (*Cartas* 1598, 23). Brandão wrote the same from Goa on December 21, 1554 (DI III 172).

CHAPTER VI

THE VOYAGE TO CHINA (April 17—August, 1552)

1. FROM GOA TO MALACCA (APRIL 17—MAY, 1552)

Diogo de Sousa,¹ the captain of the *Santiago*, was already known to Xavier from earlier times. In 1548 Sousa had sailed with the clove ship to the Moluccas

¹ Diogo de Sousa, *cavalleiro fidalgo*, to be distinguished from six namesakes, was the great-grandson of the lord of Beringel, son of Antonio de Sousa, and brother of Martinho de Sousa e Távora (*Andrade Leitão XIX 727-742). He is probably the same whom we encounter in Cannanore in 1525 as standard-bearer (*alferes*) of Captain Heitor da Silveira in the war with the Moors in Maravia (Mādāyi, opposite Cannanore), and again under him in 1530 in the war with the same foes (Correa II 864; III 352). As a reward for his services in India, he received two voyages to Maluco; and in February, 1547, a third, as captain and factor of the royal clove ship (Q 2835). When he sailed there in 1548, Governor D. João de Castro permitted him to take as many *bahārs* of cloves toll-free for himself as had his predecessor, Duarte de Miranda, and to have all the rights that had been granted to him. He paid him his support for a year in advance and forbade the captain of Malacca to prevent him from making his voyage and return (Q 3841; cf. 3907). Pérez calls him Diogo de Sousa Braga, probably because he, like his brother-in-law João Bravo, was born in Braga (*Informação* 59); in his letter of November 26, 1550, he calls him, like the other sources, simply Diogo de Sousa (DI II 118). Pérez departed from Cochín for Malacca on April 25, 1548, on the ship of Diogo de Sousa, "e na nao hia hum irmão do capitão, chamado Manoel de Sousa, e hum seu cunhado de dezoito e dezanove annos por nome João Bravo" (*Informação* 59). Of Xavier's voyage in 1552, he wrote that the viceroy sent a fleet of five *fustas* and one caravel, "e foi capitão-mor Martim de Sousa, sobrinho do P. João Bravo, filho duma sua irmã, moço de quinze ou dezaseis annos pouco mais ou menos, o qual em Malaca adoeceu de febres como adoecerão todos, e faleceu em N. Senhora e o sepultarão ahí" (*ibid.* 72). Both passages create difficulties. The first speaks of a brother of Diogo by the name of Manuel. The genealogies only give the brothers of Diogo as Martinho, Jorge, Pedro, João, Luis, Christovão, Gaspar, and Dinis (*Andrade Leitão XIX 730 737-738; Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2, 900-901). In Xavier's time there were at least fifteen persons with the name of Manuel de Sousa in India besides the famed Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda. Feo Cardoso gives an account of fourteen of these with data on their fathers (252). Among them was one of the leading captains of Dom João de Castro, who accompanied him in 1547 on the expedition to Pondá. L. Nunes wrote of them: "Estos heram os acostumbrados capitães em todolos neguocios" (*Crónica* 68). An uncle of Diogo was Manuel de Távora (*Andrade Leitão 739; Sousa 905). A great-grandson and a grand-nephew of Diogo had the name of Manuel de Sousa (Sousa 901-902). Martinho is consequently to be read instead of Manuel. There is here either a slip of the memory on the part of Pérez or a scribal error in our copy. The second passage creates still further difficulties with respect to the voyage in 1552. The copyist obviously skipped here, as elsewhere, some words, since a fifteen- or sixteen-year-old boy could not possibly have been the admiral of the fleet. The text probably read somewhat as follows: "e foi capitão-mor [Diogo de Sousa e na nao hia hum] Martim de Sousa, sobrinho." One of his two grandnephews could have been meant: Martinho de Sousa, son of his nephew Antonio, or his namesake, son of his nephew Gaspar, since both are said to have died young (Sousa 902 907). According to *Andrade Leitão, Martino de Sousa e Távora, the brother of Diogo, the son of Antonio de Sousa, the lord of Beringel, sailed to India in 1538 and was there immediately sent as the captain of a ship to the help

and had on this occasion taken with him Father Pérez and his companion Oliveira to Malacca. Sailing with him at the time was also his eighteen- or nineteen-year-old brother-in-law, João Bravo, who had remained with Pérez in Malacca and had been taken into the Society by Xavier when he was going to Japan. In 1549 Sousa had planned on sailing back from Ternate with letters of Father Juan de Beira, but he had been forced to return and was only able to begin his voyage again at the beginning of 1550.² As he was waiting in Amboina for the monsoon so that he could continue on to Malacca, he had been sponsor at the baptism of the murderer of Father Nuno Ribeiro,³ who had been converted to Christianity. It was not until March, 1551, that he had reached Goa.

The licentiate Francisco Alvares,⁴ another acquaintance of Xavier, was also sailing with Diogo de Sousa for Malacca. He had come to Goa in 1548 as the India secretary of the governor. In 1550 the ships from Portugal had brought him his appointment as secretary of the *ouvidor geral* for criminal cases. He had now been sent to Malacca by the viceroy in order to receive the usual financial report from the departing captain of the fortress, Dom Pedro da Silva.⁵ At the time of his arrival in India in 1548, Alvares would have much preferred to enter into the Society of Jesus, but his position as India secretary made this impossible. He had always shown himself to be a true friend of the order. He was being accompanied by Lopo d'Aguiar, secretary of the *ouvidor geral* of India,⁶ who was also a warm friend of the Society. Another fellow voyager was Antonio Abreu de Sousa,⁷ *fidalgo* of the royal house, the eighteen-year-old son of the lord of Bezelga,⁸ Pedro Soares de Abreu. He was sailing for Ternate. He later testified that Francis was regarded as a saint, and that he was very poorly clothed and frequently visited his sick fellow voyagers on board the ship.⁹ The skipper of the *Santiago* was Pedro Vaz, who was married and a resident of Goa. He later appeared as a witness at Xavier's process in Goa.¹⁰

After they had sailed for five days they reached Cochin.¹¹ Here Xavier met

of Diu. He was one of the first *fidalgos* to enter the beleaguered fortress. He also served under D. Estevão da Gama and Martim Affonso de Sousa. He had four sons: Antonio, Christovão, Gaspar, and an illegitimate son Jorge (XIX 731-734). He sailed for India as a *fidalgo cavalleiro* with a monthly income of three *milreis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 60). He sailed to Diu in the *Rosa*, a *fusta* with sixteen banks of oars (Q 334a). He arrived at the fortress during the night with well-armed men and things which the fortress needed (Sousa Coutinho 232).

² Q 4543.

³ Q 4175 4380.

⁴ On him see, Vol. III, pp. 319-320.

⁵ Couto 6, 10, 6, p. 437.

⁶ MX II 391. Valignano's editor erroneously calls him a ship's secretary (Valignano 201).

⁷ A. Abreu de Sousa was the son of Pedro Soares de Abreu and of D. Felipa da Costa, paternal grandson of João Fernandes de Abreu and maternal grandson of Fernão de Magalhaes, married to D. Isabel Ramires, and captain of one of the royal galleys after his return from India (Lagôa, *Grandes* 572).

⁸ A distance of 3.7 miles from Thomar.

⁹ Lisbon, *RProcess* I 184-185.

¹⁰ Pero Vaz, skipper (*mestre*) of the *Santiago*, married and resident in Goa, testified in the Goa process of 1556 that in Amboina he had heard about a prophecy of the priest on Araujo; and he gave an account of his voyage with him in 1552 (MX II 193-195). He is not to be confused with the *mestizo* Pedro Vaz, who entered the Society in Goa in 1552 (DI IV 456), or with the *vedor da fazenda* and captain of Cochin, who sailed for India in 1532 (Correa III 456), refused the bribes of the Moors during the baptisms of the Paravas in 1535 (GS II 258; cf. 221 231 261), and returned to Portugal in 1539 (Q 572).

¹¹ The voyage from Goa to Cochin usually took from seven to eight days in April.

Eredia with André de Carvalho, to whom he had given a letter of recommendation for Simon Rodrigues which he had written on March 27. He also met Thomas, one of the orphans of Pedro Doménech, whom Manuel de Morais senior had left there the year before when he arrived from Portugal, and who was now teaching the native boys of the college.¹² Here Xavier received letters from Lancilotto in Quilon and from Henrique Henriques on the Fishery Coast. Both informed him of their needs for men and money and asked for help. Eredia was also in need of financial assistance.

Henriques also informed him of the death of Father Paulo do Vale, which meant that he was now alone with Brother Ambrosio Nunes on the Fishery Coast. One of the native priests had to be unconditionally dismissed by the bishop because of the bad example which he gave to the others. New help was needed, especially within the interior of the Fishery Coast, where the Kāvalgars, who were related to the Paravas, were ready to accept Christianity. Henriques had lost his best assistant in Father Paulo do Vale. The many toils, sufferings, and privations of the apostolate on the Fishery Coast, along with those of being imprisoned for a month by the pagans, had exhausted his strength. He was already suffering from consumption and dysentery when Xavier arrived in Cochin from Japan. After a painful illness of three months, he had passed into eternity on March 4, 1552, in Punnaikāyal, piously resigned to God's will and filled with the desire of suffering still more for Christ.¹³

In the college in Cochin Xavier found a book that greatly interested him in the possession of Father Eredia.¹⁴ It was an octavo volume of more than three hundred pages which had been printed in Seville and bore the following title: *Suma de doctrina christiana en que se contiene todo lo principal y necessario que el hombre christiano deue saber: y obrar*.¹⁵ The book, which had been printed

On April 24 Xavier wrote from Cochin to Barzaeus that he had received many letters from Quilon and Cape Comorin after his arrival. He could thus have reached Cochin on the twenty-third. Tursellinus falsely attributes to this voyage the anecdote according to which Xavier sailed in the *Santa Cruz* with Diogo Pereira from China to Malacca and prophesied that his ship would never sink in the sea, in contrast to another ship whose ruins they saw the following day (5, 5).

¹² DI II 411.

¹³ H. Henriques wrote about his death on November 5, 1552 (DI II 388-389), Frois on December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* 452), and Quadros on December 6, 1555 (*ibid.* III 346). In 1584 H. Henriques wrote to Maffei with respect to the claim that Paulo do Vale had been poisoned to death that, from what he saw, this did not seem to be the case to him (*Goa 38, 301).

¹⁴ "O P. Antonio de Eredeia tinha cá hum livro que hé muito necessario leva-llo à China, o qual se chama *Constantino*" (EX II 443).

¹⁵ In contrast to the fantastic attempts of earlier authors to identify the book as a Greek-Latin dictionary or the work of Constantinus Afer, *De morborum cognitione et curatione* (Basileae, 1536) (cf. Burg III 143, Pagés II 376), we assume that it was the important *Suma* of Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, a catechetical manual, in one of the four editions that appeared before 1551. All three of the first editions of Seville have the same title. The first of these was published in 1543. It was an octavo volume printed in large Gothic type and bore the title: *Suma de / doctrina christiana / en que se contiene todo / lo principal y necess-ario que el hōbre / christiano de-/ue saber: y / obrar*. Colophon: *Acabose la presen-/te obra: compuesta por el muy reuerendo señor el doctor Con-/stātino: fue impressa en la / muy noble y muy le-/al ciudad de Se-/uilla: en las / casas de Juan Cromberger que sancta / gloria aya: año de mill y qui-/nientos y quarenta y / tres: a siete dias / del mes de / Deziē-/bre*. The volume had twelve unpaginated leaves containing a summary of the contents, a dedication to the cardinal bishop of Seville, a list of *errata*, and a foreword to the Christian reader. This was followed by 179 paginated folios, at the end of which were three more unpaginated leaves with the index. The title page had the coat of arms of the cardinal

with the permission of the emperor and the approval of the Inquisition, was dedicated to the archbishop of Seville, García de Loaysa, cardinal of Santa Susanna and president of the imperial council. Its author, who identified himself as Dr. Constantino,¹⁶ wrote in his dedication to his lofty patron, that what he

bishop with a cardinal's hat over them below the words: "Con preuilegio imperial." On the right and left were vignettes with an angel, and below were two seated cherubs holding a sun: a circle with the letters IHS. The only extant copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris with the signature D 14820. Excerpts from it are given by Bataillon in his notes on the facsimile edition of Juan de Valdes, *Diálogo de Doctrina Christiana* (Coimbra, 1925), pp. 234 241-242 260 262-263 265-266 269-270 311-313.—A new edition, printed with the same Gothic type and in the same format, appeared in Seville from the same press on April 1, 1544, but somewhat abbreviated, with 4 unpaginated and 166 paginated folios. The only known extant copy is in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.—A third edition also appeared in Seville in 1545 with the title: *Summa de doctrina / christiana / compuesta por el Doctor Constantino. / Item el Sermón de Christo nuestro Redemptor en el monte. Traduzido en / Castellano por el mismo Author. / Labor omnia vincit. / [Emblem of the printer: Hercules with his club.] Todo agora de nuevo añadido y enmendado. / Con privilegio imperial. Colophon: Deo gratias. / Fué impressa en Sevilla en casa de Juan de León. A Sancta Maria / de Gracia. Año de / 1545, an octavo volume of 179 folios. The only known exemplar is in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels. Xavier may well have taken a copy of one of these editions with him to China. A fourth edition appeared in Antwerp in 1550 with the title: *Summa de doctrina Christiana, Compuesta / por el Doctor Constantino. / Item / El sermon de Christo nuestro redemptor en el monte, traduzido en castellano por el mismo Author. / Puso se tambien ala fin vna doctrina, que / muestra como cada vno deve rigir / y / gouernar su casa, ordenada / por sant Bernardo / [Emblem: two birds and a fish.] Colophon: Vendese en Anuers, en casa de Martin / Nucio, en el Vnicornio dorado / Con priuilegio Imperial* (Boehmer II 31), an octavo volume of 155 folios. A copy of this is in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich. A fifth edition, which appeared in Seville on March 28, 1551, could not have reached the fleet with which Eredia sailed from Lisbon to India. In 1863 Luis de Usóz published the *Suma* of Constantino in Madrid along with other works of his from the Seville edition of 1551 with the variants of the Antwerp edition of 1550. Menéndez y Pelayo used this edition of Usóz for his citations in 1928, and Bataillon for his in 1966. A much abbreviated edition of the text of Usóz was printed by Methodists in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1909 under the title: *Confesión de un pecador, Sermón de Nuestro Redentor en el Monte. Suma de Doctrina Cristiana. Tres libros compuestos por Constantino Ponce de la Fuente*. Chapters 5-6 and 50-52 are omitted in this edition as being "too Roman," and also chapters 23-34, on the Ten Commandments.*

¹⁶ The author of the book was Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. The sources for his life are: (1) *Ribadeneyra, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España*, which was left incomplete at the time of his death in 1611 (original in ARSI: *Hisp.* 94, l. 2, c. 5-7): "I obtained the information [on the end of Dr. Constantino] many years later from the inquisitor Carpio." (2) *Martín de Roa, S.J. [† 1637], *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Andalucía*, continued by Juan de Santibañez, S.J. [† 1650] (Seville, university library). (3) Borgia's letter of August 11, 1558, to Luis Gonçalves da Camara, S.J. (*S. Franciscus Borgia* III 394). (4) Letter of Diego Suárez, S.J., to Laynez, of August 23, 1559 (*Lainii Monumenta* IV 470-471, on the discovery of more than two thousand forbidden books and the arrest of Constantino on August 16, 1558). (5) Ribadeneyra's information for the grand inquisitor Gaspar de Quiroga of February 11, 1587 (Ribadeneyra II 340). (6) Accounts of eyewitnesses at the *auto da fé* in Seville of 1559, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 7 (1903) 215-218. (7) Ernst Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (3 vols., Gütersloh, 1902), a valuable collection of sources, especially of documents of the Inquisition.—Accounts: (1) R. Gonsalvius Montanus [González Montano], *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot* (Heidelberg, 1567), to be used with care. (2) Edward Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520 II* (Strassburg-London, 1883) 1-40. (3) M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, V (Madrid, 1928²) 81-103, used Roa and Montanus. (4) A. Astráin, S.J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* 2 (Madrid, 1905) 94-98. Follows the *Historia* of Ribadeneyra and Menéndez y Pelayo's first edition. (5) M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, (Mexico, 1966², greatly enlarged edition). Also treats briefly of the life of Constantino

wished to teach in it was "the contempt of the vanities of the world, the way on which one goes to heaven, and the footsteps which the Son of God, our Lord and Redeemer, has left behind for us so that we may follow Him and come to where He is." According to the foreword of the book, which was dedicated to the Christian reader, it would briefly expound the main points of Christian doctrine which the Catholic Church taught with the greatest care to her children at their beginning so that they might be trained in the fear of God, being a kind of hand-

in Alcalá (159 524-525) and Seville (527-540), more extensively his works (522-548 714-715) and spiritual milieu. (6) José-Ramón Guerrero, *Catecismos españoles del siglo XVI. La obra catequística del Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente* (Madrid, 1969). Mainly follows Bataillon, less trustworthy historically.—His life: Born about 1502 of New Christian parents in S. Clemente (Cuenca), he studied in Alcalá, where he led a life that was little edifying, as even his eulogist Montanus has to admit. He completed his theological studies in Seville; preached there in the cathedral from 1533 on, at the request of the cathedral chapter, with extraordinary success; took his examination for the licentiate in 1534; and was ordained to the priesthood in 1535. His preaching in Seville was frequently interrupted by journeys abroad, especially since the emperor took him on his trips from 1548 on as his preacher and court chaplain. In this same year he accompanied Prince Felipe, the later King Philip II, as his preacher to Belgium and Germany. He delivered the Lenten sermons in Brussels in 1550, and in 1550-1551 he was chaplain and confessor to the emperor at the Diet of Augsburg. In 1554-1555, he was again in Seville, where he gave the Lenten sermons in the latter year. Still in this same year, he accompanied Prince Felipe to England. During the course of his return, he was present for the abdication of Charles V in Brussels on October 25, 1555. He was back again in Seville in 1556, where in 1546, after the death of his patron, the archbishop Garcia de Loyosa, the former grand inquisitor Fernando de Valdés, had succeeded to the archiepiscopal see. Along with his preaching in the cathedral, which inspired the whole of Seville, Constantino also gave lectures on Sacred Scripture. From 1543 on, he had published a series of brilliantly written works that had attained a wide circulation (Menéndez y Pelayo V 81-93; Guerrero 16-26). Possessed of rich revenues (Schäfer I 348-349; II 369), he was at the height of his reputation when his former fellow student in Alcalá, the master canon Juan Gil (Dr. Egidio), died in 1555 (Menéndez y Pelayo 77-80). Despite the protest of the *provisor*, the cathedral chapter unanimously chose Constantino as Gil's successor in 1556; and this was approved by Rome on June 7, 1557 (*ibid.* 83-97, and appendix, pp. VI-XXIII). When the Jesuits established a house this same year in Seville, Constantino attempted to throw suspicion on them as being Alumbrados, but he was himself accused before the Inquisition as being a heretic. In 1549 his predecessor Gil had already come into conflict with the Inquisition, and in 1552 he had been obliged to abjure a series of errors (the text of his abjuration is given in Schäfer II 342-353). The same fate now overtook Dr. Constantino. He had given the Lenten sermons in 1558, and he had preached for the last time on August 1. Then when he no longer felt safe, he asked the Jesuits, whom he had previously slandered, for entrance into their order; but this was refused him on the advice of the inquisitor Carpio. A search was made in the residence of one of his admirers, the widow Isabel Martínez de Baena, and his library of more than two thousand volumes was found within a double wall. He was arrested on August 16, 1558, by the Inquisition (see the letters of Borgia and Suarez and the chronicles of Ribadeneyra and Roa) and died two years later, in the summer of 1560, in the prison of the Inquisition, according to some accounts through suicide, according to others from natural causes (Menéndez y Pelayo 100-101). In the *auto da fé* of 1560, he was burned in effigy as a Lutheran; his bones suffered the same fate (*ibid.* 102). According to Bataillon, Constantino was only an Erasmian in his writings (*Erasmus y España* 528-529 545-548 706 714-715), but at heart he was probably only separated from Calvin by his desire to remain in the Roman church, as he notes in his commentary on Valdés in 1925 (241). According to Menéndez y Pelayo, he was a disguised Lutheran, who expressed himself so prudently and ambiguously in his writings that they could also be taken as Catholic (88-89). When Charles V learned in Yuste of his arrest, he said: "If he is a heretic, then he will be a great heretic." One of the inquisitors who condemned him later said that he was one of the greatest heretics in the world (Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* [Madrid, 1956] III 500).

book for those who were entrusted with the education of youth, and which, as a consequence, had been composed in the form of a dialog.¹⁷

The fifty-two chapters which followed contained a dialog among three persons: Patricio, the old father, who had been educated in the old way; his young son Ambrosio; and the latter's godfather, Dyonisio, the representative of inner faith, purified from all errors, who in the presence of the boy's father asks him what he has learned in Christian doctrine. In this catechetical manual, the author in plain, simple, and obvious terms handles the principal truths of the faith on the basis of the twelve articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the seven petitions of the Our Father; and he has three concluding chapters on confession, Communion, and the attendance at Mass and preaching.

In the first chapter, Dyonisio complains about the neglect in the Christian instruction of neophytes and especially of Christian youths. As a consequence, thousands and millions of men and women who were present every day at the ceremonies of the Church and received its sacraments could, after forty or fifty years, give no better account of their faith than if they were Arabs. In the second chapter, he describes how already in the primitive Church children were given sponsors in baptism so that they might carefully instruct them in the faith as they were growing up. He compares this with the little care which was then employed in the instruction of neophytes. It was a great pity that at the present time a Negro, Moor, or Indian was made a Christian without any effort being made to instruct him after baptism, since no efforts were made to teach even one's own children. At best a mother taught her child the Hail Mary, Our Father, Creed, and *Salve Regina*; but the child did not understand them, and they were not explained to him, since he was not sent to school or to instructions in the faith. In the fourth chapter, Patricio, the father, confirms this from his own experience. He had been taught the sign of the cross, the Our Father, and Hail Mary as if he had been a magpie or parrot without understanding their meaning. At school he had learned along with reading everything that was evil: follies, vanities, and vices. He had also derived little advantage from sermons: some preachers advised what was impossible, others only flattered their hearers, and others employed a language which he could not understand. In the fifth and sixth chapters, Dyonisio then explains to his godchild the sign of the cross and the baptismal ceremonies.¹⁸

These instructions are then followed in chapters eight to twenty-two by an explanation of the twelve articles of the Creed. In chapters eight and nine, Dyonisio asks Ambrosio who they are who sin against the first article. The latter replies: idolaters, who worship demons and creatures instead of God; those who deny divine providence; philosophers who do not accept creation; soothsayers, magicians, and the superstitious, who seek to obtain knowledge and success through other means than God; and the desperate, who do not believe in the almighty power, mercy, wisdom, and goodness of God. In the second article of the Creed are treated the mystery of the Trinity and the grace of redemption through Christ, the only Son of God, our gracious King and Lord (c. 10). Ambrosio admits that this article fills him with shame for his many sins and the great ingratitude with which he has responded to the love of his Redeemer, and for which he will have to give an accounting on Judgment Day. His sponsor encourages him and advises him to place all his confidence in the intercession of

¹⁷ We follow the edition of 1543.

¹⁸ The expression "too Roman" is omitted in the edition of 1909.

his only Mediator with the heavenly Father. He then continues to say that he should not believe that the prayers which are offered by the Church and its saints or other good works are excluded. Rightly understood, they are part and parcel of the richness of Christ. Everything should be ascribed to Him, and if if things are of any value, it is because of Him. In our faith and our intentions, He must always be present to our eyes; and all our confidence must be placed in Him (c. 11).¹⁹

The third article of the Creed, on the virgin birth of the Lord, should always manifest to us, as Ambrosio observes, the high esteem which God has for purity and chastity, so that we may imitate Him and His blessed Mother (c. 12). The fourth article, on the passion and death of Christ, teaches us the wickedness of the world and of the flesh, so that we may mortify our flesh through fasting, disciplines, and other practices which we regard as necessary (c. 13). From the fifth article, on the death and resurrection of the Lord, we can further learn that we too must die to sin, so that we may rise gloriously with body and soul on Judgment Day (c. 14); and from the sixth, that we should not weary ourselves with the things of this world, but with those of heaven (c. 15). In his explanation of the seventh article of the Creed, on the Last Judgment, Dyonisio warns his hearers not to follow the example of those who declare that the Judgment will not come for a thousand centuries, and that it will not be as severe as it is depicted in the Gospel. All this is blasphemy against the Creed of the Catholic Church, which composed this article (c. 16). In the eighth article, the book takes up the works and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (cc. 17-18); and in the ninth it speaks of the holy Catholic Church. As Ambrosio explains it, the community of believers is called the Church. It is called holy because its followers are members of the Mystical Body of Christ, with Jesus Christ their Redeemer as their Head; and it is sanctified by the Holy Spirit. It is called Catholic so that it may be distinguished from the communities of heretics and schismatics, who cause a division in the true faith and in the obedience due to the Redeemer. In a wider sense, all those who confess the Catholic faith and partake of its sacraments belong to the Church, even those who are sinners, but not those who are unbelievers, heretics, or excommunicated. In a narrower sense, only those belong to the Church who are living in the state of grace, are sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and are united with their Head. The article therefore invites all Christians to work hard for peace and harmony within the Church and to show great reverence and fidelity to its state and teaching (cc. 20).²⁰

The explanation of the articles of Creed is followed by that of the Ten Commandments of God (cc. 23-36).²¹ At the first, the author speaks about the perfections of God. One should not think of them as if they were something dead or painted but as something living and of such great goodness and majesty that their divine beauty attracts one's eyes and heart (c. 23). At the end of his discussion of the Commandments, he adds a chapter on the Two Great Commandments, the love of God and of one's neighbor, which embrace all the Ten Commandments,

¹⁹ Menéndez y Pelayo gives these passages (88-89).

²⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo observes on this: "Más que la doctrina, lo que ofende aquí es el *sabor* del lenguaje y la intención oculta y velada del autor. En la materia de la Iglesia católica está ambiguo, y cuando habla de la *Cabeza* parece referirse siempre a Cristo. No alude una sola vez al Primado del Pontífice, ni le nombra, ni se acuerda del purgatorio, ni mienta las indulgencias. El libro, en suma, era mucho más peligroso por lo que calla que por lo que dice. Todos los puntos de controversia están hábilmente esquivados" (89); cf. the censure requested of the Belgian Dominican inquisitor Johannes Hentenius in Louvain in 1557 (Bataillon 706).

since without their observance faith is inanimate and dead (cc. 35). For the observance of these Commandments, which surpass human strength, God in His mercy, through the merits of Christ, grants His grace (c. 36).

In the third part of the book, the author expounds the importance of prayer by giving an explanation of the seven petitions of the Our Father (cc. 37-49). Because of the importance of prayer, through which we obtain from God the grace to keep His commandments, Holy Mother the Church has from its very founding introduced daily prayers and others on holy days of obligation (c. 37). As an introduction, there is a discussion of the eight conditions for making a good prayer, which we must offer to the heavenly Father through our Mediator, Jesus Christ (c. 38). One of the conditions for a good prayer mentioned by Ambrosio, the student, is that it must be accompanied by good works; and this point is further expanded by his sponsor, Dyonisio, in the following chapter:

You have said that prayer must be accompanied by good works, and you have expressed a very great truth in this. Note in how many places and with what emphasis Holy Scripture recommends alms and fasting along with prayer so that we may be heard.... And by alms God understands all the works which we are obliged to do for our neighbor. And now with regard to fasting: Did you not say that prayer requires attention, that it needs zeal and many other things? But all these are frequently hindered by the flesh, which is more often pampered than reason demands. A great remedy against this is abstinence and fasting.... Always, therefore, accompany your prayer with works of charity in keeping with the strength which God gives you (c. 39).²²

The next chapters explain the seven petitions of the Our Father. At the fifth of these, "forgive us our trespasses," it is stressed that only God the Father can absolve us from our sins (c. 46). At the seventh, "deliver us from evil," the author states that this expresses the wish that God may free us from all the evils caused by our mortal enemy, the devil: disputes, wars, pestilences, heresies, and schisms. At the end of this explanation, he warns against those who offer many prayers but almost never recite the Our Father, at least with the proper devotion, since the most pious of these repeat it three or four hundred times in half an hour, and very few of them understand the Latin of the prayer or even its translation (c. 48).

In the last three chapters, the author discusses confession, Communion and the Mass. With respect to aural confession, God should be thanked that he has given to the Church and her servants the power of granting absolution. Even though one is not obliged to confess except in the case of a mortal sin, still it is good at times, to avoid giving scandal, to approach one's confessor to ask pardon for one's venial sins or to obtain his advice (c. 50). The sacrament of the Eucharist is the memorial of the passion of Christ, in which the true body of Christ, which was nailed to the cross, is received, and the true blood of Christ, which was then shed. Frequent reception of Holy Communion is good if it is free from pride, scandal and hypocrisy. The reception of the Eucharist was formerly more frequent in the Church; but because of waning zeal, the Church has had to prescribe that it should be received at least once a year (c. 51). One attends the renewal of the sacrifice upon the cross at Mass; and the Epistle and Gospel should be

²¹ The edition of 1909 gives only chapters 35-36; it then continues with the numbering of the chapters without informing the reader.

²² According to Bataillon, Constantino here opposes Luther's teaching on good works (536), whereas Hentenius had observed in his censure that he did not oppose Luther on any point (*ibid.* 706).

read in the language of the country before it begins. Preachers should be chosen who do not seek themselves but the benefit of their hearers. At the end of the work, the author has Patricio, Ambrosio's father, describe his hitherto routine attitude in this regard and promise to do better in the future:

And, with my grey hair, should I confess only after the course of a year, and this only under compulsion! And should I receive Communion without knowing what it is and why it was instituted, and thus deprive myself of all its efficacy and fail to improve my life from year to year! I go to Mass, and I come from Mass. I pray superficially, as rapidly as I can, and with the least possible attention; and, as for the rest, you might as well ask an Arab about it. I listen to sermons, and I always choose those which have the least contents and cause the least possible disturbance to my conscience and are mostly idle talk. When I hear something about the kingdom of God and the sweetness of the yoke of Christ to those who serve Him, it seems to me to be news coming from a far distance; and it either disappears from my memory or is retained there as something of little import. The cross appears at its best a hundred leagues away, and I am deathly afraid of it. A man without trust in God and without His word! My amusements, my vanities, my property, my honor, my business, and my interests are everything to me; and still I have the name of being a Christian and defend my claim to it on every count. And why? Because I have for a long time been accustomed to do certain things which seemed to me to be sufficient for it. And this seems so not only to me but also to others more learned than I, whom it would be a shame for me to name, so that you do not perceive what people like me see and believe to be the essence of Christianity, namely, that we are among those whom God will place near the Seraphim, and that He would commit the greatest error if He did not do so. But this should not be. And I promise you that I shall change my skin, cost what it may; and I shall do this both because of your teaching and because of what I have seen in my son here. God has begun to awaken me, and I shall strive to improve; and I am not happy with what I have done. I must continue to better myself since there is need of great efforts to eradicate such deeply ingrained wickedness. Have patience, lord! You must spend most of your days here with me, not only so that we may speak at length about what we have discussed today, but also so that we may go far beyond it. I want my heart to begin to know the sublimity of God and to wake up and become attentive to the profound mysteries which He has wrought for us, so that I may better know my own ingratitude and obey His Commandments with greater love and alacrity, and become well versed in them, and also prepared for what is to come, if the divine mercy should wish to afflict us and to lay us upon the cross, for it is then seen what each one is worth. You have frequently promised me this, and it is your duty to do so (c. 52).²³

Dr. Constantino's book contained many useful hints for explaining Christian doctrine, and Xavier wanted to take it with him to China. When he learned from Eredia that both Manuel de Moraes and Francisco Lopes had copies of the work in Goa, he asked him for it and promised to write to Goa to have one of the two copies there sent to him.

On April 24 Francis wrote a letter to Master Gaspar.²⁴ It began as follows:

After I arrived in Cochim, I received many letters from Coulão and from Cabo de Comorim; and in all of them they expressed the needs which they had, both spiritual as well as temporal. They write to me from Cabo de Comorim that Padre Paulo, a person of much perfection and virtue, has died. Padre Henriques thus remains alone²⁵

²³ The text is also given by Bataillon (538-539).

²⁴ EX II 435-445.

²⁵ He only had Brother Ambrosio Nunes with him (DI II 304 374).

without any other priest on the coast.²⁶ He is asking for assistance. See there if you can release Padre Antonio Vaz and Brother Antonio Diaz so that you can send them to Cabo de Comorim when the winter has passed, since there is such great need of them in those parts; and if Antonio Vaz does not seem to you to be suited for this, there is Francisco Lopez, who came from Baçaim. I would wish very much that you would send one of these with Antonio Dias to Cabo de Comorim, or another brother who is very virtuous, in the company of the priest whom you are sending there. For the love of God, use great care in this, since it is a matter of much importance.²⁷

Father Nicolao²⁸ is suffering great want in Coulão, since he has fifty native boys and two or three Portuguese; and those who become ill on Cabo de Comorim are sent to Coulão to be cared for, and the college has few revenues. As a consequence, Padre Nicolao asks for some assistance from the revenues which the King owes to the house, which are paid only late, or never, in their entirety. Take the matter up with the viceroy on what the King owes to the house so that he sends a provision to the captain of Coulão which orders him to give some hundreds of *pardaus* to take care of the expenses of the house. For the love of our Lord, after the winter has passed, send this provision and a priest and a brother, as I have said above, to Cabo de Comorim; and when they are sailing by, they should stop at Coulão and give the provision to Padre Nicolao.

See how much it is that the King owes to the house;²⁹ and take care that some provisions are made for Ormuz and Baçaim so that they are paid there what is due to them from a collection made for them in those parts; for if what the King owes is not collected in this manner, I do not know when it will be paid in Goa.³⁰ I greatly recommend to you that you pay the debts of this house; and I would be pleased if you would write to me what is owed by the house when the ships sail for Mallaca in September; and whenever you write to me, always let me know what the house owes and what it is owed in turn. See to it that in collecting what is owed to the house you are not generous, as happened in the past years, since, having been poorly provided on Cabo de Comorim, in Coulão, and Cochim, they failed to do many pious works and to produce fruit in many souls. See to it that the procurator of the house uses all diligence in recovering the debts of this house.

Father Antonio de Eredea must be helped with the first ship which comes to Cochim after the winter has passed³¹ by being sent a provision for 250 or 300 *pardaus* for

²⁶ Xavier is not speaking here of the native priests.

²⁷ When the viceroy sailed from Goa to Diu with a large fleet on November 7, 1552 (Polanco, *Chronicon* II 745; according to Couto 6, 10, 6, p. 437, he sailed at the end of October), in order to help Ormuz, which was being besieged by the Turks, some priests and brothers had to be sent with it as its captains had requested. When the news of the withdrawal of the Turks reached Diu, the viceroy remained in India but sent a part of the fleet with his son D. Fernando de Meneses and his nephew D. Antão de Noronha from Diu to Ormuz. Francisco Lopes sailed with D. Fernando, Antonio Vaz, and Brother Durão with D. Antão (cf. DI II 403 444 484 518-519 587-588 620-621; Couto 6, 10, 6). Instead of Durão, Lancilotto sent Brother Luis Mendes to the Fishery Coast, as H. Henriques wrote on November 6, 1552 (DI II 400); Henriques sent Mendes to Cape Comorin where, twenty or twenty-five days after his arrival, but still in the same month of December, he was slain (DI III 30-32). Brother Aleixo Madeira was also sent from Goa, but soon after his arrival he had to go to Negapatam because of asthma. Antonio Fernandes was likewise sent, as Frois wrote on December 1, 1552 (*ibid.* II 451; cf. 512).

²⁸ Lancilotto.

²⁹ On the outside of the letter Barzaeus wrote: "Deveres setecentos pardaos d'ouro," the sum which the king owed to the college in Goa.

³⁰ Since the royal officials in Goa usually had little money, the revenues for St. Paul's College had to be obtained from those in Bassein and Ormuz, where the incomes were larger and the expenses less.

³¹ The winter, that is, the rainy season, ended at the beginning of September, when the sea again became navigable.

enclosing the house and finishing it, since this house is in great need.³² You must not think that I am unaware of the great needs of this college; and I am therefore writing to you that you should do what you can do well, providing first for this house, for both the Portuguese and natives who are in it, and then for Coulão, Cochim, and Cabo de Comorim.

See what Alvaro Afonso owes to this house, and see what they have remitted to him during the past years. I do not know with what conscience they did it, since those on Cabo de Comorim, as in Coulão, and in Cochim suffered so much from lack of support. See to it that he pays what he owes, and alleviate the needs of this house and of those dependent upon it. What would have happened to our voyage, if you had not received those alms of Ormuz? It seems to me that we would have been well prepared if it had not been for you!

If some priests come this year from the kingdom, remember to take great pains that during the year a priest goes to Japão to be a companion of Padre Cosme de Torrez, as I have indicated in the memorial, taking with him a brother and collecting some alms for their food in Japão, since it is a very poor country. I am very anxious that during the year a priest goes there to keep company with Padre Cosme de Torrez, who is alone. I ask this of you, and I earnestly commend it to your labors: If a priest comes from the Kingdom, or some other person who is qualified for entering the Society and would be able to become a priest, [you should send him,] since I am now urging the captain in Mallaca to provide passage for a priest to go to Japão if one should come from there with the April monsoon.

See to it that you do not receive any person into the Society who does not have any qualifications for either assisting in the college or for being sent out; and those who have been received and are there, if you see that they do not have talents and virtues for being of assistance to the Society, you have to dismiss them.

Keep careful watch over those who go outside the house, such as the buyer and the others, both with respect to their manner of living and with respect to their exactness in their payments and receipts. And be very careful about this, since great perfection is required in those who have to deal in these things with that exactness which is required.

See to it that Balthesar Nunes³³ and the brother who came with Belchior Gonçalves from Baçaim³⁴ be much exercised in offices within the house, for example, as cooks. Do not let them go out, and if you see that they are not for the Society, you have to dismiss them. Also with respect to Francisco Lopez, when he comes from Baçaim,³⁵ take care that he makes the Exercises, and that he is employed in low and humble offices. And see to it that you take special care with these three so that they may advance in spirit, since I fear that they need this; and also take care of all the others.

When you send the priest and the brother to Cabo de Comorim, give them one

³² On December 20, 1552, Eredia could write that he had begun a good college. Some stone buildings were already completed and being used as dwellings (instead of the earlier wooden structures). He had also begun the erection of an enclosing wall, and with God's help it would soon be completed. He had spent around 2,000 *pardaus* on the project (DI II 548). In January, 1553, native boys were being instructed in the college (*ibid.* 582).

³³ The largest part of the letter is only preserved in the defective copy of 1746 in the *Codex Macaensis*, and it has *Belchior* instead of *Baltasar*. In his *Oriente Conquistado*, Sousa notes that the Latin translation of this letter by Possinus in the Cologne edition of 1692 has a substitution here that is very harmful to the good name of the excellent priest Belchior Nunes Barreto: it has *Belchior* instead of *Baltasar*, which was obvious on the original which he had in front of him as he was writing; and if it were necessary, he would swear to this on the holy Gospels (2, 1, 1, 44).

³⁴ Luis Frois is meant.

³⁵ In his first instruction Xavier ordered Barzaeus to let him come from Bassein.

ciloto to send him Brother Mendes, that he would receive further help from Goa after the rainy season, and that he should therefore begin the mission among the Kāvalgars.⁴³

After a brief stay in Cochin, the *Santiago* sailed on again, accompanied by the five *fustas*, for Malacca.⁴⁴ The auxiliary fleet had already rounded the southern tip of Ceylon and was sailing the stretch between the Nicobar Islands and Sumatra⁴⁵ when a violent storm threatened to sink the galleon and the other ships. In their despair, the people called on God for mercy; and the captain, Diogo de Sousa, had decided to throw all the wares on the deck overboard in order to lighten the vessel, which was struggling hard against the storm.⁴⁶ Xavier, however, told him in the name of God to desist from this, and not to further alarm the people. He sought to console these latter and to strengthen their confidence in God: the land would be sighted and the storm would calm down before sunset.⁴⁷ He then went to the command deck on the poop, where Pero Vaz, the skipper, and others were steering the ship. He asked him for the sounding line. He then took the reliquary⁴⁸ which he habitually wore around his neck, wrapped it up in a piece of cloth, and tied it to the line. He then let it down into the sea, which he blessed with the following words: "In the name of the Father

of their current needs, Father Master Francis had ordered two hundred *pardaus* from the college of Goa to be given to them (DI II 609-611). The viceroy, however, to whom Gaspar sent Lancilotto's requests, wrote from Diu on November 16, 1552, to Barzaeus: "I saw the letter of Father Paulo from Cabo de Comorim, and there is nothing to reply to it since it has the same contents as the one you gave me in Goa. As to what concerns the college of Coulão, it [the income] cannot be less than that [which was asked] for fifty boys; and I shall so write to the King my lord; and I shall order it to be paid here when I have the time to take care of it" (*ibid.* 402-403).

⁴³ *Ibid.* 397-400.

⁴⁴ With respect to the voyage, there is a short notice in a letter of Father Pérez from Cochin of January 21, 1555 (DI II 248), and another in his *Informação* (72). But in addition to these, there are two reports of eyewitnesses, which are mutually complementary but also at times contradictory. These are the reports of the skipper Pero Vaz in the Goa process of 1556 (MX II 194-195), and that of Lopo d'Aquiar in the Bassein process of 1557 (*ibid.* 391). April 25 was probably the date of their departure from Cochin.

⁴⁵ Aguiar: "no golfom, atraveçamdo as ilhas de Nucubar, que he jumpto da ylha de Çamatra."

⁴⁶ "Deulhes tamanho temporal, que pedião a Deos misericordia" (Vaz), "deu hum grande temporall, e por ser muito groso e ir trabalhosamente o galeam, o capitam d'elle, que era Dioguo de Sousa, quys allyja-lo" (Aguiar).

⁴⁷ The two witnesses here contradict each other. Aguiar continues: "E a isto vy o dito Mestre Francisquo requerer-lhe da parte de noso Senhor, que não allijase, nem se agastase a gente, porque n'aquele proprio dia, amtes que o sol se posese, viriam a terra, e o tempo abramdarya. E de fayto, *deixamdo de allijar*, no tempo que o dito Mestre Francisco dise que viryam a terra, a viram." The Latin translation made in Rome for the process of canonization has instead of *deixamdo de allijar* (which can also mean that the captain had already had part of the wares thrown overboard but had stopped doing so at Xavier's words): *Re autem vera, cum nihil e galeone fuisset eiectum* (MX II 410). Pero Vaz, however, who must have known what happened says: "e foy tanto tempo che não ficou nada na cuberta que não lançasem ao mar."

⁴⁸ Pero Vaz says of Xavier: "subio ao chapiteo, honde ele, testemunha, hia mandando a uia, e pedio huma sondares a ele, testemunha, e lançou mão o Padre ao seu abito, e atou hum pedaço de pano na dita sondares; e não se afirma se erão reliquias, se hum pedaço de seu abito; e pela poupa da náo lançou aquillo ao mar." Pérez however writes: "el Padre con su fe acostumbhada hechoo en la mar unas reliquias que trahia y cessó la tempestad" (DI III 248). Teixeira states erroneously, according to the Spanish translation, that Xavier threw the reliquary into the sea from the lookout (*subiéndose á la gabia de la nao*) (886). The Italian translation is better: "ascese il padre Francesco al più alto della poppa, e de li con un spago buttò nel mare un suo reliquiario" (I. 2, c. 23).

and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, three Persons in one God, have mercy on me and on these people here present!" He then retired to his cabin, where some went to confess their sins to him. Two hours later land was sighted and the storm was past.⁴⁹ Two of the five ships had disappeared, but the galleon was saved; and all regarded the prophecy of the holy priest as having been inspired by God.⁵⁰ That same evening, when the sea was again completely calm, Francis told the skipper: "You will still have many difficulties on this voyage." His prophecy was fulfilled. As the *Santiago* continued on its course, it twice ran upon rocks in the narrow strait⁵¹ and was in danger of being lost.⁵² It was consequently with a sigh of relief that the auxiliary fleet, after sailing for a month, reached Malacca at the end of May.⁵³

2. THE PESTILENCE IN MALACCA (BEGINNING OF JUNE, 1552)

While they were still on their way, Xavier had told the people on the *Santiago*: "My sons, Malacca is in great trouble."¹ His premonition had not been wrong. In 1551, the Javanese, after giving up their siege of the city, had poisoned the "Rajah Spring," from which Malacca obtained its drinking water, and had thus provoked a severe pestilence. When Xavier reached the city with the auxiliary fleet on May 31,² the contagious disease was still raging with undiminished force; and it had brought to death many of the Portuguese along with the native.³

The saintly priest and his companions were joyfully received by the people of the city—by Captain Dom Pedro da Silva, the vicar Soares and his beneficiaries, by his confreres, Father Pérez, Bernardo Rodrigues, and Bravo, and by his many friends and acquaintances. Among these latter was Fernão Mendes Pinto, who had sailed with him from Bungo to Sancian and had now returned from Pegu.⁵

⁴⁹ Vaz adds that many other persons besides himself had heard Xavier's prayer.

⁵⁰ Aguiar. According to Pérez, the sloop of the ship was lost (DI III 248).

⁵¹ The strait of Malacca, which was full of shallows.

⁵² Vaz.

⁵³ Pérez (DI III 248). In his *Informação*, Pérez writes that Xavier came to Malacca in June (72). In 1549 Xavier sailed from Cochín on April 25 and reached Malacca on May 31 (EX II 123). Lucena (6, 12) and, following him, Seb. Gonçalves (3, 22) erroneously place the storm in Xavier's voyage to Malacca in 1549, despite Xavier's express assurance: "Trouxemos muito bom tempo, sem alguma trovoadas que nojo nos fizesse" (EX II 123). Valignano writes in his description of the voyage: "También llevaba mucho temor de que en Malaca le estorvassen el paso para la China; y así dixo muchas vezes a los Hermanos que encomendassen a nuestro Señor el negocio de su viage, porque se recelava mucho que el capitán de Malaca se lo avía de impedir, como quien ya en cierta manera entendía lo que después le aconteció" (201). This statement, for which Valignano does not give any source, is very difficult to reconcile with that which Pérez wrote in 1555 (DI III 248-249) and in his *Informação* (72-73) on Xavier's arrival in Malacca. What Valignano says about the voyage, Teixeira, his authority, gives in the same words after Malacca (886).

¹ Pero Vaz (MX II 194-195).

² Pérez on January 2, 1555 (DI III 244). He states in his *Informação* that Xavier arrived in June (72).

³ Pero Vaz (MX II 195). *Teixeira It. states that the illness was caused by the siege, and that forty of those who had been on the galleon died (P. 2, c. 23).

⁴ Pérez (DI III 24).

⁵ In his *Peregrinação*, Mendes Pinto writes that he came with Xavier from Bungo to Sancian at the end of 1551 in the ship of Duarte da Gama (c. 214). In the next chapter he then states that he sailed without the priest from Sancian to Siam in the same ship, which had to remain there during the winter so that it could be repaired from the severe damages which it had suffered during a storm. In the same chapter Pinto then

Francis took up his residence with his confreres at Nossa Senhora do Monte. His first visits were to Dom Pedro da Silva and his brother Dom Alvaro de Ataíde, who was to succeed Dom Pedro as captain of the city and fortress in October.⁶ Francis informed Ataíde of what he had obtained for him from the viceroy, and he handed over to him his appointment as admiral of the sea of Malacca, which practically made him independent of the captain of the fortress. Ataíde in turn showed himself extremely pleased with the efforts which Francis had made on his behalf.⁷

describes in great detail Xavier's conflict with Ataíde in June and July, 1552. This lasted for twenty-six days. He further states that he had come to Malacca at the beginning of the conflict, twenty-six days before Xavier's departure for China, and that he had been an eyewitness of it (pp. 86-88). This makes it likely that he came to Malacca with Xavier, probably with the auxiliary fleet. Pinto describes his experiences between his voyage to Siam at the end of 1551 and his arrival in Malacca at the end of May, 1552, in a manner markedly opposed to all chronological order, repeatedly writing 1552 in the preceding chapters (cc. 194-200): On April 5, 1552 (the date of the year is given!), Pinto is in Pegu when King *Xemindó* (Shim Htaw) set out on his campaign against the king of Burma, *Chaumigrem* (Bayinnaung). *Xemindó* was defeated on April 8 and executed twenty-eight days later (c. 198). The 160 Portuguese who had been in his service then left Pegu on five ships at the beginning of May. After these had become dispersed, Pinto and his twenty-six companions sailed on to Malacca (c. 200). Unconcerned by the contradiction in his own chronology, Pinto then inserts, allegedly "one month after his arrival in Malacca," his second Japanese voyage of 1546-1547, and then his third of 1551 (cc. 200-215), where he then places his return to Malacca in June, 1552 (c. 215). Pinto's claim that he was an eyewitness of Xavier's conflict with Ataíde is supported by a number of facts: (1) Many of the data in his graphic description of the conflict are confirmed by contemporary reports. (2) Pinto himself wrote on December 5, 1554, that he had arrived in Goa from Siam at the beginning of 1554, and that he had gone two or three times to St. Paul's College to ask if an answer had come to some letters which he had written to Xavier. On these occasions he met Bravo, who knew him, Pinto, very well from Malacca (DI III 143). But Bravo was in Malacca only from May 28, 1548, until the end of 1553, and the only stay of Pinto in this city which he mentions is the one with Xavier in 1552. (3) Francisco Garcia testified in 1556 that his cousin Mendes Pinto had told him many times of Xavier's conflict with Ataíde (MX II 286). But how is it that Pinto, still at the beginning of 1554, knew nothing of Xavier's death, although his body was in Malacca from March 22 to December 11, 1553, so that it might be brought from there to India? On December 23, 1554, Brandão wrote that Pinto had engaged in trade from Japan to China and Pegu for many years (DI III 178), and Pinto himself wrote about this same time that he had been twice in Siam and two or three times in Martaban (Pegu) (*ibid.* 148-149). We encounter him again in Siam at the end of 1553. On his voyage from there to India, he obviously avoided Malacca, since Ataíde, who had been the captain of the fortress there since October, 1552, was tyrannizing the merchants by confiscating the rudders of all, even the royal, ships, just as he had earlier done to that of Diogo Pereiria, and was preventing their departure, as Couto shows with a series of examples (6, 10, 7). This would explain why he knew nothing of Xavier's death when he came to Goa in 1554. A convincing proof of Pinto's actual presence during Xavier's conflict with Ataíde in Malacca is, however, the priest's letter to Barzaeus of July 16, 1552, in which he asks Master Gaspar to return "com muita brevidade" the three hundred *cruzados* which the latter had lent him so that he might repay this sum to Pinto, who had lent it to him in Japan for the building of a church in Yamaguchi (EX II 467-468).—Since Pinto dramatizes with poetic license even those events to which he was an eyewitness, we have confined his data in the *Peregrinação* to the footnotes, since it is impossible to separate truth from poetry in his writings.

⁶ As a son of Vasco da Gama, D. Pedro da Silva had by exception received the captaincy of Malacca for four, instead of the usual three, years (Q 1489). Lucena therefore errs when he writes that at the time of Xavier's arrival the licentiate Alvares was administering the captain's office with the authority of an *ouvidor-geral* instead of D. Pedro da Silva, whose three-year term of office had already expired (10, 15; also Seb. Gonçalves 5, 1).

⁷ Pérez wrote in 1555: "El Padre luego dió cuenta de todo a aquel capitán que avia

After the first visits which Francis made to his friends and acquaintances, and these to him,⁸ his chief care was for the sick. There were a great number of these, and the hospitals were more than filled.

With an umbrella, which he held over himself and his companion,⁹ he went from house to house and asked the people for the love of God to accept those who were ill and had found no one to care for them. In a single house there were fifty or sixty of these crowded together, and there was no one in it to give them even a jug of water. Many were lying on anchor ropes or on the mountings of the bombards.¹⁰ Others were lodged on the *fustas* that had been drawn up on the beach.¹¹ Francis visited the stricken day and night. He begged medicines for them. He read a Gospel over them and laid his hands in prayer upon them, and many were cured. The house of the priests was also filled with victims of the pestilence. Some of the confreres, as a consequence, also became ill.¹² The malady also afflicted the poor soldiers who had come with the auxiliary fleet. Almost all were taken with the virulent fever that prevailed in the city. From the galleon alone on which Xavier had come thirty-six died.¹³ Among these was Martim de Sousa, Bravo's fifteen or sixteen-year-old nephew, who died in the house of the priests near Nossa Senhora and was buried there.¹⁴ Francisco Lopes de Almeida, a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house, later testified that when he was lying ill in Malacca and was almost unconscious, Father Master Francis had come and laid his hands upon him and healed him; and he had also restored their health to many others in the city by reading a Gospel over them. He had brought great consolation to all in their afflictions.¹⁵ Lopo d'Aguiar later testified that Francis had visited the sick by day and night; he had heard their confessions and had prepared those who were dying for death. Though almost everyone else became ill, Francis remained well; and the people said that God preserved him because of his great merits so that he might restore health to the souls of those who were ill. All had been convinced that their sins were forgiven when they confessed to him; and many had been converted, including people who had been living in concubinage.¹⁶ When Dom Alvaro also fell ill, Francis rendered him much service. He celebrated Mass in his residence, and at times he also sent Father Pérez to him for this.¹⁷

de entrar el año siguiente, el qual mostró alegría, según yo conocí, que en todo esto tiempo me halhé haí presente a esto que en Malaqua accaeió" (DI III 248).

⁸ Pérez, *Informação* 72.

⁹ "O Padre com hum sombreiro de palha na mão fazendo sombra a si e ao companheiro andava pollas casas" (*ibid.* 74).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 74.

¹¹ The eyewitness Affonso de Meneses (MX II 299).

¹² Pérez, *Informação* 74.

¹³ Pero Vaz (MX II 194-195).

¹⁴ Pérez, *Informação* 72.

¹⁵ He was an eyewitness (MX II 291). But Pires de Araujo declared in the same process that Xavier had prophesied the siege of 1551 and the great pestilence which afflicted all and from which few came out alive (*ibid.* 200).

¹⁶ He was an eyewitness (*ibid.* 391-392).

¹⁷ Pérez wrote in 1555: "En todo esto tiempo el P. Mestre Francisco nunca dexó de hir a casa deste capitán [Ataide], haziendo muchos servicios, diziéndole missa en casa, porque estava doliente, y mandándome a mí algunas vezes; y así na India le despachó muchas cosas con el Visorrei" (DI III 249); cf. *Informação* 73.

3. STORM CLOUDS (BEGINNING TO THE MIDDLE OF JUNE, 1552)

When Xavier reached Malacca, there was a ship in the harbor ready to depart for China.¹ Since Brothers Alcáçova and Duarte da Silva and their Japanese companions had no confessor to accompany them, he decided that Gago, who had originally been destined for China, should go with them to Japan;² and he told them that they should immediately get ready for continuing their voyage.³ In addition to the ambassador of the king of Bungo, he sent with them the Japanese Antonio, who would accompany the missionaries to Yamaguchi as an interpreter. He asked Antonio's companion, Joane, to remain so that he might sail for Japan with a priest or brother in 1553; and he promised to provide him with thirty *pardaus* invested in wares that would be valuable in his native land so that he could, even with some effort, live on them there.⁴ Although the ship was only sailing to China, it was hoped that an opportunity could be found there for going on to Japan.⁵ He ordered the three confreres to write regularly to the companions in India about all that God was working through them in that distant land.⁶ On June 6, six days after their arrival, they sailed away from Malacca⁷ "on a very good ship and with very good weather," as Xavier wrote to Master Gaspar.⁸

After the departure of Gago and his companions, Xavier waited for the return of Diogo Pereira, who had sailed for Sunda (West Java) to take on a cargo of pepper for his voyage to China.⁹ But immediately after Xavier's arrival in Malacca, storm clouds had begun to come together.¹⁰ The Misericordia had elected Alvaro de Ataíde as its *provedor*. Since Dom Pedro da Silva was disliked by many, his brother Dom Alvaro, as the future captain, had gained such a following that it threatened to throw the authority of Dom Pedro into the shade. The latter consequently declared that his brother wished to rob him of his fortress under the cloak of the Misericordia, and the relations between the two had greatly deteriorated by the time that Xavier came to Malacca with the licentiate Alvares.¹¹

¹ Gago to Ignatius on September 23, 1555 (Q 6090; *Cartas* 1598, 38v).

² "Quamvis P. Franciscus, ex India recedens 17 Aprilis, cogitasset P. Balthasarem Gagum secum ad Sinas deducere, ac duos fratres, Eduardum de Silva et Petrum de Alcaceva, in Japoniam, cum Malacam pervenisset, mutata in hac parte sententia, ne duos illos fratres sine sacerdote dimitteret, et quia ibi maturior et certior messis erat, P. Balthasarem in Japonem etiam misit" (*Chronicon* II 772-773); cf. *Cartas* 1598, 23.

³ Gago to Ignatius on September 23, 1555 (*JapSin.* 4, 61).

⁴ EX II 479-480. On Pérez' erroneous statement that Xavier sent Gago with five Christian Japanese from Malacca to Japan (DI III 249), see above, p.

⁵ Alcáçova (*Cartas* 1598, 23).

⁶ Duarte da Silva on September 20, 1555 (*ibid.* 46v).

⁷ Alcáçova (*ibid.* 23).

⁸ EX II 472-473 504.

⁹ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249). Brou erroneously has Pereira sail to the Sunda Islands, where no pepper could be loaded (II 321).

¹⁰ In 1554 Brandão wrote that as soon as Xavier arrived in Malacca, he immediately began to encounter difficulties and persecutions with respect to his journey (DI III 172).

¹¹ Couto is full of contradictions. We have given the erroneous data in italics. According to him Ataíde sailed one year before the expiration of his brother's term of office, that is, in April, with Francisco Lopes de Sousa, from Goa to Malacca as admiral of the sea of Malacca (6, 9, 19, pp. 361-364-365), where the Misericordia immediately, on the feast of the Visitation, July 2, 1551, elected him its *provedor*; and he became estranged from his brother D. Pedro, who was disliked by all. The result was that at the time of the arrival of the licentiate Alvares, who came with Xavier to Malacca in October, 1551, the quarrel between him and D. Pedro had reached its peak (6, 10, 7, pp. 437-443-444). The following should be noted against Couto: Ataíde came to Malacca with the Banda ship in October, 1551; Xavier, the licentiate Alvares, and F. Lopes de Sousa came

Xavier had further to learn that many were envious of Diogo Pereira and his embassy to China with its rich prospects of gain. These slandered him to Ataíde, who let himself be taken in by them. Xavier consequently wrote to Diogo Pereira to inform him of his own arrival and to warn him that when he came to Malacca he should show great humility and place everything in the hands of Dom Alvaro. He should make no references to the provisions he had received from the viceroy but should strive to gain the good will of Dom Alvaro so that he would not heed those who were striving to obstruct the embassy.¹² Already on the voyage from China to Malacca in 1551, Xavier had expressed his fears to his friend Pereira that the devil would try to prevent the voyage of the embassy. He now urged his confreres many times to recommend his voyage to China and Ataíde to God the Lord, since he feared that he would prevent his sailing and that of the ambassador and his embassy.¹³

4. THE BATTLE WITH ATAÍDE (JUNE 15-25, 1552)

In the middle of June, Diogo Pereira arrived from Sunda with his ship laden with pepper. He was happily anticipating his voyage to China, for which Xavier had obtained all the necessary warrants from the viceroy. As ambassador of the king of Portugal, and with Master Francis as his companion, he would determine the conditions of trade in that mighty kingdom; he would open up a gate for the Gospel; and he would free his imprisoned relatives and countrymen.¹ When he

with the clove ship at the end of May, 1552. Ataíde could therefore not have been elected *provedor* on July 2, 1551. With respect to the unpopularity of D. Pedro, see our note in Vol. III, p. 360.

¹² "Chegando o Padre em Junho a Malaca, visitando seus devotos e amigos e elles a elle, primeiramente a Dom Alvaro de Taide, dando-lhe conta do que avia feyto e dando-lhe sua provisão pera ser capitão-mor do mar, e, estando o mesmo Dom Alvaro doente, indo-o a visitar, dizendo missa em casa, conheceo que era envejado Diogo Pereira de muitas pessoas, e que malsinavão com o capitão que era do mar e que avia de ser da fortaleza; e portanto mandou dizer Diogo Pereira ao caminho que viesse com muyta humildade e que tudo pusece nas mãos de Dom Alvaro, não fazendo conta da provisão do Viso-Rrei pera que por esta via lhe ganhasse a vontade, e que não desse orelhas aos que querião entrar a embaixada" (Pérez, *Informação* 72-73). Couto has Pereira wait in Singapore for Xavier's letter (6, 10, 7, p. 444). According to Sousa he received Xavier's warning only when he had already entered into the bar of Malacca (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 71).

¹³ Teixeira writes: "Llegados a Malaca a salvamento, porqu'el tiempo de la partida para la China era breve, se comenzó luego el Padre a prestarse para ella; mas parece qu'el espíritu le decía los impedimentos que allí avía de tener. Porque según después nos contaron los hermanos que entonzes allí estaban, les encomendava muchas vezes, que encomendasen a nuestro Señor su partida para la China, y al capitán de aquella [Ataíde], porque temía le avía de impedir su ida, y del enbaxador y enbaxada que llevaba, y assí fue" (886-887). Valignano mistakenly transfers these words to Xavier's voyage to Malacca (201). The confreres who could report Xavier's words to Teixeira as immediate witnesses were above all Bravo and Pérez. Lucena erroneously states that the first words which Xavier said to his confreres in Malacca had been: "Brothers, let us commend our voyage to China to God, for I am much afraid that the enemy of the human race will do everything here to prevent it" (10, 15).

¹ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249): "Aansí que estuvo el Padre esperando por Diego Pereira que veniesse de Çunda para hir a la China. Finalmente, que vino con la nao cargada de pimenta, con grande alvoroço sabiendo que estava hay el Padre con todo el despacho para hazer este servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, tirar aquellos cativos y abrir puerta para se manifestar la palabra de Dios." The precise date of Pereira's arrival is not known. If we stress the twenty-six days in Mendes Pinto and count the conflict up to July 16, from the arrival of Pereira and the confiscation of the rudder, we reach June 21. But he perhaps seized the rudder only some days after Pereira's arrival.

arrived back in Malacca, he heeded Francis' advice and avoided everything that could have offended Dom Alvaro, the admiral of the sea of Malacca, or others who were hostile to him. But all the recommendations of Xavier and of his friends proved to be futile.² The priest had already begun to load his possessions on Pereira's ship, the *Santa Cruz*,³ when Ataíde dropped his mask. He had the ship's rudder seized and placed before the door of his residence.⁴ As an excuse for this, he declared that this was required by the service of the king.⁵ He had received news that the Javanese were coming to place Malacca under a new siege. The vessel was consequently needed for the defense of the city.⁶ But immediately after this, a Portuguese ship arrived from Solor. On its voyage it had lain over in many places in Java, and during these stops the people on board had learned that the Javanese were fighting among themselves and could thus not even think of sailing against Malacca.⁷ Ataíde then openly declared that Diogo Pereira's ambassadorial voyage was not to the service of the king, and he would not give permission for it.⁸

Francis first sought to obtain the return of the rudder through patience and kindness. He adjured Ataíde by the bones of his father Vasco da Gama, giving him numerous reasons why he should not hinder his voyage, which was to the service of God and of the king. He informed him that Diogo Pereira was ready, if necessary, to leave money in Malacca for the support of the poor soldiers.⁹

² Pérez continues in his *Informação*: "E así o fez Diogo Pereira, e o Padre por sua parte com Deus, e com os amigos trabalhou o possível, porem elle estava já tão encantado que não aproveitou nada" (73).

³ Couto 6, 10, 7, p. 444.

⁴ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249); *Informação* 73. Teixeira is mistaken when he states that Ataíde had confiscated the mast and sail of the ship (887).

⁵ EX II 462. According to Pérez, the reason why Ataíde prevented Pereira's sailing was not the feigned service of the king but rather the "radix omnium malorum" (DI III 250). As he writes in his *Informação*: "tudo era enveja et illa, quae est radix omnium malorum," that is, greed (73). According to Teixeira, greed was also the reason why Ataíde blocked the embassy: "porque movido el capitán que entonces era, por algunos respectos humanos de interesse temporal que temía perder de la China, pasando allá el embaxador, procuró por todas las vias posibles impedilles la partida" (887). Mendes Pinto gives a further reason: "porque ao tempo que o padre chegou estava [Ataíde] muito de quebra com Diogo Pereira, por lhe não emprestar dez mil cruzados que lhe pedira. E trabalhando o por soldar com sua virtude esta quebra e esta discórdia, nunca já mais pôde, porque como ella estava fundada em odio e cubiça, e o demonio era o que atiçava este fogo, em vinte e seis dias... nunca o capitão quiz conceder no que o padre pedia" (*Peregrinaçam* c. 215). R. S. Whiteway makes futile efforts to justify Ataíde's actions against Pereira and Xavier (*The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550* [London, 1899] 76). But his suggestion that Xavier's friendship with M. A. de Sousa played a role in this is not to be rejected out of hand. We have already shown how Sousa, with whom Xavier sailed to India, had Ataíde arrested in Mozambique because he secretly wished to warn his brother D. Estevão da Gama that a successor was coming. We have also indicated that the two brothers sailed back to Portugal at the beginning of 1543 very hostile to Sousa (Vol. II, pp. 99-102 195-196 363). Xavier was not to blame for any of this, but it is possible that Ataíde's hatred was also extended to him. He did not see him again until the end of 1551, when Xavier was sailing back from Japan to Malacca. Was the friendly reception which he gave him pure hypocrisy? Did he ask Xavier to obtain for him the position of admiral of the sea of Malacca from the viceroy so that he could block the embassy of Pereira and Xavier when they returned in 1552? This would explain the scorn and hatred which he now showed towards the saint.

⁶ Valignano 201.

⁷ Lucena 10, 15.

⁸ EX II 462; Galeote Pereira (MX II 273); the eyewitness Estevão Ventura (*ibid.* 278); and Christovão Carvalho (*ibid.* 305).

⁹ Pérez in 1555 (III 249).

But he preached to deaf ears, as did all his friends who sought to intercede for him.¹⁰ Dom Alvaro simply ridiculed their efforts.¹¹ The priest, he declared, wished to address him through slanderers.¹²

When all requests and interventions were shattered on Ataide's obstinacy, Francis saw that he would have to take other means. He went to his friend Dom Pedro da Silva, the captain of the fortress, and asked him to order the provision of the viceroy to be carried out and Diogo Pereira be permitted to sail with him. Silva then ordered the rudder to be restored to him. Ataide however refused to obey the command, and since he was the captain designate of the fortress, the people were afraid to oppose him.¹³ At this, Dom Pedro, injured in his honor, resigned his office and asked the licentiate Alvares to take it over until October.¹⁴ Alvares renewed the command in his capacity as *ouvidor geral* for criminal cases and representative of the captain, and he threatened to have recourse to force.¹⁵ Ataide was resolved to oppose force with force; and Xavier, to prevent the shedding of blood, ordered the licentiate not to insist on his command.¹⁶

¹⁰ Pérez, *Informação* 73: "com os amigos trabalhou;" Teixeira: "ni vastaron para ello ... los muchos rogadores y terzeros qu'el Padre le ponía" (887). According to Mendes Pinto, when Ataide failed to yield, some distinguished men, moved by their zeal for the honor of God, went to him one morning and indicated the responsibility that would be his if, against the will of all the people, he prevented such a saintly man from preaching the Gospel to the pagans of China. He replied that he was already too old for their advice. If the priest wished to assume this labor for God, he should go to Brazil or to Monomotapa, where there were pagans as there were in China. He had sworn that, as long as he was captain, Pereira would not go to China, either as a merchant or as an ambassador. He wished to make this voyage in the shadow of the priest so that he could bring back from China 100,000 *cruzados*. This voyage belonged to him, Ataide, because of the merits of his father. After this the *vedor da fazenda*, the factor, and the customs officials went together to Ataide in order to inform him in the name of the king that in the customhouse there was a regulation of previous governors according to which they could not forbid the sailing of a ship which was obliged to pay the usual toll on its return. With respect to Diogo Pereira, they presented a document of his in which he pledged to pay 30,000 *cruzados* from his ship for the needs of the fortress, half of which he was willing to pay at once. If he, the captain, blocked the voyage, they would be obliged to hold him responsible for the payment. To this Ataide replied: And he pledged that he would give them thirty thousand blows with the shaft of his halberd for their suggestion. The result was that his visitors fled as quickly as they could.

¹¹ "Zombando muito do P. Mestre Francisco e da sua yda," according to Ventura (MX II 278). According to Mendes Pinto, Ataide, ridiculing the petitioners, said that this Diogo Pereira, who, according to the edict of the viceroy, was to take Xavier to China, was not the one presented by the priest. Yesterday he was still a servant of Dom Gonçalo Coutinho, and he had no qualifications for going as an ambassador to such a great monarch as the king of China. The edict of the viceroy, however, mentions a *fidalgo* in Portugal named Diogo Pereira (*Peregrinação*, c. 215).

¹² "E não abastou aviso, senão: porque o Padre queria dizer-lhe palavras de cho-calheiro e outras palavras feas," according to Pérez (*Informação* 73).

¹³ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249). Lucena writes that D. Pedro da Silva had resigned his captaincy to the complete satisfaction of the people of every class (10, 15, p. 843). Couto, on the other hand, states that he had been "malquistado de todos" at the time of D. Alvaro's arrival (6, 10, 7, p. 444). As a matter of fact, the licentiate Alvares, in his accounting of D. Pedro's term of office, ascertained abuses for which he should be imprisoned. According to Couto, he was given his liberty and only condemned for some offenses in 1553 (6, 10, 8, p. 452). His later condemnation in Portugal was more severe (see Vol. III, p. 360).

¹⁴ Couto 6, 10, 7, p. 445.

¹⁵ EX II 455-456.

¹⁶ Lucena 10, 15, p. 844.

After all of his attempts had thus been frustrated, Xavier saw himself compelled to take one last, extreme measure. Up until then he had, from humility, kept his office of papal nuncio concealed and had only shown the brief appointing him to it to the bishop at the time of his arrival in India. Whoever obstructed a nuncio in the exercise of his spiritual office incurred excommunication. The vicar would have to inform Ataide of this. He therefore sent Pérez with a request to the *vigario*,¹⁷ which read as follows: ¹⁸

Senhor! Padre Mestre Francisco says that Pope Paul III at the request of the King, our lord,¹⁹ sent him to these parts to convert the infidels and so that the holy faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ might be increased and the Creator of the world be known and adored by the creatures whom He created to His image and likeness; and so that he might exercise this office more perfectly the Holy Father Paul III made him apostolic nuncio.²⁰ He sent these provisions of apostolic nuncio to the King, our lord, so that, if His Highness was content with this, he should give me his very extensive spiritual powers in these parts, which should be for his pleasure and contentment and not in any other way,²¹ since at the request of His Highness he was sending me to these parts of India; and so the King, our lord, had me called to Lisbon; and he gave to me with his own hand the provisions of apostolic nuncio for these parts of India.

When I arrived in India, I presented these provisions of apostolic nuncio to the Lord Bishop Dom João de Albuquerque, who approved of them. And now since it seems good to the Lord Bishop, my prelate and superior, that I shall do much service to our Lord, he sent me to the king of Chyna to bring him to a knowledge of the true law of Jesus Christ our Lord, as may be seen through the letter which the Lord Bishop is writing to the king of Chyna, which I am sending to Your Reverence so that you may read it and see how it is the will of the Lord Bishop that I go to the king of Chyna.²² And the Lord Viceroy, since he saw that it was a great service of God to go to Chyna, ordered Diogo Pereira to go to the court of the king of Chyna, as appears on these patents which I am sending you with this letter,²³ by means of which he has ordered the captain of the fortress, Francisco Alvarez,²⁴ by the decision of the King, our lord, and of the *vedor de sua fazenda*, that the order of the Lord Viceroy be carried out.

The lord captain²⁵ is now preventing the embarkation and voyage of such great service to God and to the increase of our holy faith, for which I am asking Your Reverence on the part of God and of the Lord Bishop, our superior, since Your Reverence is here in his place, that you manifest to the lord captain the *extravaganza Super gentes*.²⁶ And since this retains as accursed and excommunicated all those who hinder the apostolic nuncios in the execution of the orders of their superior, I ask Your Reverence on the part of the Lord Bishop, our prelate, once and twice, and as often as I can, that you explain to the lord captain the said *extravaganza* and ask him on the part of God and of the Lord Bishop that he does not impede the voyage according to the terms ordained by the Lord Viceroy which I have brought; for, if he does the opposite, he is excommunicated, not on the part of the Lord Bishop, nor on that of Your Reverence, nor on mine, but by the holy pontiffs who composed these canons. And Your Reverence will tell the said captain on my part that I ask him by the death

¹⁷ Pérez, *Informação* 73.

¹⁸ EX II 453-456.

¹⁹ Q 268 396 407 487; DI I 748-755.

²⁰ MS II 119-125. Xavier had left the briefs in Goa.

²¹ Xavier stresses this since the king was the patron and, as such, Ataide's master.

²² Ataide thus opposed all his ecclesiastical superiors.

²³ Ataide thus opposed his temporal superiors as well.

²⁴ The undated document was thus composed after Alvares took over the position of captain.

²⁵ Ataide, the future captain, at this time the admiral of the sea of Malacca, is meant.

²⁶ The *extravaganza* which begins: "Qui vero de caetero" (*Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 23); cf. EX II 471, and the note on p. 456.

and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ that he should not wish to incur so great an excommunication, since he must not doubt that he will be punished by God much more than he thinks.

And Your Reverence will give me the copy of this petition with the reply of the lord captain so that I may indicate to the Lord Bishop that it was not through my negligence that I did not carry out his command to go to Chyna, and this very soon since the monsoon is coming to an end; and in this you will do a great service to God our Lord, and you will grant an alms and favor to me so that I can accomplish my voyage, since it is impossible that the captain, after he has seen the canon, should not send me at once, these very hours, the permission.

Xavier sent Father Pérez to the vicar with this letter so that he might speak with him and tell him that he must show the bishop's letter to Ataíde and persuade him that he should reflect upon the fact that he was preventing a very great good by his refusal, and was bringing God's wrath down upon himself. But the warning only provoked him still more.²⁷ He replied that he would obey when he was shown the pope's warrant, which Master Francis had left in Goa.²⁸

Since the reference to the divine punishment was not enough, Pérez went to the licentiate Francisco Alvares in his capacity as representative of the captain of the fortress and asked him to please explain to Ataíde the will of the king. It was his wish that the law of God be preached in these regions. He should also explain to him the edict of the viceroy which proscribed, under the penalty of treason, anyone's putting obstacles in the way of the priest. After this Alvares, in his capacity of *ouvidor* and captain, accompanied by the vicar and Pérez to lend him greater authority, went to Ataíde and, in the presence of many people, read to him the letters of the king and the edict of the viceroy. But this only riled him further. Carried away by his rage, he sprang up from his chair, spit on the floor, and stamped with his feet on the spittle and shouted that he cared as little for the edicts of the viceroy as he did for that, since it was more to the service of the king that the embassy did not go than that it went.²⁹ Not content with this, he gave such vent to his wrath with invectives against Xavier that he was heard through the window out in the street. Never had there been a worse man, he said, than he, nor one who was such a lying hypocrite and forger of apostolic briefs.³⁰ Ataíde's servants followed his example. They lay in wait for

²⁷ Pérez, *Informação* 73. Seb. Gonçalves, who names Pérez as his source, has him go together with Soares to Ataíde. He then adorns the words of the *vigário* somewhat, and places this visit together with the following one (5, 1, p. 398).

²⁸ Galeote Pereira states that Soares had told him that he had frequently gone to D. Alvaro with messages of P. M. Francisco so that he would not prevent his voyage. He had informed him that he was excommunicated by all decrees if he prevented the service of God in any way; and he had added on his own part that he did not excommunicate him, but he only informed him that he was excommunicated. Ataíde had replied to this that he only obeyed such excommunications when he was shown the warrants of the pope (MX II 274).

²⁹ Pérez, *Informação* 73; cf. EX II 518-519.

³⁰ In 1554 Brandão wrote of Xavier's arrival in Malacca: "Começou logo a achar persiguições e a seu caminho impedimentos com muitas palavras injuriosas" (DI III 172). Francisco Garcia heard from Mendes Pinto that Ataíde and his servants had called Xavier an "echacoruo [imposter] he ipocreta, e outras pallauras muito injuriosas" (MX II 286). Lucena expands this: "Aqui acabou a paixam de se perder, nam digo já com Deos, mas com os homens esquecendose até da fidalguia, e primor com tantas discomposturas, que ainda que me servira muyto relatalas por exemplos de heroica paciencia do padre Francisco, tenho por melhor passar com silencio, por se nam saberem tam grandes escandalos. Basta que nam ouve nunca peor homẽ, nem mais falso hypocrita,

the priest on the streets and in the squares and shouted insults at him such as "hypocrite, fraud, drunkard," and other similar terms. And this happened in a city where even the pagans and Moors called him "the holy father."³¹ The consequence was that Francis no longer dared to leave the house;³² and he told Pérez many times that during his whole life he had never seen himself so persecuted, not even among the pagans, heretics, and Moors.³³

Xavier however bore it all with great patience.³⁴ He thanked God for all that had occurred,³⁵ and every day he offered the Sacrifice of the Mass for Ataíde with many tears in Nossa Senhora do Monte.³⁶ His life however soon became unbearable, since he was daily beset on the streets by the insults of Ataíde's servants.³⁷ Individuals who had invested their money in wares with Diogo Pereira, and who were to sail with him to China in his ship, came to him and bitterly complained that Ataíde, by confiscating the rudder of Pereira's ship, had ruined both him and them. Xavier's life had now become a real martyrdom.³⁸ Helpless, he saw how the greed and hatred³⁹ of the admiral of the sea of Malacca, for whom he had himself procured this position, was now seeking to destroy through it all his plans which had been erected upon Pereira's embassy. He therefore decided to withdraw to his friend's ship, and he informed him of this in a letter

e falsario de letras apostolicas; e isto das janellas, e pelas ruas, e praças de Malaca" (10, 15, pp. 844-845).

³¹ Galeote Pereira heard this from many reliable individuals (MX II 273-274), as did Christovão de Castro (*ibid.* 301); Francisco Garcia heard it from Mendes Pinto (*ibid.* 286), and Francisco Lopes de Almeida from Xavier himself (*ibid.* 290). In 1557 Christovão Carvalho, a great friend of the priest, testified in Cochín that Xavier's requests of Ataíde had remained fruitless, "mas antes pasava muitos trabalhos e desgostos com ho dito capitão e com os da sua vallya; e lhe diserão hallgumas pallavras desonestas, que não herão pera as dizerem a hum omem mundanno, quanto mais ao P. Mestre Francisco, que hera tido por santo" (*ibid.* 305).

³² According to Francisco Lopes de Almeida (*ibid.* 290).

³³ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249); cf. EX II 470.

³⁴ According to Diogo Pereira (MX II 264) and the eyewitness Alonso de Meneses (M II 299). Mendes Pinto writes: "Vendo-se este servo de Deus tão avexado e afrontado com nomes infames, sofreu tudo isto com muita paciência, sem se lhe ouvir nunca outra palavra mais que, somente pondo os olhos ao seu, dizer: 'O bemdito seja Jesu Christo!' com tanta veemencia, como que lhe saía da alma, e algumas vezes não sem muitas lagrimas" (*Peregrinação*, c. 215).

³⁵ Pérez in 1555 (DI III 249).

³⁶ Galeote Pereira heard from many reliable and authoritative persons that during this same time Xavier celebrated Mass every day for D. Alvaro (MX II 274). Lucena here notes that, although Francis considered every time as suitable for prayer, he now, when he was so badly treated in Malacca, gave himself more than ever to it; and he continues: "E assi sabemos per testemunho dos nossos religiosos, que entam alí residiam, que se hía passar as noites á igreja, onde pretendendo algumas vezes saber como as gastava, o viram estar sempre de joelhos diante do altar mór, sem dar outro repouso ao corpo, que o que tomava brevemente, pondo juntamente as mãos em terra, ou debruçando-se hum pouco sobre os degraus, que tinha diante.... Foy effeito d'esta continua, e amorosa familiaridade com o Senhor huma igualdade de animo em tudo o que acontecia, e huma tam grande paz, e serenidade em correr com as obrigaçoens, e occupaçoens ordinarias, como se nenhuma tevera cos trabalhos presentes.... E vindose depois a discompor de maneira que já nam servia apparecerlhe diante, nenhum dia passou en que nam dissesse missa por elle pedindo a Deos com muytas lagrimas lhe desse luz, e inteira contrição de suas culpas" (10, 15, pp. 845-848).

³⁷ Christovão de Castro (MX II 301).

³⁸ Mendes Pinto: "E assim se dizia publicamente em Malaca, que se o Padre desejava, como se presumia d'elle, padecer martirio por Deus, que bem martir fôra n'aquella perseguição" (*Peregrinação*, c. 215, p. 88).

³⁹ According to Mendes Pinto (*Peregrinação*, c. 215, p. 86).

which revealed all the suffering of his soul. The letter was addressed "To my special friend and lord, the lord Diogo Pereira," and it began as follows: ⁴⁰

Senhor! Your sins and mine were so great that because of them God our Lord did not wish to make use of us, and we do not have anyone to blame except our sins. And mine were so great that they brought me to destruction and you to ruin. With much reason, *Senhor*, you can make the complaint about me that I have ruined you and all those who came on your ship; I have ruined you, *Senhor*, through your spending four or five thousand *pardaus*, which you employed at my request in obtaining gifts for the king of China; and now your ship and entire cargo! I ask you, *Senhor*, that you remember that my intention was always to serve you, as God our Lord knows and Your Grace also; and if this were not so, I would die from grief.

I beseech you, *Senhor*, not to come to the place where I am staying so that you do not add to the pain which I already have, since the sight of you will cause me greater distress, reminding me that I have been the cause of your ruin. I am going to the ship to stay there so that people do not come to me at the house with tears in their eyes and tell me that I have caused your ruin. If my intention, as I said above, did not save me, I would die of grief. I have already taken my leave of *Senhor* Dom Alvaro, since he is pleased by this and finds it good to prevent our going.

I can do nothing for Your Grace except to write to the King our lord, that I, *Senhor*, have ruined you and caused your downfall by earnestly petitioning you as a great favor that you would, for the service of God and of the King our lord, sail to China with the embassy of the Lord Viceroy to establish peace between the king of China and the King our lord, which the King recommends so much for the honor and increase of his State, and for the great returns which can come to him from this. And since, for the service of the King our lord, they have hindered the embassy which the Lord Viceroy entrusted to you with such great expenses and the loss of your ship and wares, for the relief of my conscience, I am obliged to write to the King our lord through this letter that has been signed by me that he is obliged to repay you for all the losses and damages which you have incurred for his service. I cannot do more, since God our Lord knows what great distress I have suffered at the great wrong that *Senhor* Dom Alvaro has done to me by preventing me from doing something so much to the service of God our Lord; and it pains me that God will have to punish him more severely than he thinks.

From this college of Malacca, the twenty-fifth of June, 1552.

Your sad and disconsolate friend,

Francisco.

5. BEIRA AND THE TOLO MIRACLE (END OF JUNE, 1552)

Xavier was already on the *Santa Cruz*, the ship of his friend Diogo Pereira, when, at the end of June, four ships came from the Moluccas to Malacca.¹ The first of these was the royal clove ship, the galleon *Coulam*, on which the priest had sailed with Martim Affonso de Sousa and Dom Alvaro de Ataide, who was under arrest at the time, from Mozambique to Goa. Its captain was Dom João Coutinho,² and with him had also come Dom Rodrigo de Meneses,³ who had

⁴⁰ EX II 457-463.

¹ On the four ships see Rebello 451-452 486-487.

² D. João Coutinho, an illegitimate son of D. Gonçalo Coutinho (who sailed to India in 1533 and was captain of Goa from 1536 to 1539; cf. Correa III 540; **Confirmação*), sailed in 1545 from India to Portugal (Q 1817) and returned in 1548 provided with a voyage of the clove ship (Q 3726; *Emmentia* 430). In October, 1555, he went with the auxiliary fleet to Ternate (Rebello 451-452).

³ In 1548 D. Rodrigo de Meneses had received the right to the position of a captain of Diu, but he never took up this office (Q 3718 3749). He had also come with the auxi-

sailed from India in April, 1550, as the admiral of a fleet of five ships in order to bring help to the Moluccas, which were allegedly threatened by the Spaniards. He had taken part in the siege of Djailolo from Ternate, and he was now returning from there. The second and third ships belonged to the same auxiliary fleet, and they too were laden with cloves. The fourth ship was a caravel under the command of Captain Manuel Boto,⁴ on which Bernaldim de Sousa, the former captain of Ternate, was also returning to India. With these ships also came Father Juan de Beira,⁵ the superior of the mission. He wished to obtain fellow workers in Goa for the great harvest that was beckoning in the Far East. For his sake Master Francis returned to take up his residence in the house of the Society near Nossa Senhora do Monte,⁶ and he was able to obtain from him detailed information on the status of the Molucca mission.

The last news which Xavier had received on it, which he had obtained in Malacca at the end of 1551, when he was returning from Japan, had been contained in a letter written by Nicolau Nunes on April 10, 1551. In it he had stated that, because of the war with Djailolo, the missionaries Beira, Castro, and Nunes had been detained in Ternate. At the end of March, 1551, Djailolo had been captured by the Portuguese and Ternatans after a siege of three months, but Sultan Hairun had still not placed a vessel at the disposal of the missionaries so that they could return to the Moro mission. He had again brought the territories which had been taken away from him by the king of Djailolo under his control and was killing and persecuting the Christians. From Beira Xavier now learned more about what had happened.⁷

liary fleet to Ternate in October, 1550 (Rebello 451-452). He had taken part in the siege of Djailolo (*ibid.* 454), had become estranged from the captain of Ternate, Bernaldim de Sousa, and had sailed for Malacca in February, 1552, where he fell ill and died as the result of a purgative or, as others said, of poison (*ibid.* 282 475-487). He was the son of D. Antão de Almada, the captain of Lisbon, and was a very distinguished *fidalg*o (Couto 6, 10, 7, p. 449).

⁴ In 1549 Manuel Boto with thirty Portuguese destroyed the town of Guno in the territory of Djailolo (Rebello 232 449-450). In 1550 and 1551 he took part in the siege of Djailolo (*ibid.* 455-459 474), and in 1552 sailed as the captain of a caravel from Ternate to Malacca (*ibid.* 281-282 487).

⁵ Probably in the *Coulão* with D. Rodrigo de Meneses (cf. Sá II 83).

⁶ EX II 477.

⁷ For the information which Xavier received, the principal sources are the five letters which Beira wrote from Cochín between February 2 and 8, 1553: to Ignatius (Q 6002; Goa 8, 49-51v, and Q 6007: *ibid.* 54-55), to his confreres in Rome (Q 6004 almost identical with 6002: *ibid.* 52-53v), to Simon Rodrigues (Q 6003: Sá II 81-84), and to the confreres in Coimbra (Q 6005: Sá II 85-91). These are complemented by Xavier's letter of July 21, 1552 (EX II 475-478); that of Frois of November 17, 1556, along with the oral reports of Beira and Nicolau Nunes (Q 6117: DI III 522-564); three testimonies in the Goa process of 1556: that of Manuel de Figueiredo, who was dubbed a knight at the siege of Djailolo in 1551 (Q 4664) and was in Ternate at the time of the Tolo war (MX II 204-206); that of Christovão de Couros, who was at Xavier's time in Ternate and learned what had happened from people returning from Tolo (*ibid.* 206-207); and that of Manuel Alvares, who obtained his information from people returning from the Moluccas (*ibid.* 207-208); and also the two accounts of Rebello, that of his *Historia* of 1561 (Q 6152: Sá III 192-343), and of its second draft, his *Informação* of 1569 (Q 6152: Sá III 345-508). In his letter of February 7, 1553, Beira states that he had brought with him a letter (now lost) of Brother Nicolau Nunes in which he wrote that a king on the Moluccas wished to become a Christian. He closed it with the observation: "Now, when I was sailing for Goa to request confreres, who are very necessary there [in the Moluccas], I encountered Father Master Francis in Malacca. I told him about this and [he told me] that I should go to Goa and return again immediately this year" (Sá II 91).—For a geographical and historical account of the eruption of Tolo, see Emil Gogarten, "Der Vulkan 'Tolo' auf Halmahere (Molukken)," *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 63 (1917) 242-246 273-277, with ac-

The apostasy of the Moro Christians had been soon followed by the chastisement of God.⁸ Though their territory had before been the most fruitful in those regions, a famine immediately broke out; and the renegades in Tolo after Beira's departure had no bananas whatever to eat.⁹ The rice of the previous year which had been preserved in bamboo containers¹⁰ for sowing was found to be spoiled. That which had been sown was soon consumed by rats, and what escaped them produced no fruit, though it was sown at different times.¹¹ It was something that had never happened before. The water became saline, and God took from them the palm wine which they formerly had. Many as a consequence died from hunger or thirst. But despite all this the Moors persisted in keeping them from returning to the faith.

In October, 1549, Christovão de Sá had taken the place of Bernaldim de Sousa, as captain of Ternate,¹² and Hairun had asked his permission to sail to Tolo in order to recapture this leading town of Moro, which had been taken from him by the rajah of Djailolo. The captain had at first refused to grant this permission, but he later thought better of the plan; and in the summer of 1550 the sultan, on orders from the captain, sailed there¹³ with over five hundred of his own men¹⁴ and around thirty Portuguese¹⁵ under the command of Luis de Paiva.¹⁶ But this time Hairun had undertaken the expedition against his will. His fleet had been dispersed and he could thus bring together only a relatively few ships and men,¹⁷ too few in fact for the undertaking,¹⁸ since Tolo was the largest city of the Moluccas.¹⁹ It had over fifteen hundred warriors and, in addition, auxiliaries from the neighboring towns, which had also apostatized.²⁰ It also had a garrison

companying maps; *Die Vulkane der nördlichen Molukken* (Berlin, 1918), 102-109 294-298, with bibliography.

⁸ Beira (Q 6500: Sá II 86-87; complemented by Q 6004).

⁹ "Nem figos [by which bananas are here meant] tinham para comer" (Sá II 87).

¹⁰ "Canas" (*ibid.*).

¹¹ Q 6604.

¹² See Vol. III, pp. 440-441 631.

¹³ Rebello (336 402) is the only one who names Christovão de Sá as the captain of Ternate who ordered the voyage to Tolo. Beira simply mentions the captain of Ternate without giving his name. In 1556 Figueiredo, who is followed by the later authors, said that, if he remembered correctly, it was Bernaldim de Sousa who sent the men in the second year of his rule (MX II 204). Sousa was twice captain of Ternate: the first time from October, 1546, to October, 1549; the second time from October 1550, until April, 1552.

¹⁴ The sultan with around five hundred men, the majority of his troops, attacked the city of Tolo (Rebello 338 403). According to Figueiredo, there were in all around four hundred men (MX II 204). Beira only refers to "some natives" (Q 6004 6005).

¹⁵ Beira speaks of "some Portuguese" (Q 6004), "some thirty Portuguese" (Q 6005); Rebello gives a precise number: twenty-five Portuguese under the command of Luis Paiva (336 402).

¹⁶ On Luis de Paiva and his dealings with Xavier, see Vol. III, p. 156.

¹⁷ Rebello 336 402.

¹⁸ Beira (Q 6004).

¹⁹ "A cidade de Tolo he a maior, não somente do Moro, mas de todo Maluco" (Rebello 402).

²⁰ In 1561 Rebello wrote that Tolo was said to have two thousand warriors (338); in 1569 he wrote more precisely that at the time of the siege Tolo had around fifteen hundred warriors "afora os de socorro" (403). On February 7, 1553, Castro wrote that at the time of its conversion to Christianity Tolo had had three thousands citizens (*vizinhos*), and that it now had only one thousand (according to the *Codex Ulyssiponensis*, f. 181r; Sá II 96 reads: two thousand). In 1556 Frois, from oral information obtained from Beira, also has the same number; but he writes *warriors* instead of *vizinhos* (DI III 548). Figueiredo, who confuses Tolo with the entire Moro mission, states that he was assured that the city of Tolo had twenty-five thousand Christians, and that there

of Moors of the king of Djailolo equipped with firearms.²¹ The town,²² which was located high on a rocky slope, had also been fortified with bulwarks;²³ and the approach to it had been cut off by sharpened pieces of bamboo inserted into the earth.²⁴

When the fleet arrived one morning before Tolo, the Portuguese and the sultan went on land.²⁵ Three times they ordered the residents of the city to return to the Christian faith and to the obedience of the Portuguese and of the king of Ternate.²⁶ They further declared that, though they had come with few arms and men, they still had the faith and truth on their side and would consequently be helped by God. Their adversaries replied from the heights that they had enough arms and men to engage in combat, and that they no longer wished to be Christians.²⁷ When the sultan promised a general pardon if they surrendered, they showed him their backs in contempt.²⁸ There was nothing more for the Portuguese and Ternatans to do than to reembark and anchor near a neighboring island,²⁹ where the sultan ordered their food to be prepared.³⁰ It was about

were many other towns of that province seven, eight, ten, and twenty leagues from each other with a great number of Christians whom Xavier, as he had heard, was the first to convert (MX II 204-205).

²¹ Rebello: "Com Jeilolos dentro com espingardas, que são lá os proprios serpes" (336). The *serpe* is a fieldpiece, and this probably explains Rebello's data that the weak areas of Tolo had been strengthened by "tranqueiras e artilharia" (*ibid.* 402). One hundred muskets, eighteen Portuguese guns (*berços*), and many Javanese guns were found in Djailolo (*ibid.* 260 473).

²² "A todos parecia ser imposible poderen entrar con ellos por tambien estaren ellos en una tierra mui alta" (Beira Q 6004). Tolo lay at the foot of a mountain "á bordo da agoa, cercada de rocha mui inexpunhavell" (according to the good copy of the *Ms. Boxer*; the poor copy, which Sá repeats, has the erroneous *expugnavel*). According to Figueiredo, Tolo was "situada n'um allto, em tanta maneira, que não he posyvel entrarem-nos" (MX II 205). The city lay next to the modern village of Ruku (see the map in Gogarten, *Der Vulkan Tolo*).

²³ "Los moros fueron allá y todos se cercaron de parede" (Beira Q 6004). "Se cercarão de amparos, que são os muros de lá, pera contra os nossos" (Beira Q 6005: Sá II 87). Meant are *abatis*, bamboo palisades (cf. Sá II 646-647). Rebello mentions *tranqueiras* and notes that the streets in Tolo were full of blocks of stone and thus difficult to traverse (337-338).

²⁴ "Por los caminos hizieron muchos edificios mui peligrosos, de tal manera que no julgara ser cosa mui imposible los portugueses ni otra gente ninguna poder pasar por los caminos, sino con gran peligro de muerte" (Beira Q 6004). "E nos caminhos fazião amparos pera se defender, tendo armas mui perigosas, de maneira que os não podião entrar os nossos, sem grande perigo" (Beira Q 6005: Sá II 87). "E ao redor da cidade, da banda de fóra, por espaço de hum grande tiro de pedra está ho chão plantado de estrepes, que os da terra fazem para a fortaleza do lugar... e os mesmos estrepes estavam allto do chão hum palmo e palmo e meio, e mais" (Figueiredo in MX II 205). Meant are sharpened bamboos, with which Djailolo also, for example, was fortified. Couto describes them: "Tinha assim a fortaleza [de Geilolo], como o castello em roda huma formosa cava toda estrepada por dentro, e por fóra de estrepes de Bambus machos mettidos no chão ao marrão, e depois agudos, huns altos, outros baixos, ao revéz huns dos outros, e tão bastos, que não podia passar hum gato sem se encravar nelles, quanto mais hum homem" (6, 9, 11, p. 300). Brou compares them with tiger traps in Java (II 330).

²⁵ Figueiredo.

²⁶ Frois (DI III 549).

²⁷ Beira Q 6004 6005.

²⁸ "Responderão-lhe, assy a elle [Hairun], como aos portugueses, mui soberba e descortezmente, que não querião, mostrando-lhes o trazeiro" (Rebello 336), "mostrando-lhe hum o trazeiro" (*ibid.* 402). Frois writes with respect to the demand: "Elles insistirão porque vião ainda o rei mouro de Geilolo, que lhes fazia tiranias e persecuçõs, estar em pé e não ser destruido" (DI III 549).

²⁹ Mede.

³⁰ Rebello 402-403.

midday, and the Portuguese had already slaughtered a kid and had begun to roast it on a spit,³¹ when suddenly from the volcano³² lying behind the height on which Tolo was situated a pitch-black cloud of smoke rose up with a fearful roar, like that of a heavy bombardment. The cloud spread out over the whole sky and quickly changed day into darkest night. The sun disappeared and people could no longer see each other. A rain of glowing ashes mixed with fiery stones and a violent earthquake that accompanied them³³ forced the Portuguese and their companions to withdraw as quickly as they could to another, more distant island,³⁴ so that their ships would not be sunk by the burden of ashes.³⁵

The eruption of the volcano and its accompanying phenomena continued for three days and nights without cease.³⁶ It seemed as if the Last Judgment was at hand,³⁷ and the violence of the earthquakes was so great that large trees were torn up and their roots exposed to the air. In Tolo itself, weapons slipped from the hands of those who were carrying them. The people reeled against each other and were thrown to the ground, from which they were unable to rise for a long time. All the houses, both large and small, were thrown together. The weight of the ashes squashed their roofs and stripped the palms of their crowns. They made the water undrinkable and covered the ground so high that many snakes were suffocated and animals could no longer find food in the forest. Birds fell from the sky and could be caught by hand, as could the wild pigs in the forests.³⁸ Never had such an eruption been seen on Moro before.³⁹

The Portuguese attempted to explain to Hairun that God had worked a great miracle in order to punish the Christians in Tolo for their apostasy.⁴⁰ Where previously the sharpened bamboo stakes had prevented an approach to their city, since the mined field could only be traversed at the greatest peril, and the fortress was thus considered to be completely unassailable,⁴¹ the ashes had covered the ground so that it could be crossed without difficulty. At the end of three days the sultan, at the insistence of the Portuguese, ordered the site to be stormed. The van was made up of the Portuguese under Luis de Paiva. With them were Cachil Guzarate, the king's brother, and some of his other brothers, and a number of select young warriors. They attacked the rampart on its strongest side and pressed in despite the desperate resistance of the Djailolo Moors and their companions. During the assault one of Hairun's brothers was killed. This attack was followed on another side by that of Hairun with the majority of the Ternatan

³¹ *Ibid.* 336-337.

³² Dukono.

³³ Beira Q 6004 6005; Rebello 337 403.

³⁴ Tolonuo.

³⁵ Beira Q 6605; Rebello 336-337.

³⁶ Rebello 337-338 403; all was changed "en una semana" (Beira Q 6004).

³⁷ Beira Q 6005.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Q 6004 6005; Frois (DI III 549).

³⁹ Figueiredo states that he did not remember such a rain of ashes having fallen before, and that it was held to be a great mystery. Rebello speaks of the earthquake as "nunqua ali visto nem ouvido" (404), and of the whole volcanic eruption with its accompanying phenomena: "o que, até aly, nunca foi visto, nem ouvido, nem no coração dos homens imaginado" (337).

⁴⁰ "Acabados tres dias que isto durou, conhecendo el-rey a maravilha, sem crer na cauza della, persuadido dos portuguezes, veio cometer o lugar" (Rebello 337-338 403).

⁴¹ "A todos parecia ser imposible poderen entrar con ellos" (Beira Q 6004). Frois writes that if the ashes had not fallen the Portuguese would never have been able to push their way in. Rebello notes that Tolo, because of its position, was the strongest site in Moro, Maluco, and Amboina, and that at an earlier time all of the Molucca kings together had attempted to capture it without being able to harm it at all (336).

troops, around five hundred in all.⁴² In the city itself, where the earthquakes and the eruption of the volcano with its rain of fire and ashes had destroyed all the houses except the poor little hut that had been the residence of the priests,⁴³ the attackers encountered no resistance. Many of its inhabitants were either slain or imprisoned,⁴⁴ but most of them had managed to save themselves by fleeing into the surrounding forests.⁴⁵ On the other hand, not one of the Portuguese was killed or wounded.

The punishment of God also fell on Galela, four leagues from Tolo, on the lake of the same name. It had followed the example of the latter and had likewise apostatized. Because of its secure position, surrounded by water, it had become a place of refuge for the renegades. But the surface of the lake rose more than thirteen feet and flooded the town. The water carried off many of the houses, and many of those who lived in them were drowned. When a fiery block of lava fell into the lake, the people fled in terror.⁴⁶ Mamojo, on the other hand, which was only a league from Tolo and closer to the volcano, remained unharmed by its eruption.⁴⁷

Even the nonbelievers saw in this natural event a punishment of God.⁴⁸ The people of Tolo, who had fled into the woods through fear of the vengeance of the king of Djailolo, did not however dare to come out of their hiding places and subject themselves to the Portuguese.⁴⁹ Hairun took advantage of the siege to recapture his former territory on Moro, but he did not give the missionaries a ship so that they could return to the mission.⁵⁰ On March 27, 1551, after a three-month siege, the strongly fortified city of Djailolo was captured and destroyed; and the rule of the rajah, which had been so hostile to Christianity, was brought to an end.⁵¹ One night after the city had fallen, Beira succeeded in slipping away secretly from Ternate and was able to return to Tolo.⁵²

⁴² Rebello 338 403.

⁴³ Beira Q 6004 6005; Rebello 337.

⁴⁴ "En ellos mataron mui muchos sin firiren ni mataren a ningun portugues, aviendo para cada portugues mui muchos que manos ni pies tobieron para resistirles" (Beira Q 6004). "Depois que sessou a tempestade... vierão os portugueses, que facilmente os vencerão, matando muitos delles, sem que podessem matar nem firir alguns dos portugueses" (Beira Q 6005: Sá II 89). "E depois de entrados, a muitos delles matarão e asolarão o lugar" (Frois in DI III 549). "Cativarão e matarão muitos" (Rebello 338 403).

⁴⁵ According to Figueiredo. Rebello states: "Forão mortos e cativos muitos, sem aver despoio, assi por a destruição do terremoto, como por costumarem terem todo o bom nos matos, pera onde se forão" (403-404).

⁴⁶ Beira Q 6004 6005; Rebello 404.

⁴⁷ Rebello 337.

⁴⁸ According to the witnesses Couros and Alvares (MX II 206-207).

⁴⁹ "Ficarão elles vencidos, mas não contritos, e tomarão aquillo como acontecimento por seu peccado, sem o conhecerem nem menos se emendarem, e ficarão só acolhidos ao matto, sem acabar de tomar concruzão, á qual os forçou a destruição de Jeilolo, porque, como a virão, obedecerão aos vencedores, porque esta he sua verdade, andarem com os que mais podem" (Rebello 338 404).

⁵⁰ Letter of Nicolau Nunes of April 10, 1551 (Sá II 50).

⁵¹ Rebello 469-475.

⁵² The data on Beira's return and on the Tolo Christians are deceptive. Beira writes: "Despues de ellos asi castigados por juyzio divino, luego de alli a pocos dias yo me fui a ellos, los quales andavan mui atribulados, y me parti una noche mui en secreto" (Q 6004). Figueiredo, who confuses Beira with Xavier, declared in 1556 that at the time of the attack most of the residents of Tolo fled from the city into the forests, and that they had returned the next day to ask for peace, which was granted to them. All were reconverted, and Xavier remained for some time with them (MX II 205). The same was also affirmed by the third witness, according to whom Xavier took part in the expedition (*ibid.* 207). Frois, however, using the data which he received directly from

As soon as he arrived there, he was received with great joy by the *sengadji*, the overseer of the town, and his people, who had now dared to come out of their hiding places in the mountains. Both children and adults, with their songs of joy, let the priest have no rest. During their apostasy they had torn down the church, chopped up the cross, and destroyed the images of the saints. But they now built a large new church for him and a very tall residence next to it. The eruption of the volcano had annihilated the tall wooden idols of the town,⁵³ but there was still one standing, a mockery of the Blessed Trinity; and Beira worked for a day and a night until he had destroyed this idol as well.⁵⁴ The people had suffered great privations in the forests since the fruit trees had been so damaged by the rain of ashes that they bore no fruit for two or three years. But God now gave them food and drink in great abundance, and the brackish waters again became clear and sweet.

The news of the arrival of the priest spread like wildfire through the whole of the Moro territory and beyond. Many of the apostates were reconverted and showed great sorrow for what they had done and a firm resolve to persevere from then on in the faith. Very many pagans came and asked for baptism. On one day more than five thousand apostates and pagans approached the priest, and in one week more than fifteen or twenty thousand, even some from other islands and of different languages. The overseer of a village which had also fallen away invited Beira to come there. He did so and baptized many. The people showed a great longing to learn the prayers and wished to keep him with them. When he left, they asked him to send someone to give them further instructions.

Since the priest was not equal to the task by himself, he summoned all his companions in Ternate. They came at once—Father Affonso de Castro and three brothers: Nicolau Nunes, who sent a letter with Beira, Melchior de Figueiredo,⁵⁵ and another who had joined the Society of Jesus along with him on the occasion of the Tolo miracle.⁵⁶ They took up their residence in Tolo and visited the other

Beira and Nunes, wrote in this same year, 1556, after the capture of Tolo: “E agora, com o rei de Geilolo ser tambem desbaratado, se reformarão, . . . conhecendo que por seus pecados o Senhor os castigara; . . . e isto averá quatro anos socedeu” (DI III 549).

⁵³ Beira Q 6004.

⁵⁴ On February 8, 1553, Beira wrote to Ignatius: “Escribo el castigo que Dios nuestro Señor Dios hizo en los que apostataron y retrayeron de la ffee, y las maravillas que en su conversión hizo y como les fueron derrocados los idolos; y uno que tenian echo mui alto en desacatamiento de la Sanctissima Trinidad, que un dia y una noche puse en derrocarlo. Eran mui altos y mui grandes” (Q 6007). Rebello states: “Forão estes Moros mui afeiçoados ao demonio, o que he de grã admiração, assi destes como dos mais gentios, porque todos o pintão tão feo, e com tantos asgares, que bem mostram, por figura, qual deve ser sua virtude” (335 402).

⁵⁵ Melchior de Figueiredo was born in Goa around the year 1532 (DI IV 459); he entered the Society in Ternate in 1550, sailed from there to India at the beginning of 1557 (*ibid.* III 689), where he studied Latin, philosophy, and theology, and was ordained to the priesthood at the end of 1559 (*ibid.* IV 704). He arrived in Japan in 1564, where he acquired an excellent command of the language, and was professed of the three vows on October 8, 1581. He worked in Japan for twenty-three years until he was compelled by severe pains from stones and gout to sail back to Macao in 1586, and finally to Goa, where he died on September 3, 1597. On him see the manuscript catalogs of the Society (Goa 24 and *JapSin.* 25); Frois' letter of October 2, 1587 (*JapSin.* 51, 20); the index in his *Geschichte Japans*; and Schütte, *Introductio*.

⁵⁶ Probably meant is Vicente Pereira, who had wished to enter the Society for a long time and had sailed to China to look for Xavier. At the beginning of 1554, Beira sent him as a candidate, still in his military garb, with Brother Antonio Fernandes to Amboina, from where he wrote two letters, on February 26 and 29, 1554 (Sá II 136-138 143-145). On him see the letter of Antonio Fernandes of February 28, 1554 (*ibid.* 139-141).

sites from there to give instructions.⁵⁷ The Christians in Tolo, as elsewhere, now came regularly to church on Sundays;⁵⁸ and Beira witnessed the marriage of the daughter of the overseer, who had once been promised to Hairun, to a former student of St. Paul's College who had been born in Tolo. He was an excellent Christian whom Beira had brought with him from Goa in 1547.⁵⁹

But the harvest was enormous. To the east of the Moro Islands was the large land of the Papuas. Known as New Guinea, it comprised a main island more than seven hundred leagues in length and numerous smaller islands; and it was divided up into four kingdoms ruled over by four kings.⁶⁰ It was fertile like the Moro Islands, and was inhabited by simple people who all spoke the same language and were not intermarried with Moors. Here too a great harvest was beckoning.⁶¹ The overseer of Tolo and the other natives were of the opinion that there was need of many priests of the Society to reap it. Beira had therefore decided to sail for India in order to obtain more fellow workers.⁶²

He did not enter the order and he is not mentioned again in the later mission letters. Lucena writes that a very old Portuguese had told him a number of times that he had seen Xavier heal a swollen child and give it back to its mother in Kagoshima (7, 13). Tursellinus repeated this in precisely the same words in 1596 and cites the witness by name: the captain of a ship, Vicente Pereira, a close friend of Xavier, who had told this to his confreres in India (6, 13). Tursellinus has the same person report as an eyewitness two more miracles worked by Xavier. These are missing in his first edition of 1594. According to Tursellinus, Pereira described these also to the confreres in India, and he was allegedly an eyewitness of them in Kagoshima. These were the raising of a girl from the dead and the cure of a leper. The raising from the dead has reference here to the cure of a deathly ill girl in Kagoshima by Luis de Almeida in 1583 (see above, p. 125). In the cure of the leper, Xavier is perhaps again confused with Almeida, who wrote of himself on October 1, 1561, that he had in this year cured a leper in Hakata (*Cartas* 1598, 84v). The raising of the girl from the dead is missing in Lucena, who attaches two other marvels to the cure of the swollen child in Kagoshima: the prophecy of divine punishment for a blasphemer and the healing of a leper. He does not clearly name the old Portuguese as a witness of these latter two events, though he does give him as a witness for the cure of the child.

⁵⁷ Beira Q 6004.

⁵⁸ *Idem* Q 6005 (Sá II 89).

⁵⁹ *Idem* Q 6003 (Sá II 82-84). The young man had apparently been among the first to be sent to St. Paul's College, which had been founded in Goa in 1541 for the Moluccas as well as for other areas.

⁶⁰ The defective Spanish copy of Beira's letter in the *Gavetas 15-16-39* (ed. in *Gavetas V 57-60*) has seventy instead of seven hundred leagues and forty instead of four kingdoms (*ibid.* 60). Sá, who gives the Portuguese text of the *Codex Ulyssiponensis*, errs in having Beira write the letter on the Moluccas. On the margin of this copy are written the names of the four kingdoms: Mian, Missol, Ogulo, and Noton (in Lucena 4, 14: Miam, Missol, Ogueo, and Noton; in Castanheda 8, 117: Mincimbo, Vaigama, Vaigue, and Quibibi). Meant are the four so-called rajahships (*Radja Ampat* or *Kalana Fat*) that were under Tidore until 1905: Waigeu, Salawati, Misol (Southeast Misol), and Waigama (Northwest Misol), three islands west of New Guinea. On these see the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* I (1919) 34 298-302; A. Wichmann, *Nova Guinea* I (1909) 219 297-298, and F. C. Kamma, "De verhouding tussen Tidore en de Papoeze eilanden in legende en historie," *Indonesie* 1 (1947/48) 361-370 536-559; 2 (1948/49) 177-188 256-275.

⁶¹ Beira Q 6005 (Sá II 91) and 6007.

⁶² Beira Q 6004. The so-called Tolo miracle had already been changed into a Xavier miracle in 1556, since in the Goa process of that year all three witnesses who reported on it confused Beira with Xavier. The first two of these, Figueiredo and Courros, declared that Xavier had brought about the expedition to Tolo through his entreaties; the third, Alvares, that Xavier had accompanied the expedition and had caused the eruption of the volcano through his prayers. In 1580, Teixeira repeated their testimonies (867-868), and Valignano followed him in 1583 (105). The four witnesses (nn. 9, 18, 19, and 20) in the second Lisbon remissorial process of 1616, all *ex auditu* and without particulars, have nothing new. As a consequence, only the three witnesses of 1556 were pertinent to

Beira had nothing good to say about Hairun, the sultan of Ternate, or the other Moluccan kings. Although they were all traitors and mortal enemies of the

the process for canonization, as is shown by the *Litterae Remissoriales* of 1613 (Q 6200), the *protocol of the meeting of August 15, 1617, of the three auditors of the Rota who were commissioned with the preparations for the canonization (Q 6221a, ff. 197v-199), the **Summarium* of 1618 (Q 6222a, ff. 964-966), the **Relatio* of 1619 (Q 6223), the printed *Relatio* of 1622 (Q 6229), the bull of canonization of 1623 (Q 6235: MX II 712-713), and **Confalonarius* in 1624 (Q 6236, ff. 256-258).—Figueiredo states that the expedition to Tolo was undertaken at Xavier's insistence and, as far as he could remember, in the second year of the administration of Bernaldim de Sousa, who was captain of Ternate from 1546 to 1549, and from 1550 to 1552. Since Xavier was only in Ternate in 1546 and 1547, Teixeira, Valignano, and Tursellinus (this last only in 1596), and later authors such as Daurignac in 1857 (4, 3), Coleridge in 1872 (I 402-403), Greff in 1885 (87-88), and Michel in 1908 (200) give 1547 as the year of the Tolo miracle. Beira's letter of February, 1553, repeatedly published since 1559, on the other hand, places the eruption of the volcano shortly before 1553, during his own stay on the Moluccas; and Xavier's letters indicate that he was far away from them at the time. Other authors, as a consequence, since they were convinced of the infallibility of the bull of canonization, felt themselves constrained to accept a bilocation of the saint. Among these, for example, were Bartoli in 1653 (*Asia* 6, 2), Massei in 1681 (3, 9), and Sousa in 1710 (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 1, 53).—The acts of canonization cite Figueiredo as the only eyewitness. Although he nowhere clearly states that he personally took part in the expedition, he adds at the conclusion to his extensive account of the miracle the following lines on Xavier's labors in Amboina: "E asy dise elle, testemunha, que nas ilhas d'Amboino o dito Padre converteo muitos luguareis e grão numero de gente, e fez muito serviço a nosso Senhor, e edificou muitas igrejas, e andou muito préguando. E isto sabe ele, testemunha, por lo ver e pasar para aquelas partes" (MX II 205-206).—Figueiredo's son, who was born in Goa in 1560, declared as a witness in Quilon in 1616, that his parents had known Xavier intimately, and that they had told him much about his virtues; but he is silent about the Tolo miracle (MX II 606-607). Since Figueiredo confuses Xavier with Beira, he could only have come to Ternate after Xavier had left there, probably in 1549 along with Christovão de Sá. At the end of December, 1550, he sailed with him to the siege of Djailolo; and, for the bravery which he showed there, he was dubbed a knight by Bernaldim de Sousa, the captain of Ternate. The document ends with the surrender of the fortress on March 27, 1551 (Q 4663-4664). In February of this year, Sousa had sent his ship, which had been built in Ternate, loaded with cloves to Amboina (Rebello 234 236). On it sailed Christovão de Sá and many others to whom Sousa had given permission before the fall of Djailolo to sail to India. After the surrender, Sousa immediately sent a *korakora* to Amboina in order to report the victory to his ship (*ibid.* 264 475-476). It took with it Nicolau Nunes' letter of April 10, 1551 (Q 4650); and Figueiredo, the captain of the ship, sailed with it in May to Malacca, where he arrived at the beginning of July (Couto 6, 9, 8, p. 274), and in Cochín in January, 1552 (Q 4746: Sá II 73-74).—The concluding sentence of Figueiredo's testimony perhaps refers only to Amboina, where the witness remained for a few days in 1551 before he sailed on to Malacca. He greatly exaggerates when he claims that he even saw many churches there that had been built by Xavier. The numerous contradictions in his testimony prevent us from concluding from it that he took part in the Tolo expedition. He confuses Beira with Xavier, Bernaldim de Sousa with Christovão de Sá, the Moro mission and its twenty-five thousand Christians with Tolo; he states that Xavier was the first to baptize the people of Tolo and of Moro; he has the captors burn the city that had already been destroyed by the volcano; he has the people of the city, who had fled into the forests, return on the day after its capture and ask for peace, which was granted to them; and he has Xavier remain with them for some days; and all this happened in the second year of the rule of Bernaldim de Sousa.—Since Xavier mentions the town of *Totole* in his letter of June 20, 1549, as being between Macassar and Celebes (EX I 113), some authors, such as Burg (II 151), Daurignac, and Greff, place Tolo on Celebes; and in 1647 Alexander de Rhodes had to learn from the governor in Macassar, the learned Carim Patingaloe, that Xavier's Tolo did not lie in the kingdom of Macassar but on the Moluccas (*Voyages* [Paris, 1854] 384). With respect to the legends on the ruin of Tolo, which also mention the eruption of the volcano, see Vol. III, pp. 205-206. In 1877 a descendant of the last king of Tolo told the missionary van Dijken in Todahe about the ruin of the city: An Arab priest by the name of Sahid

Portuguese and native Christians, the worst of all was the sultan of Ternate. Beira had brought about the capture of Djailolo, even though Hairun had done all the evil that he could. Five times he had wished to rebel with the Moluccas, and on each occasion Beira had discovered his treacherous plans and had secretly informed the captain of the fortress about them. When Beira was brought deathly ill to Ternate in 1549, the sultan had sought to incite all the Christians of the Moro mission against the Portuguese by bribing the overseer of Tolo with many gifts of gold and silk materials so that they would obey him alone and not admit any more priests and Portuguese. When Beira was still hidden on Moro, he discovered that all four Moluccan kings had formed a conspiracy against the Portuguese, as the vassals of the king of Tidore confessed. When Bernaldim de Sousa was informed by him of this, he had his fortress on Tidore torn down.⁶³ On another occasion Hairun had men summoned from Celebes,⁶⁴ whose territory bordered on that of Maluco. Beira and the vicar in Ternate had already baptized some people of this land, and when Beira informed the captain of what Hairun had done, the captain provided a remedy for it. Now, on his voyage from Ternate to Malacca, Beira had learned when he was visiting the Christians in Amboina that one of Hairun's brothers wanted to smuggle over a hundred hundredweights of cloves into Java. Beira immediately informed Dom Rodrigo de Meneses of this. The latter then sailed there and confiscated the cloves and sent them to the captain in Ternate. As he continued on his voyage, Beira learned in the harbor of Kanjongan⁶⁵ in Java that the king there was waiting for a brother of the king of Ternate, obviously in order to obtain help from the Javanese against the Portuguese, which would have meant for these the loss of Maluco. Beira also learned of the treaty which Hairun had concluded with the king of Djailolo against the Portuguese, which the king himself later confessed. When Beira was sailing from Ternate to Malacca, Bernaldim de Sousa told the Portuguese that he, Beira, had been the reason for Djailolo's capture, and that without him it would not have been taken.⁶⁶

In the church of Malacca, Beira had spoken of his inner life and of the illuminations⁶⁷ which he had received with respect to the Apocalypse and its interpretation, matters about which he had already written to Ignatius the previous year. According to him, New Guinea was to be understood by it. He had also spoken of divine consolations and inspirations which he had received with respect to the regaining of the Holy House in Jerusalem. This was to occur so that the prophecy of St. Isidore might be fulfilled.⁶⁸ Can it be that the unspeakable toils and difficulties of the Moro mission, his imprisonment, his shipwrecks, his grave sicknesses, and the unbearable heat in that tropical climate had left their traces on his mind?⁶⁹ Not without reason Master Francis had written to his confreres after his return from the Moluccas in the beginning of 1548:

Pasang had come to Ternate. The king of Ternate sent him to annihilate the rebellious Tolo. His ship was rowed by angels and prophets. At the prayer of the priest, the volcano in the neighborhood of the city began to seethe, and its glowing streams of lava covered forever the city with its king and people (*Berigten van de Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging* 18 [Utrecht, 1877] 128.

⁶³ On this see Rebello 271-278 479-484.

⁶⁴ The copy has *Geleues* (Sá II 83).

⁶⁵ The copy has *Cajoa* (*ibid.*). On Kanjongan, see Vol. III, p. 58. The city lay between Japara and Tuban.

⁶⁶ Beira Q 6003 (Sá II 82-84).

⁶⁷ EX II 476-477.

⁶⁸ Beira Q 6002 6003 (Sá II 81), and especially Q 6007.

⁶⁹ In October, 1553, Beira returned to Ternate with three new companions and labored

These islands are very dangerous because of the many wars [they make upon each other].... All these dangers and labors voluntarily undertaken for the sole love and service of God our Lord are treasures abounding in great spiritual consolations,... going continuously on islands surrounded by enemies and inhabited by friends who are not very firm, and in lands that are lacking all the medicines for physical infirmities and almost all the earthly means for keeping alive. It would be better to call them "Islands of Hope in God" than "Islands of Moro."⁷⁰

6. A SORROWFUL DEPARTURE (JULY 17, 1552)

Bernaldim de Sousa¹ had come with Beira. Sousa, the former captain of Ternate had handed over his fortress to Baltasar Veloso just before the end of the rainy season. In the preceding April he had gone to Amboina on a *korakora*, and from there he had embarked for Malacca in order to meet his successor and cousin Francisco Lopes,² who had sailed to Malacca with Xavier. Bernaldim was an old acquaintance and friend of Xavier. He had first come to know him when the two of them sailed to Cow Island in 1543, and he had met him again in Ternate in 1546 when he replaced Jurdão de Freitas as captain of the fortress.³ Xavier was deeply indebted to him for his capture of Djailolo, which rescued the Moro mission and freed it from its worst persecutor. Master Francis now went to him with the request that he put in a good word for him and for Diogo Pereira's embassy with Ataide, whose great friend he was.⁴ Bernaldim de Sousa had grown up at the court in Lisbon, where he had been a special favorite of the king, who had assured him in 1546 of the prized position of captain of Ormuz.⁵ He had served in India since 1537 under the governors Nuno da Cunha, Dom Estevão da Gama, M. A. de Sousa, and Dom João de Castro, and he was a great friend of the present viceroy.⁶ In 1545 he had freed Ormuz from the threat of the Turks by his capture of al-Kātif.⁷ Francis hoped that a word from him to Ataide would succeed. But the latter gave in on only one point, and it was to his own interest as well.⁸ The *Santa Cruz* could sail to China with Diogo Pereira's cargo of pepper and his factor,⁹ but it would have to sail with Ataide's wares as well, with twenty-five of his men¹⁰ under Affonso de Rojes,¹¹ and with a captain

on the difficult Moro mission until, broken in health, he had to return forever to India at the beginning of 1556. His mind was repeatedly deranged, probably as the result of a sunstroke, but he still labored in Bassein, then, from 1559 to 1561, in Thāna and Chorão until, revered by all, he was released from his sufferings by a holy death, in Goa on April 25, 1564 (Valignano 471-472; DI VI 351).

⁷⁰ EX I 379-380.

¹ On him see Vol. III, pp. 192-193.

² Rebello 486-487.

³ Vol. III, pp. 190-194.

⁴ Couto 6, 10, 7, pp. 445-446.

⁵ Q 2013 2060. "Bernaldim de Sousa achou em Goa (beginning of 1553) cartas de ElRey muito honrosas, e com ellas huma Patente, em que lhe fazia mercê da Capitania de Ormuz, em que entraria logo" (Couto 6, 10, 8, pp. 452-453). "Era muito grande corteza" (*ibid.* 5, 8, 1, p. 172).

⁶ "O Viso-Rey foi tão grande seu amigo, que todos os negocios de importancia praticava primeiro com elle que com os outros Fidalgos, e lhe fazia tuto o que lhe pedia, e dava cargos, e despachou a muitas pessoas por sua ordem" (*ibid.* 6, 10, 8, p. 453).

⁷ Vol. III, p. 193.

⁸ Pérez (DI III 250).

⁹ According to Diogo Pereira (MX II 263-264).

¹⁰ Lucena 10, 15, p. 845.

¹¹ "Metteo na não hum homem de sua obrigação, chamado Affonso de Rojes, que foi na não, e Diogo Pereira ficou em terra" (Couto 6, 10, 7, p. 445). Affonso de Rojas was

appointed by Ataide, Luis de Almeida.¹² Diogo Pereira would have to remain in Malacca, and there could be no thought of an embassy.

a "mamçebo castelhano" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 502), *escudeiro fidalgo* (APO V 607), brother of Mestre Olmedo (Freire de Andrade 454), court preacher of John III (Almeida, *Hist. Igr.* III 1, p. 242), and prior of Palmella (APO V 502); and he had been a judge of the Inquisition since 1538 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 263; Vol. I, p. 646). From 1547 to 1550 Rojas was toll judge in Malacca (Q 3042 3273 3599 3665 3801; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 502). In 1548 he obtained the right to the position of toll judge in Goa for three years (Q 3759; see also p. 498). His name is usually written as Rojas, but also, as in Q 2886, as Rojas. On him see Vol. III, p. 359.

¹² "Mandaron su naao, metiendo otro por capitán della a mercadear a un porto de la China," according to Pérez (DI III 250). "E com tudo, o P. Mestre Francisco foy com outro capitão á China, e elle, testemunha, foy com elle na mesma náu," according to Estevão Ventura (MX II 278). Lucena writes that Ataide appointed a captain as he wished (10, 15, p. 845). Pérez gives his name: "Por capitão della mandando a hum Luis d'Almeida" (*Informação* 74). Brou resolves the apparent contradiction with Couto by assuming that Almeida was the captain and Rojas the commandant of Ataides' twenty-five men (II 326). Our Luis de Almeida is named as captain of a ship at the siege of Malacca in 1551 (Couto 6, 9, 6, p. 256). At the beginning of April, 1555, he set sail from Malacca for China as captain of a galleon shortly before the royal ship on which M. Nunes Barreto and Mendes Pinto began their voyage to China, and he came to the assistance of Barreto's ship at the entrance to the strait of Singapore (Mendes Pinto on November 20, 1555, in Ayres, *Subsidios* 78, and *Peregrinação*, c. 220). Well known by the Chinese, he and Barreto received permission from the mandarin of Canton to visit the imprisoned Matheus de Brito (Frois on January 2, 1556, *ibid.* 92). In the same year a namesake of Almeida sailed in the ship of Duarte da Gama from China to Japan. A good surgeon, he attached himself to the priests of the Society of Jesus in Bungo in order to found a hospital there (*ibid.* 94). He was a young man of around thirty and well known in those regions. On September 16, 1555, he wrote a letter to Nunes Barreto from Hirado in which he asked him for advice with respect to his vocation (Barreto, on November 23, 1555, in Ayres, *Subsidios* 90; the letter was published by Bourdon and Campo).—This Jesuit, Luis de Almeida, was the first to bring the knowledge of the art of Western medicine to Japan. He died there in 1583 after having enjoyed great success in his labors in that land (on his life, see Frois, *Geschichte*, index, p. 518; Schütte, *Introductio*, index, pp. 874-875). Four articles which have appeared on him, have also taken up the question of his namesakes: L. Bourdon, "Luis de Almeida, chirurgien et marchand, avant son entrée dans la Compagnie de Jésus au Japon 1525(?)–1556," *Mélanges d'Etudes Portugaises offertes à M. Georges Le Gentil* (Lisbonne, 1949) 69-83; *idem*, "Uma carta inédita de Luís de Almeida ao Padre Belchior Nunes Barreto (Hirado, 16 de Setembro de 1555)," *Brotéria* 51 (1950) 186-197; Miguel Campo, "Luís de Almeida, cirurgião e mercador, e sua entrada na Companhia de Jesus (1555-1556)," *Arquivo Histórico de Portugal* 1 (1958) 90-96; and Diego Pacheco, S.J., "Luís de Almeida 1525-1583, Médico, Caminante, Apóstol," *Studia* 26 (1969) 57-115.—In his letter of January 7, 1556, Frois distinguishes the two namesakes, as does Nunes Barreto in his letter of November 23, 1555, and, following them, Polanco (*Chronicon* V 721-722), Ayres (*Subsidios* 41), and Campo (91-92); but Bourdon (in 1949, 78-81, and in 1950, 186) and Pacheco (62) have put them together. Bourdon has further attempted to identify the captain of the *Santa Cruz* of 1552 with his namesakes (in 1949, 75); that is, with a "very poor" *casado* to whom the governor Castro gave the position of an *alcaide-mor* of Malacca in 1545 (Q 1778 2492); and with a Luis de Almeida, to whom the same governor granted the position of a factor in Bengal for his courage in the second siege of Diu in 1546 (Q 2652).—According to our view, the following namesakes are to be distinguished: (1) The New Christian, merchant and surgeon, who was born in 1525 and sailed to Japan in 1555 on the ship of Duarte da Gama. He wrote to Nunes Barreto from Hirado on September 16, 1555, entered the Society of Jesus in Bungo, and died in 1583. (2) The captain of the *Santa Cruz*, appointed by Ataide, who sailed with Xavier to Sancian in 1552. We encounter him in 1551 as a captain of a ship in Malacca. In 1555 he sailed as a captain of a galleon from there to China. He is probably identical with the *casado* Luis de Almeida, to whom Castro gave the position of an *alcaide-mor* of Malacca on December 11, 1545, "because he is a servant of the king and very poor" (Q 1778), a position about which the captain of Malacca wrote to the son of the governor on November 14, 1546, that he could not give it to Almeida, since the governor had already given it to another (Q 2492). He is also probably identical with Luis de Almeida, the

The proscription on the embassy ruined the priest's whole plan for gaining entrance through it into China, for obtaining access to its king, and for securing freedom for the imprisoned Portuguese. Francis nevertheless remained fast in his resolve. Although Ataide was depriving him of all human assistance, he still refused to leave anything untried in the hope that a Moor or pagan, despite all the prohibitions of the Chinese regime, would for a high reward secretly bring him to the Cantonese mainland.¹³ He was willing to run the risk that he would there have to pay for his audacity with imprisonment or death.¹⁴ If he found no one to bring him to the mainland, he would return to Malacca in December and make a new attempt during the following year.¹⁵

Diogo Pereira on his part did everything that he could under the circumstances for his friend, even though he was himself obliged to remain in Malacca. He went on board his ship and gave him the best cabin for the voyage, that of the factor, near the rudder; and he earnestly urged his factor, Gaspar Mendes de Vasconcellos, who had to take care of his affairs in China, always to give the priest and his companions whatever they needed. When Xavier learned that Mendes de Vasconcellos was to sail with them as factor, he asked Pereira to assign the care of himself to someone else, for Vasconcellos would not sail with them but would rather die. Pereira objected that his factor was enjoying good health, but Francis again told him that he would certainly die. Pereira then handed over the care of his wares and of the priest to Thomas Escandel.¹⁶ As a fellow voyager Master Francis received an old acquaintance, Jorge Alvares, who was also sailing for China.¹⁷

son of the *ouvidor geral* of India, Pedralvarez de Almeida, who was slain at Diu in 1537 (Sousa Coutinho 78 82). In September, 1546, Castro sent him as the admiral of an auxiliary fleet to Diu (Couto 6, 3, 7, p. 231). On November 10, 1546, the day of the decisive battle, he sent him as the captain of one of the three caravels on a sham attack upon the bulwark of Diogo Lopes, which had been occupied by the Moors (*ibid.* 6, 3, 10, p. 251). In December, as a reward for this, the governor gave him the position of a factor in Bengal (Q 2652); and on January 2, 1547, he gave him fifty *pardaus* for his expenses as captain of the bulwark on the sea at Diu (Q 2696). In September of this same year, 1547, he took the place of Mascarenhas as the captain of the fortress when the latter was ravaging Patane with Castro (Couto 6, 5, 6, p. 385; L. Nunes, *Crónica* 190-191). In 1548 we encounter him as the captain of a ship which was guarding the river passage near Rachol off Salsette (Couto 6, 5, 11, p. 416). (3) In the index to the *Decadas* of Couto, this son of the *ouvidor geral* is confused with D. Luis de Almeida, the son of the *vedor* of the princess, D. Lopo de Almeida, who sailed to India in 1554 and again in 1571 as a *fidalgão escudeiro* (**Memoria das pessoas* 128 208). In 1565 he received the position of a captain of Damão for his services in India (*Registo*, n. 663), which he took up in 1572 (Couto 9, 11, p. 55).

¹³ EX II 472 474; Teixeira 888.

¹⁴ EX II 493-494 512 516.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 474 487.

¹⁶ According to Diogo Pereira in Xavier's process in Goa in 1557 (MX II 263-264; cf. 216). Gaspar Mendes de Vasconcellos, not to be confused with Gaspar Mendes, died three or four days after Xavier's departure from Malacca (*ibid.*). Thomas Escandel (also written as Escander), apparently a Syro-Malabar or Armenian merchant in the service of Diogo Pereira, carried out his commission with respect to Xavier in an excellent manner, as Francis himself later indicated (EX II 486 499 514). In the Cochin process in 1616, Domingos Cardoso, who was at that time over seventy, declared that he had heard from Francisco Pereira, the son of Diogo Pereira, that the saint had promised his father that his children would never lack the necessities of life, and his prophecy had been fulfilled (MX II 490).

¹⁷ "Enfim que todavia determinou de se ir, e foi matalotado com hum Jorge Alvarez," according to Pérez (*Informação* 74). He sailed, however, as it seems, in another ship (cf. DI III 654 658-659).

When Xavier's friends in Malacca learned that he wished to go to China despite all the dangers, and even without Diogo Pereira, they used every effort to dissuade him. They indicated the great good he could do in Malacca by consoling the many sick who were there. But Francis could not in conscience give up the enterprise. He saw clearly that he was greatly needed in Malacca, and that he would have much to do there; but he was being constantly persecuted by Dom Alvaro's servants. He no longer dared to leave the house, since they would immediately come up and accuse him of being a drunkard and hypocrite and insult him in many other ways. He had to sail to China to free a number of Portuguese who were imprisoned there and to labor in that kingdom in the service of God. He told his friend Francisco Lopes de Almeida that he well knew that it would be much to the service of God if he remained in Malacca, but he did not dare do so because of the many difficulties for his conscience that he encountered there.¹⁸

Pérez was lying deathly ill at the time. Xavier sat down by his bed and informed him of his resolve to sail to China in Diogo Pereira's ship, which Dom Alvaro was sending there under a captain of his own appointment. Pérez asked him for the love of God not to leave him, since he was about to die. But Xavier replied: "Não aveis de morrer." ("You will not die.")¹⁹

Despite Xavier's firm resolve to go to China in the face of every difficulty, he experienced a veritable martyrdom in being forced to see how Ataíde's stubbornness had ruined all the plans of his friend Diego Pereira and of himself.²⁰ His grief was further increased by the thought of the divine punishment which his adversary would have to suffer for it. According to Pérez, Xavier wept for Dom Alvaro as Samuel did for Saul, and he heard him say that his ruin caused him great pain. He saw that Ataíde did not have the qualities needed by a captain, and that he would not complete his period of office. It was generally maintained that the priest had declared that God would punish him in his honor, his goods, and in his body; and that he had prayed that God might save his soul.²¹ Several citizens bore witness to this five years later. João Fernandes d'Ilher, the oldest and wealthiest resident in the city,²² whose son had been cured by Xavier in 1545,²³ declared that he had heard the priest say many times that God would punish Dom Alvaro in his honor and possessions, and that Xavier had frequently recommended him to God and prayed for him.²⁴ Gomes Freire, who had met the priest in Ternate in 1547 and had received the right to a position as secretary of the factory of Malacca in 1548,²⁵ had also heard the priest make

¹⁸ Cf. the testimonies of Lopes de Almeida (MX II 290) and Christovão de Carvalho (*ibid.* 301-302) in the Cochín process of 1557.

¹⁹ Pérez, *Informação* 74. He adds: "E polla graça de Deus e misericórdia vive oje. 7 de Dezembro 1579 annos."

²⁰ Pérez wrote with regard to this: "Aqui se pode considerar que senteria o Padre em sua alma e em seu coração, considerando que elle trouxe a provisão, com que teve [Ataíde] poder pera o estrovar, e por outra parte ver que Diogo Pereira ficava perdido por aver gastado muito dinheiro em as cousas da embaixada, e em lhe estrovar sua viagem e fazê-lo fugir em Malaca. Creão-me que aquelle trabalho lhe passou o coração, porque os trabalhos passados, ainda que no exterior erão grandes, no interior tinham doçura spiritual. E forão tão grandes estes trabalhos que quis Deus dar-lhe, a meu parecer, pera lhe dar coroa de martir, pois lhe durão té a morte e forão por pregar a lei de Deus, e com elles feneceo" (*Informação* 73-74).

²¹ *Ibid.* 75.

²² Couto 6, 9, 5, p. 255.

²³ Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

²⁴ MX II 428.

²⁵ Q 3954.

the same prophecy on a number of occasions.²⁶ And Affonso Teixeira, who was also with Xavier on Ternate in 1547,²⁷ later heard the same from others in Malacca.²⁸

²⁶ MX II 426.

²⁷ Vol. III, pp. 195-196.

²⁸ In 1553 Affonso Teixeira helped to remove Xavier's body from the coffin in which it had come from China to Malacca (MX II 424). The three named witnesses also declared that they saw the fulfillment of Xavier's prophecy in Malacca. Pérez, who at Xavier's order left the city with his companions at the end of 1552 and went to Cochín, wrote in 1579: "E todo se vio porque o tirarão da fortaleza antes do tempo e dizem que lhe confiscarão os bens; muyto se lhe perdeo, o corpo se lhe encheo de lepra, e ouvi dizer que morreo subitamente; disto muitas teste munhas. E a mim me disse o viso-rrey Dom Afonço: 'Hum homem tão mao, quem matou o P. M. Francisco!' E lhe disse: 'Como o matou?' E elle me disse: 'Vós não vistes os trabalhos, Padre, que lhe deu até que morreu?'" (*Informação* 75). Couto gives the following account: As soon as Ataíde [in October, 1552] entered his office [as captain of the fortress], he confiscated the rudders of all the ships on the pretext that he had news from Achin [that Malacca was to be attacked]. Bernaldim de Sousa, who had previously been a great friend of his, refused to give up the rudder of his ship and sailed secretly to India against Ataíde's order. The two thus became bitter enemies. Soon after this, at the end of the year, D. Pedro da Silva and the licentiate Francisco Alvares departed on the *Santiago* with the official report on the administration of Ataíde. They arrived in Goa in March, 1553, and in April the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha sent the licentiate Gaspar Jorge to Malacca with an order to conduct a juridical investigation of Ataíde. On the basis of the testimonies which he had received, the judges in Goa declared in 1554 that the captain of Malacca, since he was guilty of grave transgressions, must be sent as a prisoner to the kingdom with the proofs of his guilt. A judge of the Higher Court of Appeal would have to sail to Malacca to depose him, and D. Antonio de Noronha, the son of the viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha, should take over the fortress. The viceroy then sent Xavier's old friend, the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa, to Malacca to execute this judgment (6, 10, 7-8 and 18, pp. 445-449 455 522-523).—On November 12, 1552, Xavier wrote from Sancian: "Deus perdoe a quem ffoy caussa de tanto mall; temo-me que Deus lhe dará cedo o castigo: não será muito ter-lho jaa dado" (EX II 510). Teixeira observes on this: "This punishment, about which the priest is here speaking, had already been given by our Lord to the captain at the time that the priest was writing this, as we saw with our own eyes, since we were at that time in India; for he was already then a leper; and he was arrested as he was and brought from the fortress of Malacca to India, and from there to Portugal, where he died of his leprosy" (893). Fernandes d'Ilher intimated the same in 1557 when he said: "E que foy assi [as Xavier had prophesied], que elle, testemunha, vyo depois a dita pessoa muito atribulada e abatida" (MX II 428); see also the letter of Jorge de Lima of June 15, 1556, in the *Boletim da Filmoteca* 17 [1961] 130). In 1583 Valignano wrote: "He was brought as a prisoner to Goa and sent to Portugal, where his evilly gained possessions were confiscated; and he died a miserable death, fallen into disgrace with his king and covered with an evil smelling leprosy" (204), after having been condemned to imprisonment for life (Tursellinus 1594: 3, 13), in the prison (Lucena 10, 16), very soon (Mendes Pinto, c. 219), shunned by all (Maffei, *Hist. Ind.* 408), from leprosy (Teixeira 893, Valignano 204), from a sore on his breast (Mendes Pinto), from a sore with an unbelievable stench (Lucena), of elephantiasis (Maffei). In his second edition, of 1596, Tursellinus states that Ataíde recognized his guilt before his death and atoned for it with salutary penance (5, 6), on which Sousa notes that it is not certain that he died without repentance (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 74).—The *Nobiliário* of Andrade Leitão seems to contradict the data of all the authors on the end of Ataíde. Leitão, who died in 1717, wrote that D. Alvaro married after returning to the kingdom, and that he had had a son, D. Estevão de Ataíde, from his wife (X 27). Rocha Martins also cites to the same purpose the great *Nobiliário* of Diogo Rangel de Macedo, who died in 1754 (*O Apóstolo das Indias. S. Francisco Xavier* [Lisboa, 1942] 378). To give an answer to these and other false claims in later authors, we have to distinguish nine different individuals with the name of D. Alvaro de Ataíde: (1) the lord of Penacova (Braamcamp Freire, *Brasões* II 91-92) (I); (2) his grandson, the son of Vasco da Gama, the persecutor of Xavier (II); (3) the first count of Atouguia, D. Alvaro (Gonçalves) de Ataíde, † 1452 (*ibid.* I 81-84; III 274-275) (III); (4) his son, the lord of Castanheira and Foz in Benavente,

Master Francis had ordered the vicar Soares to publicly announce Ataides' excommunication, but his request had not been carried out. The *vigario* could not bring himself to do it: he would have brought Ataides' hatred down upon himself, and his life for the next three years would have been hell on earth. But now that Xavier's departure was at hand, he asked him if he would not recommend him to the king.²⁹ At the time of Xavier's earlier visit to Malacca, his old friend Affonso Gentil had been more deserving of such a favor. He had lost most of his wealth in China in 1547 but still, at Francis' request, had taken part in the expedition against the fleet of the Achinese as the captain of a ship along with Diogo Pereira. At that time Xavier had recommended both him and Pereira to the king, and he had defended him against the attacks of his adversaries.³⁰ Xavier had now encountered him again in Malacca and wished to do him a final favor. His friend was living in an illegitimate union with a woman who had already borne him children. Xavier had been unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade him to get the affair regularized in the Church. He suspected that there was some impediment which his friend was afraid to reveal to him. Since Gentil manifested a great respect for the bishop, Francis wrote a letter to him on July 13 asking him to write a personal letter to his friend urging him to legitimize his marriage and promising him that if it were at all possible he would dispense him from all ecclesiastical impediments. Xavier also sent a second letter to Master Gaspar asking him to further the cause of his friend with the bishop.³¹ On July 16, the day before his departure, Xavier wrote yet another letter to Master Gaspar. Mendes Pinto, another friend whom Xavier encountered in Malacca, had given him three hundred *cruzados* in Japan for the erection of a church in Yamaguchi. Before sailing for China, he wished to repay this sum; and Dom Pedro da Silva, who earlier had been so generous in equipping the priest for his voyage to Japan, had undertaken to repay this debt for him. Xavier now wished that

married to Violante de Távora, † 1505 (*ibid.* I 417-420) (IV); (5) his son (brother of D. Antonio de Ataide, the first count of Castanheira), who sailed for India as the captain of a ship in 1502, "natural de Algarve" (Manuel Xavier 5; Ferreira Paez 12), and again in 1511, son of Alvaro de Ataide, *fidalgão cavalleiro* (*Emmentia* 270, **Memoria das pessoas* 10), and whom we encounter in the retinue of Affonso de Albuquerque in India until 1515 (Correa I 269 312 386-387 404 448), eventually as *alcaide-mor* of Calicut (TdT: CC 2-236-64), and who quarreled with D. Antão de Abranches, the city captain of Lisbon, in 1524 over a large estate in Algarve (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III., Doações* 8, 34), and who was confirmed in his possession of the entailed estate of Foz in 1554 (*ibid.* 53, 133; Braamcamp Freire, *Brasões* III 395-396). We suspect that there is here a question of the same person as the brother of D. Antonio de Ataide (V); (6) his son who as "nephew of D. Antonio de Ataide, first count of Castanheira," at the age of twenty in 1555 suffered shipwreck on his voyage to India near the island of Pero dos Banhos (Gomes de Brito II 16 27). In 1565, as "son of D. Alvaro de Ataide," he received the position of captain of Maluco for his services in India (*Registo*, n. 650), which he occupied from 1570 to 1575, and died on his return voyage (*ibid.*, n. 992; Sá IV 54-55 210 220-222 253 463-464 472) (VI); (7) his grandson, son of D. Estevão (*Registo*, n. 992; *Andrade Leitão X 27) (VII); (8) the great-grandson of the first count of Atouguia, son of the third count of Atouguia (died in 1507), who served in India and Portugal (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2) (VIII); (9) D. Alvaro Gonçalves de Ataide, the nephew of the preceding and son of Simão Gonçalves de Ataide, who served in India and became a Capucho there (*ibid.* 24) (IX).—*Andrade Leitão and *Rangel de Macedo are to be corrected from these, since they put II and VI together; and also Pereira, *Portugal Dicionario* I 843, who puts II IV and VI together and makes two different persons out of II.

²⁹ EX II 487 520.

³⁰ *Ibid.* I 412-413.

³¹ *Ibid.* II 463-465.

this money should also be repaid. He consequently wrote a short letter to the rector in Goa:

Mestre Gaspar: You must know that I would never be able to repay the great debt which I owe to the *Senhor* Dom Pedro da Silva, for at the time that he was captain of the fortress of Malacca, he favored me so much in things pertaining to the service of God that I never saw a man since coming to India that helped me so much. When I sailed for Japão, he gave me within two days an embarkation that was much what I wished and, in addition to this, a present of two hundred *cruzados* to give to the lord of the land in Japão so that we might be better received. And would to God that he was now the captain of Malacca, for we would be embarking for China in another manner! Far differently has his brother Dom Alvaro acted towards me, in that he has deprived me of the embarkation which the Lord Viceroy had given to me. May God our Lord forgive him, since I fear that God will punish him more than he believes.

Now the *Senhor* Dom Pedro da Silva has done me the great favor that out of love he has kindly lent me three hundred *cruzados* so that I can pay back the three hundred *cruzados* which were given me in Japão for the erection of a church in Amanguche, where the priests of our Society are. After you have seen this letter, pay within a very short time the three hundred *cruzados* to the *Senhor* Dom Pedro da Silva, which he lent me here with such great love and readiness. And these three hundred *cruzados* should be paid from the revenues of the college or from the two thousand *cruzados* which the King orders to be given each year to this college.

And see to it that you pay these within a very short time and do not wait for the *Senhor* Dom Pedro to have you asked for them, for I would feel this keenly, since it would seem to me that you did not care for what I commend so much.

May our Lord join us in the glory of paradise.

Written on the sixteenth of July, 1552.

Entirely yours in Christ,

Francisco.³²

The afternoon of that same day Xavier, entirely contrary to his usual custom, lay down upon his bed. He remained there for a long time, in fact, for almost half a day. It was not known if he was awake or sleeping. His confreres did not dare to speak to him, since this was something so extraordinary for him to do. And it was something unusual indeed.³³ He finally rose up as if he were waking from a bad dream and, filled with concern, repeated many times: "O N. N.! O N. N.! May God our Lord forgive you!" And at the same time he uttered the name of a priest whom he had known in Portugal. The person of whom he spoke was none other than Master Simon Rodrigues. Francis had seen in spirit the difficulties through which the province of Portugal was going because of him. These difficulties, as the confreres later ascertained, were the reason why many left the order that year.³⁴

³² Seb. Gonçalves writes that he had controlled the account books of St. Paul's College and had found that the sum had been paid (4, 10).

³³ Teixeira states that he heard about the incident from his confreres who were with Xavier in Malacca in 1552. These were at that time Pérez, Beira, Bravo, and Bernardo Rodrigues. According to him "estuvo toda una tarde, o casi medio día, reclinando en la cama mui fuera de su costumbre" (889). According to Valignano, Teixeira heard it from the priests of the Society who were present at the time, and that Xavier threw himself with his face down upon a bed "echándose de bruças sobre una cama de una manera extraordinaria, que ni bien parecía que velava, ni bien que dormía" (207-208); cf. DI III 332.

³⁴ On the confusion in the Portuguese province of the order, see F. Rodrigues, *Hist. I* 2, 91-154; on p. 153, n. 2, he mentions this instance. It is missing in the Italian translation of Teixeira.

Meanwhile the time for departure had come. The elaborate vestments which Master Gaspar had brought from Ormuz and the gifts which Diogo Pereira had procured for the king of China were left behind since the embassy had been nullified by Ataíde.³⁵ Francis ordered Pérez to inform Master Gaspar about what had happened in Malacca.³⁶ He also obtained some things which would be needed by the ailing Brother Ferreira on his voyage.³⁷ On July 17 Francis, Alvaro Ferreira, and Antonio China, his interpreter, took their leave of Pérez, Beira, Bravo, Bernardo Rodrigues, and of the Japanese Joane and of their friends and sailed off for China on the *Santa Cruz*.³⁸ It had been a sad departure.

³⁵ EX II 514.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 470.

³⁷ "E tinha o Padre muyto cuidado dos Padres e Irmãos, e grande charidade, de maneyra que pera hum Irmão que levou comsigo, que se chamava Ferreira, mandou levar algumas cousas de doentes que pode aver," according to Pérez (*Informação* 74).

³⁸ In his *Peregrinação* Mendes Pinto gives a dramatic description of Xavier's departure. According to him, the priest took nothing with him except the cassock which he was wearing. About two o'clock in the morning, the nephew of the *contramestre* came to Nossa Senhora do Monte, where the priest was staying, and informed him, at the request of his uncle, that the time had come for his departure. Xavier went with him and two friends, one of whom was the vicar Soares, to the beach in front of the fortress, where the *Santa Cruz* was lying at anchor in the river. The vicar suggested to the priest that before sailing he might take his leave of Ataíde in order to close the mouths of his followers, but he received as an answer: "As for what concerns Dom Alvaro, we shall not see each other again until in the Valley of Josaphat, where Christ our Lord will come to judge the living and the dead, and where he must render an account of the reason which he had for preventing my preaching to the infidels. And I assure you that he will have to endure very soon trials in his honor possessions, and body as a punishment for this sin; and, as for what concerns his body, may Jesus Christ, God our Lord have mercy on it!" He then knelt down with his eyes raised towards the main portal of the church; and, with his hands lifted up as if he were praying for him, he said with sobs: "O Jesus Christ, Love of my soul, by the pains of Your most holy passion and death, I ask You my God to direct Your eyes to that which you are always recalling to the eternal Father when You show Him Your precious wounds; and, because of Your deserts, may He grant this for the salvation of the soul of Dom Alvaro so that He, moved by Your compassion, obtains pardon from you." And he remained for a moment with his face upon the earth without saying anything else. He then got up, took off his shoes, and struck them upon a stone as if he were removing the dust from them. He then got into the boat and took his departure from his two companions with so many tears that the vicar, who was also weeping, said to him: "What? Is this separation for ever? And why is Your Reverence leaving us in such desolation? For I hope in God our Lord that we shall soon see each other again in this city with great contentment." The priest replied: "May it so please the divine mercy!" and with that he embarked (c. 215).—Pinto's description is, like all of his descriptions, even of what he was an eyewitness, to be accepted with great prudence. It is, nevertheless, found without exception in all the biographies of the saint, even in the first edition of Tursellinus, who did not as a rule use the unpublished text of the *Peregrinação* in this edition, but only in the second, of 1596.—That Xavier shook the dust from his shoes at the time of his first departure from Malacca in 1546 seems to be certain (cf. Vol. III, p. 50). In 1557 other witnesses erroneously transferred the incident to 1547, to the time of Xavier's departure for India (MX II 286), or to 1549, to the time of his departure for Japan (*ibid.* 271). But none of the witnesses in the informational processes of 1556 and 1557 placed the scene in 1552. One of these even seems to expressly exclude this year. Francisco Garcia describes the persecution of Ataíde from information supplied by his cousin Mendes Pinto, but he says nothing about the parting scene and continues with the following: "E asy teve tantos trabalhos em Mallaqua outras vezes, per não fazer tudo á sua vontade e o serviço de Deos, que dise hum dia, *vimdo para quá para a Imdia*, que queria secudir os çapatos do poo de tão roim terra como hera Mallaqua; que não querya trazer o poo de tão maa terra em sua companhia; que não podião deixar de vir allguns trabalhos a tão roim terra, como depois vierão" (MX II 286). The first to place this scene in 1552 is Valignano, who was writing in 1583 (205); but his text seems

7. LETTERS FROM SINGAPORE (JULY 21-22, 1552)

In four days the *Santa Cruz* had reached Singapore at the end of the strait of Singapore,¹ where ships were accustomed to lay over before continuing on their way to China.² Francis used the two days which ships stayed there to write a number of letters which Manuel da Fonseca,³ a most reliable messenger, who had come with him from Malacca and was to return there from Singapore, would take back with him.⁴

The first of these letters, dated July 21, was destined for Gaspar Barzaeus.⁵ Ataíde had aborted Diogo Pereira's embassy to China, and by so doing he had, for all practical purposes, prevented the opening of China to the faith. By doing this he had also incurred a papal excommunication, which would have to be publicly announced so that the preaching of the missionaries would not be again impeded. Francis dictated the letter as follows:

Mestre Guaspar: You would not be able to believe what great persecutions I suffered in Malaca. I am not writing to you in detail about the persecutions. I have asked Padre Ffrancisquo Perez to write to you about these in detail.⁶ With respect to all that which Padre Francisco Perez writes to you about the excommunications which have

to be only a compilation of the testimonies of 1557 (especiallly MX II 292 297 and also 271 and 286). Along with Valignano, there is also Mendes Pinto, who died in 1583. His *Peregrinaçam* was not published until 1614, but it had already been used before this, in its entirety by Tursellinus in 1594 and 1596, and by Lucena in 1600. Couto, who probably had the testimony of Garcia before him, wrote in his sixth decade, which was completed in Goa in 1596, but not printed until 1614 in Lisbon: "Tão escandalizado ficou deste negocio o Padre Mestre Francisco, que ao embarquar [1552] no caes sacudio os çapatos, dizendo: 'que nem o pó de tão má terra queria levar comsigo'" (6, 10, 7, p. 445). Two witnesses at the remissorial processes mention the incident of the shoes. In the first Lisbon process, D. Nuno de Soutomayor declared that he had visited Malacca in 1607 and had there heard from old and prominent citizens that the priest, after his quarrel with Ataíde, when he was embracing the people near the ship and taking his leave from them, took off his shoes, as is ordered by the Gospel, and said that he did not wish to take even the dust of the city with him; and he added in the presence of the citizens that the punishment of God would fall upon the captain before he completed his three years of office (143v). In the Cochin process in 1616, a canon of the cathedral, Manuel Monteiro, said that he had heard from his grandfather João Monteiro, who was eighty years old at the time, that the priest had shaken the dust from his shoes in Malacca before setting out for China (MX II 508).

¹ On the duration of the voyage, see above, p. 317.

² Teixeira 889-890.

³ In his **Torre do Tombo*, ff. 222-224, Lousada, following the **Livro dos Confessados 1539-1541*, distinguishes between three individuals with the name of Manuel da Fonseca: the *moço-fidalgo*, son of João (224), and two *cavalleiros fidalgos*: one the son of Diogo, the other of Antão (223v). On February 28, 1533, a Manuel da Fonseca, resident in Lisbon, purchased the position of a *meirinho e alcaide do mar* in Malacca (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 19, 6v). He is probably the son of Antão da Fonseca, the commander of Rosmaninhal, and Constança Barroca, who went to India in 1538 as an *escudeiro* (**Memoria des pessoas* 62; *Emmentia* 369). In 1542 he sailed as captain of one of the five *fustas* that sailed for Massaua to obtain news about the Turks and D. Christovão da Gama (Correa IV 215 240-241). In 1543 he received the position of an *almoxarife* of provisions in Cochin for four years (Q 1083). In 1546 he sailed from there with Lourenço Pires de Távora to the help of Diu (Q 2541). He was there dubbed a knight (Q 2665) and received permission to build a *fusta* in Malabar (Q 2541). At the beginning of 1547 he received permission to sail with his ship to Bengal (Q 2988). This Manuel da Fonseca is probably the same one whom Xavier calls a *criado* of Antonio Pegado (EX II 500).

⁴ EX II 500.

⁵ *Ibid.* 468-475.

⁶ The letter is no longer extant.

been incurred by Dom Alvaro through his hindering the voyage to China, which would be of such great service to God and to the increase of our holy faith, both by going against the bulls granted by Pope Paul,⁷ and by the one who is now in this office,⁸ to the Society of the name of Jesus, obstructing the service of God, and also against the *Extravaganza*⁹ which excommunicates all those who impede apostolic nuncios in their office, so that they cannot render service to God by increasing our holy faith, in this you will have to employ much diligence, so that by means of the Lord Bishop notice is made of the excommunications to those who have impeded the voyage of such great service to God, so that the priests of the Society of the name of Jesus who are going to Japão or to China shall not be impeded again. And you shall obtain from the Lord Bishop that in the provision which he sends to the *vigario* of Malaca, he shall make mention of how Pope Paul appointed me nuncio in these parts of Imdia,¹⁰ so that I might be more assisted in the service of God. I have shown to the Lord Bishop the letters of Pope Paul, and his lordship approved of them;¹¹ and I am also writing to the Lord Bishop about this, so that his most reverend lordship may make known through a provision the excommunication which has been incurred by Dom Alvaro; and it also seems to me that there is a bull in the college which says that I am *nuncio apostolico*;¹² and if it should be necessary, show it to the Lord Bishop. And I am doing this so that in the future impediments will not be placed again upon those of our Society. I shall never ask a prelate to excommunicate anyone; yet with those who are excommunicated by the holy canons and the bulls granted to our Society, I shall also never dissimulate in their regard, but I shall inform them so that they may know that they are excommunicated and do penance for the evil which they have done, so as to prevent in the future greater evils from being done, which hinder so much the service of God our Lord. I therefore earnestly recommend to you that you send with Father Joam da Beira a very specific provision of the Lord Bishop in which he specifically orders the *vigario* of Malaca that he should publicly proclaim the excommunication which has been incurred by Dom Alvaro, who prevented the voyage of such great a service to God and to the increase of our holy faith.

I am going to the islands of Camtão, deprived of every human help, with the hope that some Mouro or pagan¹³ will bring me to the mainland of China, since the embarkation which I had for going to the continent has been forcibly prevented by Dom Alvaro, who refused to observe the provisions of the Lord Viceroy through which he ordered Dioguo Pereira to be the ambassador to the king of China and me to be his

⁷ Meant are the bulls of Paul III, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, of September 27, 1540; *Iniunctum nobis*, of March 14, 1544; and *Licet debitum*, of October 18, 1549 (*Constitutiones* I 24-32 81-86 356-371). In addition to the usual closing formula: "Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam . . . contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum," the *Licet debitum* has a paragraph on *iudices conservatores*, in which it is said: "Quoties pro parte dictorum sociorum vel alicuius eorum fuerint requisiti . . . faciant autoritate nostra eosdem socios litteris et in eis contentis huiusmodi pacifice gaudere, non permittentes eos aut eorum aliquem . . . quomodolibet indebite molestari; sed eos quoscunque . . . id quod per eos ordinatum fuerit, ad executionem debitam perducere faciant; illosque quos censuras vel poenas praefatas incurrisse constiterit, excommunicatos ac interdictos declarent, ac faciant et mandent publice nunciari . . . invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis" (*ibid.* 370).

⁸ Meant is the bull of Julius III *Exposcit debitum*, of July 21, 1550 (*ibid.* 372-383).

⁹ The extravagant *Super gentes* of Pope John XXII states among other things: "Super gentes et regna Romanus Pontifex . . . necesse habet . . . destinare legatos . . . Qui vero . . . dictos legatos aut etiam nuntios, quos ad quascunque partes pro causis quibilibet Sedes ipsa transmiserit, praesumpserit impedire, ipso facto sententiam excommunicationis incurrant" (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Editio Lipsensis Secunda, instruxit Aem. Friedberg, 2 [Lipsiae, 1881] p. 1236).

¹⁰ Ataide had called Xavier a forger of papal bulls.

¹¹ The four briefs which Xavier received in 1540 (Vol. I, pp. 713-715).

¹² Meant are the four briefs.

¹³ Cf. EX II 468.

companion. Dom Alvaro did not wish that these provisions, so much to the service of God, should be carried out; and so he deprived me of the embarkation which I had so that I might be able to go to the mainland of China.¹⁴ I recommend to you that you do not forget the instructions which I left with you, especially those which pertain first to your conscience and then to those of the others of the Society.

Take care that someone goes to Japão this coming year, as I recommended to you in writing when I was coming here. Baltasar Guaguo and Duarte¹⁵ and Pedro d'Alcaceva went there this year, and they sailed in a very good ship and with very good weather. May it please God that they arrive safely in Mamguche,¹⁶ where Padre Cosmo de Torres and Joam Ffernandez are staying.

From the alms which you will be able to obtain, see to it that you can send some charitable gift and alms during the coming year with the ship which will sail in April for Malaca; and if it should so happen that you cannot send in any way a learned priest of the Society to Japão, in such a case send a layman of good talent and great reliability, so that he may go with some alms and news to the effect that during the following year some priest of the Society will go there; and see well to it that you do not send any priest who is not learned to Japão or to China. And the brother whom you will send, if there is no priest, should have the talent for learning the language. And by all the ways you will be able, both by means of the Mysericordia and of other devout persons, by the means of the King, or by any other means, take care that you send some alms to the brothers of Japão; and for the brother who will go, Padre Ffrancisco Perez will find for him an embarkation in Malaqua.

To João da Beira give every help and assistance that you can, both by recommending him to the Lord Viceroy,¹⁷ and by giving him the brothers whom you can so that they may help him to make Christians in the parts of Maluco. And take care by all means that Padre Joam da Bera goes with the ship which sails in April for Maluco, since his absence is a great loss to Maluco. If there is some priest who can go with him to Maluco, who came this year from Portugal, even if he is not learned, he can go to Maluco with some brother of great reliability and virtue, since learning is not necessary there, but virtue and reliability;¹⁸ and, if there is not a priest who can go with Joam da Bera, in that case two lay brothers of great virtue and perfection should go.

This coming year write to me in great detail to Malaca with Padre Joam de Bera, since letters will be sent from there to me in China; and if it should happen, and God may not wish it, that I cannot go to China, I shall return to Imdia during the months of December or January, if God our Lord grants me health and life. Write to me news about all Imdia and Portugual, about the Lord Bishop, the friars of Sam Francisco and Sam Domingos, to whom you will give my most sincere greetings, asking them earnestly that they recommend me to God our Lord in their holy sacrifices and prayers.

In the house make special remembrance of me to God and of the fathers and brothers who are in Japão; for you should surely know that we have great need of the help of God. May God our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise, which will be with greater peace than we have in this life.

From the strait of Symquapura, the twenty-first of July, 1552.

Alvaro Fferreira is going with me, and Amtonio China, who stayed in Cochim,¹⁹

¹⁴ It was strictly forbidden for private ships to land in China; only embassies had entrance there.

¹⁵ Duarte da Silva.

¹⁶ As written by the person to whom Xavier dictated his letters in Singapore: *Mamguche* instead of *Yamaguchi* (cf. EX II 468). They arrived in Kagoshima on August 14 and sailed on from there to Bungo and Yamaguchi.

¹⁷ Beira needed an edict from the viceroy in favor of the Christians and against Hairun (cf. the following letter to Beira).

¹⁸ Xavier had been forced to dismiss Beira's first two companions because of disobedience.

¹⁹ He seems to have gone to Cochim when A. Gomes expelled all the native students from the College of St. Paul.

and both of them are suffering from fevers, so that I am experiencing more trouble and concern about them than I can write. May it please God our Lord to give them health.

Your friend and Brother in Christ,

Francysco.

On the same day, with the help of the same scribe, Xavier dictated a letter to Father Juan da Beira as well.²⁰ It began as follows:

Joam da Bera! For the service of God our Lord, I recommend, and ask you, that you do not communicate to anyone the interior things which God gives you to feel,²¹ I mean those things which do not pertain to the good and spiritual profit of the Christians of Maluquo and Mouro,²² and also of other parts.

All things which touch the welfare and the advantage of the Christians, take care that you obtain them from the Lord Viceroy, speaking with the Bishop so that he may help you if it will be necessary so that you may have some provisions of the Lord Viceroy for the king of Maluquo, since he is not, as you say, our friend.²³

Attend to your affairs with all speed so that you may return in May with the ship that is sailing for Maluquo; and if you cannot take priests with you, take brothers, since in those parts those who are not priests are doing as much as those who are; and for living in greater humility and peace, it seems to me that lay brothers would be better; and an arrangement will be made with Mestre Gaspar so that every year someone of the Society, either lay brother or priest, will go there.

And see to it that you do not fail for any reason to return next year in May to Maluco, since your absence causes a great loss there; and keep this letter so that no one there in Imdia places an impediment to your return to Maluco; and see to it that you do not communicate the things which you told me in the church of Malaqua.²⁴

I am writing to Father Mestre Gaspar so that he may give you all help and assistance so that you may return quickly to Maluco; and you will go well prepared for what pertains to the king of Maluco, with provisions of the Viceroy which revoke those which were given by Dom João de Crasto in favor of the king of Maluco, since the king of Maluco kept his word so poorly.²⁵ May our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise.

From the strait of Cimquapura, the twenty-first of July, 1552.

Your brother in Christ,

Francysco.

Since the letter was confidential, it was addressed as follows: "To be personally given to Padre João da Bera. From Padre Mastre Francisquo."

²⁰ EX II 475-478.

²¹ Meant are his phantasies on the Apocalypse, the regaining of Jerusalem, and the fulfillment of the prophecy of St. Isidore, or Pseudo-Isidore, about which he wrote in his letters at the beginning of 1553 (Q 6003 6007).

²² As the scribe wrote for *Moro*. The name has nothing to do with Moors.

²³ Despite all his hypocritical assurances, Hairun was at heart a bitter foe of Christendom (cf. Q 4380 4650).

²⁴ In Nossa Senhora do Monte.

²⁵ In 1547 Hairun promised Xavier that he would let one of his sons be baptized if Xavier obtained from the governor of India his being made the king of the Moro Islands (Vol. III, p. 298). In 1548 Xavier obtained from D. João de Castro the desired permission and sent it to him. In 1549 he wrote to Beira that he should inform him if the son of the sultan had become a Christian (EX II 112). Hairun had received the provision of the governor; and in February, 1549, he had reassured Beira that he would have his son become a Christian, and that he would send him to St. Paul's College in Goa the following year (Q 4175). The ship with Beira's letter in which he wrote this to the rector of Goa was forced to return. The letter was thus not sent off again until February, 1550, with a second letter from Beira for Ignatius and Rodrigues in which he wrote that the sultan would never keep his promise, and that he actually persecuted the Christians (Q 4380; cf. Q 6002-6005 6007).

On the following day, July 22, Xavier dictated a second letter to Master Gaspar.²⁶ He had persuaded his Japanese companion Joane to remain another year in India, so that in the following year he might serve as an interpreter for the confreres who would be going to Japan; and he had promised him that he would provide him with an alms for this. He therefore now recommended him to the rector in Goa:

Mestre Gaspar! Antonio has gone to Japam with Padre Balthezar Gago and Pero de Alcaceva as a speaker and interpreter²⁷ until they arrive in Manguche. The Japanese Joanne agreed to my request that he remain here so that he can go next year with a priest or brother of the Society to Japão so that he may serve as an interpreter until they come to Manguche. I ask you for the love of our Lord that you find some alms for the Japanese Joanne, since he is poor. When I asked him to remain so that he might go to Japam in 53 with a priest or brother of the Society, I promised him that you would there find him an alms of up to thirty *pardaus*; and on this, being invested in goods which the Japanese Joanne knows would be of value in his land, he would be able to live there, even though with difficulty. I earnestly ask you, since those of the Society who are to go to Japam have a great need of Joanne, that you receive him there, and that you obtain for him an alms, either through the Misericordia, or through some pious person. Since I know that you will have very good care of him there, I do not recommend João any more to you.

May our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise.

From the strait of Cincapura, today, the twenty-second of July, 1552.

Mestre Gaspar! The alms which you have to send to the brothers who are in Japão should only be in gold; and this gold should be the best that you can find, for example, in *Venezueanos*,²⁸ or in other gold of equal quality, for they wish to have in Japam the finest gold for gilding and inlaying their weapons, since they do not use gold in Japam for other purposes. If anyone is going in the year 53, he needs nothing so much for going to Japão as to go prepared for many hardships, both those on the sea until he comes to Japão, and those that are there when he reaches the land. He should come well prepared for the cold, bringing with him Portuguese cloth, both for himself and for those who are there.²⁹

Your brother in Christ, who loves you much.

Francisco.

In addition to this, Xavier also dictated a short letter for Joane himself. It was addressed as follows: "Joane Japanese, my son. From Padre Mestre Francisco. Son Joane, João Bravo will read this letter to you."³⁰

²⁶ EX II 478-480.

²⁷ "Por jurobaça e topaz" (*ibid.* 479). On the two expressions, see Dalgado I 499, and II 381-382. In 1554 Joane returned to Japan with M. Nunes Barreto, arriving there in 1556.

²⁸ The Venetian sequins, which were likewise prevalent in Goa, were coins of finest gold which came to India from the city of the doges by way of Ormuz. In 1554 they were the equivalent of seven *tangas* or 420 *reis* (Nunes 32; Dalgado II 411). Pieris writes of them: "These beautiful sequins are still known as *vilisiyanu* among the Singhalese, among whom they are greatly prized. They are reputed to be of the finest quality of gold, and are where available employed for backing diamond work" (*Ceylon: The Portuguese Era* I 555).

²⁹ The thick Portuguese cloth was a better protection against the cold than thin Indian cottons.

³⁰ In June, 1549, Xavier had written of Joane and the two other Japanese: "Todos tres sabem ler e excrever, e rezão por Horas suas devações, principalmente a Paixão" (EX II 117). But the original, still extant letter, apparently written by the scribe from Xavier's dictation with numerous abbreviations, was probably difficult for the Japanese to read. The original, extant letters, which were dictated in Singapore and Sancian, are from the same scribe (EX II 468).

The letter ran as follows:

Joane Japão, my son! I am writing to Padre Mestre Gaspar so that he may find an alms in Guoa so that you may invest it there in some wares so that you may be able to return to your land with something. You should go to Guoa when the ships from Malaca sail for Imdia with Padre Joam da Beira, and give to Padre Mestre Gaspar in Guoa this letter which I am sending to you along with this letter for you; and give very good service to the priests who are going to Japão until they arrive in Manguche.

Frequently confess and receive the Lord, so that God may assist you. Commend yourself to God and keep from committing sins; for if you offend God, you will have to be severely punished in this world or in the other; and so refrain from doing things for which you would go to hell. Recommend me much to Marcos³¹ and Paulo³² when you go to Japão. May God make you holy and blessed and take you to the glory of paradise.

From the strait of Cimquapura, the twenty-second of July, 552.

Tell Padre Francisco Perez, showing him this letter of mine, that he should write to Padre Antonio d'Eredea in Cochim when you are going to Imdia, recommending to him on my behalf that he find an alms there for you, either through the Mysericordia, or through others devoted to him; and also, if Padre Francisco Perez can give you an alms at the time when you return from Imdia, show him this letter of mine: he will help you in what way he can, be it little or much; and do not go to Cochim without a letter from Francisco Perez for Padre Antonio d'Eredea. Keep this letter of mine very well, and show it to Padre Antonio d'Eredea in Cochim so that he may help you if he can; and if you are good and serve the priests well who are going to Japão, I am sure that Padre Antonio d'Eredea will find you an alms.

At the end of this letter Francis added in his own hand:

Son Joanne, serve the priests who are going to Japam very well, and accompany them as far as Manguche.

Your dear friend,

Francisco.

In yet another letter, Maser Francis took leave of his great friend Diogo Pereira.³³ It began as follows:

The affectionate longing which I have for you, *Senhor*, and the remembrance which I constantly have of seeing you remaining in such an unhealthy³⁴ land makes me think even more of Your Grace. Here on your ship all, because of their regard for you, are showing me great honor and respect,³⁵ giving me what I need in great abundance, both for myself, who am in good health, and for the sick whom I brought on ship there,³⁶ and who through the mercy of God are feeling ever worse. God knows how much care and concern they are giving me; may God be always praised for everything in heaven and on earth.

Senhor, I am sending open to Your Grace there the letters for the King and for the Viceroy.³⁷ Your Grace may read and close them. I, *Senhor*, would be very happy

³¹ Nothing further is known about this Marcos.

³² Anjirō.

³³ EX II 483-487.

³⁴ A malicious fever was prevalent in Malacca since the siege of the city in 1551, when the Javanese poisoned the city's spring.

³⁵ In addition to the factor Escander and Francisco da Villa, there were also on the ship, for example, the pilot Francisco de Aguiar, an old friend of the priest, who sailed with him from Sancier to Malacca in 1551; Estevão Ventura (MX II 278); and Francisco Netto da Silva (*ibid.* 586 605-606).

³⁶ Ferreira and Antonio China.

³⁷ Both are lost.

for the great love which I have for you if the letter for the King would be taken this year to Portugal by a person of great reliability, so that the decision which I hope for may come. Your Grace can show this letter to the *Senhor* Dom Pedro, so that he may see what I have written about him to His Highness. The letter is going by two *vias*, one is going closed and the other open, both are dealing with the same matter; send them, *Senhor*, in a safe way,³⁸ on one *via*, if it seems good to you, through Dom Pedro,³⁹ and on another by some person devoted to you, who takes great care to carry out the affairs of Your Honor; you may do in this, *Senhor*, what seems good to you.

I earnestly ask you, *Senhor*, for the favor that you take great care of your health and life, and take care of these matters with great prudence, adapting yourself to the times, putting off many who say that they are your friends but are not.

Above all I ask you, *Senhor*, for the favor that you come very close to God, so that you may be consoled by Him in this greatly troubled time. For the love of our Lord, I ask you for one favor, which will be very great for me: that you confess and receive the Lord, and that you conform yourself to His holy will, since all this persecution is for your greater good and honor.

The author of the letter then turned to speak of Pereira's servant Francisco da Villa.⁴⁰ Since Xavier and Escandel, the factor, had need of him, they had persuaded him in Singapore to sail with them to China instead of returning immediately to Malacca. They had done so since they were convinced that Pereira would later approve of this, and there was no time to obtain his permission for it.

I am taking Francisco da Villa with me to China because of the great need there is for him, and also because he will be needed in China to carry on the affairs of the ship of Your Grace by assisting Thomé Escander. In the first *banquam*⁴¹ leaving China, he will go, God willing, to Malacca.⁴² And if God our Lord does not open a way to China so that I can go there, I shall go in the first thing that comes from China to Malacca; and if I can take the ships which are going to the Kingdom, I shall go to India.

It seems to me that Your Grace should write in great detail to the King our lord, giving him an account of the profits which His Highness would have if there were a factory in China, and the same to the Lord Viceroy, since I am writing to this effect, as you will see from the letters which are going open. And your letters for the King should go with mine, and you should make one bundle of them, and the cover should say: "For the King our lord. From Padre Mestre Francisco." And the person who is going to Portugal should be a person of great reliability, and he should return quickly to India with an answer to the letters. If God brings me to China, Your Grace should not fail to write me news about yourself, since I shall be extremely pleased with them.

³⁸ Lucena writes: "Escrevendo o padre a el Rey, dom Alvaro accusandoo a propria conciencia das graves injurias, e afrontas, que per si, e pelos seus lhe fezera, pareceolhe que nam poderia elle deixar de se queixar a S. A. e temendo mais o castigo d'el Rey, do que teméra o de Deos, ouve per força hũa das vias que o padre dera a hum vizinho da mesma cidade. Abrio as, e se nam ficou emendado, ficou poreim pasmado de tanta bondade, porque as cartas nada levavam contra elle se nam era o silencio, e esquecimento das proprias suas culpas, e a paciencia do padre" (5, 23, p. 362).

³⁹ D. Pedro da Silva.

⁴⁰ He is not mentioned in the Portuguese sources. He is probably Francisco de Avila, son of Cristóbal Sánchez and María de San Jorge. He was born in Salamanca, sailed from Seville to Mexico in 1540 (Bermúdez Plata, *Catalogo de Pasajeros a Indias* III [1946], n. 1530), and accompanied Villalobos on his voyage to the Moluccas (see the list of survivors at the end of the account of Garcia Descalante Alvarado [Q 3973], p. 208).

⁴¹ Bancam (*vankan*), a Chinese vessel, smaller than a junk (Dalgado II 402).

⁴² On November 13 he sailed with Chaves from Sancian back to Malacca (EX II 501 509).

May our Lord grant you great consolation in this life and glory in the next in the same measure that I desire for myself.

From the strait of Cincapura the twenty-second of July, 1552.

The *Padre vigario*⁴³ asked me to write for him to the King; I am doing so, although there is not lacking one who told me that with respect to this voyage to China he failed to favor that which 'was to fulfill the service of God and the increase of our holy faith, showing himself to be a servant of Dom Alvaro, since it seemed to him that in this way he would receive some temporal gain. He is well deceived who thinks that being unmindful of God, from whom all good proceeds, that he has to be helped by human means. I avenge myself on those who are not my friends by doing good to them, since the chastisement of God will come; and you, *Senhor*, will see by the effects how God will punish those who hindered me in the service of God; the truth is that I already have great compassion on them, since I fear that they will have to see a greater punishment than they think. The letter for the King which speaks of the *vigario*, Your Grace will deliver it with your own hand.⁴⁴

If God brings me to China, as I hope that He will bring me, I shall tell the Portuguese⁴⁵ the obligation which they have towards Your Grace; and on your behalf I shall give all of them your greetings; and I shall give an account of the great expenses which you have incurred for freeing them; and I shall give them the hope that this will happen next year, if it so please God.⁴⁶

I earnestly ask you, *Senhor*, for the favor that you frequently visit the priests of the college and console yourself with them.⁴⁷

Your very great friend,⁴⁸

Francisco.

Francis gave the letters together with those for the king and viceroy and bishop to a very reliable individual, Manuel da Fonseca, a servant of Antonio Pegado.⁴⁹ He also gave him a letter for Father Pérez in which he told him that he recommended to him not simply the care of his soul, for which he had already such great concern, but also for his physical welfare. As soon as he was well and without a fever, he should not hear confessions for twenty days or do any other work which would cause him many difficulties.⁵⁰

⁴³ João Soares.

⁴⁴ For the vicar.

⁴⁵ To the Portuguese imprisoned in Canton and in the interior.

⁴⁶ If the embassy could go in 1553.

⁴⁷ In St. Paul's College in Goa.

⁴⁸ "Vosso muito grande amigo" (EX II 47).

⁴⁹ Can our Pegado be identified with the Antonio Pegado, servant of D. Duarte de Meneses, captain of Tangier, who was dubbed a knight in 1537 because he had sent the son of the captain in June of that year to Alcacer Quebir, where the Portuguese slew thirty or forty Moors and captured sixteen (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III. Doações* 27, 88)? During Xavier's time we find only the Dominican Frey Antonio Pegado, who succeeded Bermúdez as vicar general, in India (Sá V 357-358).

⁵⁰ Pérez, *Informação* 74.

8. FROM SINGAPORE TO SANCIAN (JULY 23—END OF AUGUST, 1552)¹

With the help of a favorable wind, the voyage from Singapore to China was made without incident.² Francis' two ailing companions, Ferreira and Antonio, nevertheless caused him much trouble and concern.³ There were also many others

¹ Xavier's biographers attribute two miracles to him on this voyage. According to the first of these, the saint changed sea water into fresh water for his fellow voyagers, who were tormented by thirst. It is due to a confusion of two ships named *Santa Cruz*, and the substitution of Xavier for a priest of the Society of Jesus who sailed from China to Japan in 1564 (cf. GS III 138-140 254-257). The second is concerned with the alleged raising from the dead of a five-year-old boy during the voyage. In his life of Xavier, in 1600, Lucena cites a letter which his confrere Amador da Costa wrote from China on November 23, 1577, to his confreres in Portugal (the letter is published in *Cartas* 1598, 400-402v). In it he states that he had encountered a priest of the Society of Jesus who was thirty years old, and who had been raised by Xavier from the dead. From that hour on, he had been resolved to serve God in the Society. From this Lucena concluded that the saint had raised the child in 1552, shortly before his own death. The child had been born in 1547 and must have been at least five years old in order to be able to decide upon its vocation to the order immediately after the miracle. Even if Costa did not indicate the time or place of the miracle, it seemed to him, Lucena, as he notes, that the most reasonable thing to do was to place the miracle in 1552, and at the door of China (10, 26, pp. 887-888).—Fifteen years after Lucena, in the first Lisbon process, the fifty-two-year-old licentiate Francisco da Costa, who had been born in Goa, stated that he did not know where Xavier had died, but he knew the works of Maffei, Ribadeneyra, Lucena, and Mendes Pinto, and had heard from trustworthy individuals in India that the same had raised many from the dead, among whom was also a boy "apud Sinas" (121v-126). In 1616 the pilot Pedro Martins, who was at the time more than eighty-nine years old, testified that he had heard from Aguiar, the pilot of the *Santa Cruz*, with whom Xavier had sailed from Malacca to China in 1552, that on this voyage the five-year-old son of the Mohammedan *sarangué* (*mestre* of a ship) had fallen into the sea because of the rocking of the vessel. Three days later, when Xavier saw the sadness of the child's father, he asked him the reason for this and learned of the man's misfortune. Xavier told him: "If you become a Christian, I shall return your son to you, the same as if I had kept him in my cabin." The father was ready to become a Christian. The saint then prayed for three days, and at dawn on the sixth day the boy was sitting on the railing of the ship. The father then had himself and his son baptized by Xavier, both receiving the name of Francisco. His wife and female slave were also baptized, and both received the name of Francisca (MX II 476; Barradas 445). In the same process Thomé de Gamboa, S.J., who was over twenty-four years old, testified that he had heard from his father that a Chinese woman by the name of Francisca had told him in China that on her voyage from Malacca to China as a child, she had experienced a shipwreck, from which she had been saved through Xavier's intercession. After this he baptized her with the name of Francisca and promised her that she would never suffer privations, but that she also would never become rich (MX II 488).—On all this the following is to be noted: (1) The confrere mentioned by Amador da Costa who was allegedly raised from the dead is Francisco de Chaves, whom Xavier cured of a severe illness in Malacca in 1547 (see Vol. III, pp. 243-244). (2) A *sarangué* (the word can mean skipper, pilot, and captain) who sailed on the *Santa Cruz* told João Alvares, a witness in the second Goa process of 1615, that Xavier had prophesied that his ship would never sink into the sea (**Relatio* 1619, 85v). Can the *sarangué* of the *Santa Cruz* of 1552 be confused with the Chinese captain of the junk with whom Xavier sailed from Malacca to China and Japan in 1549? Can his five-year-old son, who was raised from the dead, be confused with the five-year-old Chaves who was raised from the dead according to Lucena? And can the son of the *sarangué* who fell into the sea because of the tossing of the ship be confused with the daughter of the captain of the junk who fell into the sea from the rocking of the ship? At any rate it is to be noted that no one knew anything about the raising of the son of the *sarangué* before 1616, not even Xavier's fellow voyagers Antonio, Ventura, and Diogo Pereira.

² "Partidos de Mallaca com boa viagem, em poucos dias chegamos à costa da China," Antonio wrote in 1557 (DI III 654).

³ "Alvaro Ferreira e Antonio China vierão sempre doentes, agora pola mizericordia de Deos acham-se melhor," Xavier wrote from Sancian on October 22, 1552 (EX II 495).

on the ship, both Christians and Mohammedan sailors, who had become ill, as Estevão Ventura later testified:

Since there were many on this voyage, both Christians and Mohammedans, who had become ill, the priest had no rest and recreation except in prayer—at other times he was with the sick; and if those who were ill needed chickens, the priest bought them himself, paying two *scuta* [*cruzados*] for each one of them; and he, the witness, had given him the money for their purchase. And when he ate, he always set aside the greater portion of the food that was set before him for the sick; and he sought, asked, and gave with his own hands to the sick the other things which they needed.⁴

The goal of the voyage was Sancian, where the Portuguese at the time were engaged in smuggling with merchants from Canton, which was some twenty-six leagues away. It was the end of August⁵ when the *Santa Cruz* reached the maze of Cantonese islands.⁶ The ship came to anchor. Aguiar, the pilot, was uncertain where to turn, and doubtful as to whether the harbor of Sancian was still farther on, or whether they had already passed it. As he was consulting with the other voyagers who had some knowledge of the area and their opinions were divided, Xavier told them that Sancian lay behind them. When some tried to refute him, he held fast to what he had said. The captain, as a consequence, finally decided to lower a boat⁷ into the water and sent it off to learn where they were. It was gone for three days,⁸ and the people were already afraid that a typhoon might overwhelm the ship as it lay at anchor. But Francis told his friend Aguiar to take heart: "Don't make us worry! (*Não nos mateis!*) They will still come today, before two hours have passed, with refreshments and Portuguese to conduct us to the harbor."⁹

It happened as he had said. The boat returned with many provisions and some Portuguese and the good news that the harbor of Sancian was behind them. All were filled with great happiness over their successful voyage.¹⁰ The anchor

⁴ MX II 330.

⁵ According to Antonio they came "in a few days" to Sancian. He is followed here by Valignano (208). Mendes Pinto has "in twenty-three days" (*Peregrinação*, c. 225). Tursellinus errs in stating that they reached Sancian three months after leaving Malacca (5, 7). The voyage usually lasted about a month.

⁶ On the following anecdote there are three different accounts which are at times obviously contradictory (1) that of the Chinese Antonio, who sent it to Goa for Teixeira from Cochin in September, 1557 (DI III 654), the only eyewitness report; (2) the testimony of Diogo Pereira in the Goa process of the same year, who reported what he had heard about it (MX II 264); and (3) that of Jerónimo Ferreira, also in the Goa process in 1556, who testified on what he had learned from Diogo Pereira and had immediately entered into his notebook (*ibid.* 215-216). Ferreira errs in stating that on the voyage from Chincheo (instead of Malacca) to Canton the pilot had become doubtful about the height of the harbor. Pereira, on the other hand, states that the ship had stopped at the Canton islands in the harbor area.

⁷ *Ballão* in Antonio. The word indicates an oared boat (Dalgado I 85-86).

⁸ According to Antonio. The accounts of Ferreira and Pereira create the impression that the boat returned after a short time. This view is followed by the Spanish translation of Teixeira (890: *a pouco*) and, following it, Valignano (208: *a pocas horas*). The Italian translation, on the other hand, follows more closely Antonio's account: The boat returns after three days with the report that the harbor of the island of Cunian lies behind them (P. 2, c. 24). Tursellinus follows this account (5, 8). *Cunian* is a scribal error for Cantan (Canton), as is shown by the Latin translation of the testimonies of Ferreira and Pereira, where the discussion is concerned with *Cantanum* (MX II 257) and *insulas Cantani* (*ibid.* 264).

⁹ Ferreira (before two hours), Pereira (still on the same day).

¹⁰ Antonio. That the boat came from Sancian with Portuguese is stated in the testimonies of Ferreira and Pereira. Antonio only speaks of good news and refreshments.

was immediately weighed and the *Santa Cruz* sailed to the harbor of Sancian, where several Portuguese ships with many Portuguese upon them lay at anchor.¹¹

¹¹ Valignano 209. According to him, the people on the ship were convinced that Xavier could only have known through a divine inspiration that the boat would return on the same day.

CHAPTER VII

SANCIAN (BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER 3, 1552)¹

1. BEFORE CHINA'S CLOSED GATES (BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER 25, 1552)²

Many ships lay at anchor³ in the harbor of Sancian, and on the beach at the foot of a wooded hill⁴ the Portuguese had erected their huts, which they usually burned when they sailed away, from the branches of trees and straw mats.⁵ It was there that they conducted their trade with the Chinese merchants from Canton.

When they heard that the *Santa Cruz* was coming with Father Master Francis, they all hastened to the shore to greet him and to vie with each other in inviting him to their dwellings, for he was greatly loved by all of them. Among them

¹ There is an abundant bibliography on Sancian as a place of pilgrimage to the tomb of Francis Xavier. The first description of the island, with a map of it and its environs, is given in a Chinese block print of 1700 in Latin characters, the *Relatio Sepulturae Magno Orientis Apostolo S. Francisco Xauerio erectae in Insula Sanciano anno saeculari MDCC* of the Chinese missionary from Munich, Gaspar Castner, S.J., reedited with a valuable preface and commentary by Giuseppe Ros in *Bessarione* 11 (1907) 201-226. A second, long description is given by the Sancian missionary J. B. Berthon in a series of articles "Autour du tombeau de Saint François-Xavier," *Les Missions Catholiques* 18 (1886) 329-332 340-341 357-360 369-372 380-382 401-404 416-417. See also A. Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine* 91-95. According to Linschoten, the silhouette of the island, with its more than 1,970-foot high, wooded hills, had the appearance of a clenched fist (*Itinerario* IV 115). It was irregular in shape, with its two halves connected by a narrow strip of land at the center. It had four bays on the west and a circumference, according to Castner, of thirteen German leagues. It was five German leagues in length from north to south, and an average of three in breadth. It had been untilled and uninhabited until 1523, the second year of the emperor Chia Ching, when some families began to settle there because of the overcrowding on the mainland (ff. 2-2v); but the contemporary Portuguese reports never mention them. On the name of the island, see Appendix III.

² The main source for Xavier's stay on Sancian is the account of his companion, the Chinese Antonio, who sent it, at Teixeira's request, in 1557 from Cochín to Goa, edited in DI III 651-675. The account is contained in a more complete draft in the *Codex Macaensis*, and in a shorter one in Teixeira's life of Xavier, composed in 1580 but only preserved in a Spanish and Italian translation. It is complemented by Teixeira's text and by testimonials given at Xavier's processes.

³ EX II 493. The ships anchored in the bay of Samtong in the northwestern part of the island.

⁴ The beach on which the Portuguese erected their huts and conducted trade with the Chinese merchants of Canton lay between the site where Xavier was buried, and his chapel erected, and the later parish church of the village of Samtong. In more recent times numerous fragments of Chinese porcelains from the period of the Ming emperors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been found there: Hsuan Te (1425-1435), Hung Chih (1487-1505), Cheng Te (1505-1521), and Chia Ching (1521-1566). See D. J. Ginn, S. J., "Where Xavier Died," *The Rock* 9 (Hong Kong, 1935) 131-133; "Sanchian Ramblings," *ibid.* 503-506; and H. Craig, S. J., "Thoughts on Sancian Island. Memoirs of St. Francis Xavier," *ibid.* 10 (1937) 449-450.

⁵ In order to leave no trace of themselves, since the smuggling in which they were engaged was *de facto* forbidden.

was his old friend Jorge Alvares, who had earlier written an account on Japan for him, and who had now arrived in Sancian before him. For the next two and one-half months Xavier and his companions, Ferreira, Antonio, and Christovão, were to be graciously housed and generously fed by him.⁶

At Xavier's request, a small church was built out of straw mats within two days on a little knoll.⁷ There he offered Mass on the following Sunday, September 4; and from then on he continued to offer the Holy Sacrifice every day. He also with great charity instructed the children and slaves of the Portuguese in Christian doctrine, a practice which he never omitted wherever he went.⁸ Here he also gave his talks and sermons,⁹ baptized (once on board ship he baptized sixty individuals in the presence of Estevão Ventura and other Portuguese: slaves, children of Negress slaves, and Moorish sailors¹⁰), heard the confessions of many people and administered the sacraments to them.¹¹ During the rest of his time he settled disputes, visited the sick,¹² among whom were also his companions Ferreira and Antonio,¹³ and collected alms for the poor.¹⁴

⁶ Antonio 654. Teixeira 890-891.

⁷ "Huma igrejasinha de palha" (Antonio 654-656), "una iglesia pequeña de paja sobre un cerrillo pequeño" (Teixeira 891); "una chiesuchia de rami et paglia in una collina che vicina al porto stava" (*Teixeira It. 2, 24).

⁸ Antonio 656.

⁹ *Ibid.* 657, Teixeira 891.

¹⁰ Estevão Ventura, who reported these baptisms as an eyewitness, further stated that when Francis was standing in the midst of his neophytes and was baptizing Moors among them who were much taller than he, Ventura, and others who were standing around them saw that the priest was much higher than the others; and they thought that he was standing on a bench, which was a surprise to all of them. He, Ventura, came closer to see if he had some tall object under his feet, but he perceived that he had nothing and was no taller than the others. This optical illusion is probably to be explained by the rocking of the boat. In Bartoli, the scene is further elaborated (*Degli uomini e de' fatti* 2, 23 [in the Naples edition, vol. 77, 1861, 338-346]: Xavier sails in the *Santa Cruz*, a ship with five hundred persons, from Malacca to China. A calm of fourteen days exhausts the drinking water. Xavier miraculously changes sea water into sweet water, saves the ship, and then baptizes many Moors with their families. As they continue their voyage, the five-year-old son of a Moorish merchant falls into the sea and drowns. After sailing on for six days, Xavier brings him back to his father alive. The latter then has himself, his son, wife, and servants baptized (on both of these alleged miracles, see above, page 617, note 1). The ship then anchors in the harbor of the small island of Chincheo (a false report of Jerónimo Ferreira in MX II 216). The passengers go on land, while the priest remains on the ship, and tell the people there, around sixty men of different nations—Ethiopians, Indians, and people from distant islands—of the two miracles worked during the voyage. They all go to the ship to see the wonderworker. He preaches to them, and the miracle of Pentecost is repeated: all understand him in their own tongue (a confusion with the alleged miracle of Tevanapatam, see Vol. II, p. 556, and GS IV 425-427) and are then baptized. On Chincheo Xavier prophesies the death of Queyro; he then sails to Sancian.

¹¹ EX II 495; Antonio 656-657.

¹² EX II 495; Antonio 657; Teixeira 891.

¹³ EX II 495.

¹⁴ Antonio 656-657. An illustration of Xavier's care for the poor is offered by the Velho anecdote, one of the most famous in the biographies of the saint, which Tursellinus attributes to this two-day stay in Sancian in 1551, but which all others place later. In 1551 Xavier sailed with Velho from Bungo to Sancian in the ship of Duarte da Gama, and he recommended him to the king in January, 1552, as a rich and well-deserving man (EX II 306). Individuals such as Antonio China and Ventura, who were with the saint on Sancian in 1552, and all the other contemporaries, for example, the witnesses at the informative processes of 1556-1557, know nothing of the anecdote. The first to report it is the ex-Jesuit Miguel de Lacerda, who was born in 1543 and did not come to India until after Xavier's death. He entered the Society in Goa in 1557, where

But Francis was above all concerned with finding an entrance into closed-off China, whose blue mountains were greeting him from a distance of only three

he collected material on Xavier from contemporaries of the saint, including Antonio China. After leaving the Society and returning to Portugal, he put this material at the disposal of Father Amador Rebello, S.J., who gave an abstract of it at the first Lisbon remissorial process of 1615 (GS IV 423). In it Lacerda erroneously has the saint sail with Diogo Pereira in 1552 from Malacca to the Chinese harbor of Macao (instead of in 1551 from Sancian to Malacca). Here Xavier sought a dowry for a woman for whom he wished to find a husband and to convert. He met Velho at an inopportune time, when he was playing dice outside his home. Velho gave him the key to his money chest so that he might take as much as he wished from it. The priest went into his house and took 200 *taels*, the equivalent of 300 gold pieces, and brought the key back to his friend. Velho asked him how much he had taken. When he learned that he had taken only 200 *taels*, he told him that there were 30,000 in the chest and he should have taken half of these. As a reward for this generosity, Xavier promised him that he would never lose his money, and that God would reveal his hour of death to him. From then on Velho was a different man, and after many years, when he was still in perfect health, he distributed all his goods to the poor, prepared himself for death by going to confession, had his obsequies conducted in church, and, perfectly well, lay down on his bed. His friends looked upon this as an attack of melancholy and came to cheer him up; but he told them: "Go! Pedro Velho is no longer here; you will accompany me today to the church." And so he died, and they accompanied his body to the church. Lacerda added that Father Antonio de Quadros was accustomed to say that he could produce a hundred thousand and more such examples; for, at the time of his arrival in India (1555), all who had dealt with the priest had told him such things that they believed that he had known the future of everyone with whom he conversed, and that he had habitually had the gift of prophesy (*Lisbon, *RProcess* I 104v-105v).—The account in the second edition of Tursellinus, of 1596, goes back to Lacerda (5, 3), as also that in Lucena, of 1600, who, however, transfers the anecdote to Sancian, since Macao was not founded by the Portuguese until 1557: At the Office for the Dead, Pedro Velho lies like a corpse on a carpet; he takes leave of his friends in their homes and then dies in his own home in Macao at a great old age (10, 25). The witnesses at the remissorial processes of 1614-1616 introduce further variants: In the first Lisbon process of 1614, Francisco Fernandes da Veiga, who had heard the story in Macao, transfers it to the neighboring island of Lampakau (Lam Puk), where the Portuguese, however, only engaged in trade in 1555-1557 (ff. 76v-77; cf. Kammerer, *Découverte* 96-99). In the second Goa process of 1615, eight witnesses, nn. 10 30 40 44 48 49 50 and 51, mention the anecdote. Two of these appealed to eyewitnesses, one to Isabel Velha, the daughter, and the other to two daughters, of Velho for what they described as this "most extensively renowned miracle." But since the process is lost, we do not have any closer data on their testimonies. In the second Lisbon process, of 1616, Luis de Brito Azevedo, a Knight of Christ born in Goa, declared that he had heard of the case from people who had known Xavier: The priest had taken three hundred gold pieces to complete the dowry of an orphan, and he had told his benefactor that he hoped that God would reveal to him the day and hour of his death so that he could ready himself for it. It happened as he wished. The man then took leave of his friends, and the following day he was found dead (ff. 49v). Three more witnesses testified to it in the second Cochin process of 1616: Frey Ignacio de São Domingos, O.P., heard in Macao from Martim Teixeira, who was married to a granddaughter of Velho, that when God revealed his death to him, Velho divided up a large portion of his goods among the poor, had an Office of the Dead recited, during the course of which he lay on a carpet covered with the black drape of a bier. When the priests sang "Requiescat in pace," his servants removed the covering for the bier and found him dead (MX II 474-475; Barradas 445-446). Pero Martins heard from individuals who had dealt intimately with Velho that Xavier had promised him in Macao that he would never be in want of what he needed for himself and his guests, and that he usually provided food for four or five persons (MX II 476-477; Barradas 445). Bento Dias heard from Velho himself in Macao that Xavier had asked him in Macao for an alms while the latter was playing chess. He was given the key and took three hundred gold pieces. When Velho returned to his house and opened the chest, there was nothing missing. He then told Xavier that he had given him the key so that he could take it all. The priest then promised him that he would always

leagues. He consequently sought to gain the good will of the Chinese merchants who came from the large city of Canton in order to exchange their porcelains, lacquered wares, and silks for the pepper and spices of the Portuguese. They were distinguished, serious, intelligent individuals, who dressed in baggy trousers and loose jackets with tapered sleeves, and wore a round cap upon their head, and kept their long black hair together with a horsehair net.

Francis made his first attempts to become acquainted with them through his host, Jorge Alvares, who about this same time ordered porcelain vases to be made in China with his name and the year 1552 painted upon them.¹⁵ But he also had recourse to his other Portuguese friends. He hoped to find through them a Chinese merchant who would, for a suitable reward, be willing to carry him secretly to Canton in a ship. But all of his friends' efforts were in vain. The merchants replied that if the governor of the city learned about this, they would bring their lives and possessions into the greatest danger. They therefore refused to undertake the hazardous enterprise at any cost.¹⁶

Xavier therefore sought to reach a personal understanding with the Chinese merchants. Antonio could not serve him in this as an interpreter, since it turned out that, during the course of his long stay in Goa, he had forgotten his mother tongue. Francis consequently had to make use of one of the interpreters of the Portuguese in his stead.¹⁷ He spoke with the Cantonese merchants about secular matters, about the harmony of the universe, the phenomena of nature and of the heavens, and similar philosophical problems which they presented to him. They were delighted with his answers and they said that he was a learned man and of

have an abundance, and that all would help him if he were in need. When he urged Velho to scourge himself at times, the latter excused himself because of his poor health; but he then discovered that the priest secretly took the discipline for him among the wares of the ship (MX II 478). In the second Malacca process of 1616, two witnesses further stated that they had heard from people in Macao that Xavier had told Velho that when his wine tasted bitter to him, it would be a sign that his death was near. When he later, at a banquet, tasted different wines and all were bitter to him alone, and not to the others, he remembered the prophecy of the priest and prepared himself for death (Barradas 446). Alexander de Rhodes, who repeatedly stayed in Macao between 1623 and 1645, also wrote about this anecdote in a brief account of his journey from there to Rome. He added that Xavier had prophesied to Velho that he would live in Macao, which was not at the time in existence, and that he would be one of the founders of the city. Warned about his hour of death, he had himself brought into the cathedral and died during the course of his funeral Mass and was buried there (*JapSin.* 69, 201v-202).

¹⁵ On the porcelain vases made in China in 1552 at the request of Jorge Alvares, see Luis Keil, "Porcelanas chinesas do século XVI com inscrições em português," *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* 10 (Lisboa, 1942) 18-69; and the article of Luis Reis-Santos, "Garrafas chinesas de Jorge Alvares," *Belas Artes. Revista e Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes. 2a Série*, 18 (Lisboa, 1962) 59-69. Three examples of these are extant, all three in blue and white with Portuguese inscriptions awkwardly imitated by their Chinese maker: "O MANDOV FAZER JORGE ALVRZ 1552," and with the Chinese inscription: "TA MING NIEN TSAO" ("Produced During the Period of the Great Dynasty of the Ming"). The first example came to the Victoria-Albert Museum in London by way of Istanbul in 1892. The inscription was at first erroneously read as: "ISTO MANDOV EAZER IORGE ANRZ — N ERA DE 1557 — REINA" (photographs in Keil, pp. 26-27). The second example was given in 1555/56 by Antonio de Carvalho e Silva to the art museum founded in Caramulo in northern Portugal by Dr. Abel de Lacerda. It has on its base the Chinese dedication: "May unending good fortune accompany all your undertakings" (photographs in Reis-Santos, figs 1, 2, and 6). The third exemplar is found in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (photographs, *ibid.*, figures 3-5).

¹⁶ EX II 493.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 495. Valignano wrote of Antonio: "Aunque era china, no sabía quasi nada de la lengua mandarín, y la lengua usada del vulgo común en Cantón hablaua piadosamente" (211).

an excellent life.¹⁸ All were of the opinion that his intention to go to China was good; and they would be happy if this were not proscribed by the laws of the land. It seemed to them that he had a better law in his books than they had in their own, and there was great interest in China for all that was new.¹⁹ But their views on the feasibility of his plan were divided. Some said that it would be impossible, since the king refused to allow strangers to enter the realm and severely punished those who brought them in. Other thought, however, that he could be brought in, since he appeared to be a virtuous man and of a holy life.²⁰ But these also did not dare take him to the mainland, and the Portuguese did everything to dissuade Francis from his intent. It would be impossible to find an entry without an embassy; and they reminded him of the strict prohibition of the king, of the cruel prisons in which their countrymen, who had been tossed by a storm upon the coast, were still languishing, and of the cudgelings through which the warden daily slew prisoners for slight infractions.²¹ But Francis remained firm. At the very worst, if no one was willing to take him there, he thought of sailing to Siam with his friend Diogo Vaz de Aragão, who had bought a junk at about this time, in order to find an entrance into the closed kingdom with the Siamese embassy which would go there to pay tribute during the coming year.²²

At this time another of the priest's friends fell ill. He had been very devoted to him and had never missed attendance at his Mass. Since his health continued to fail, he asked to be taken from the land to his ship. When Master Francis saw a few of his servants carrying him on a boat, he said to them: "Look, you are now taking Diogo de Queiros to his ship. After three days you will bring him back dead to land." And that is what happened. Three days later Queiros' servants brought his body back in order to bury it. When Francis, who was in the church at the time, heard of this, he immediately got his surplice and descended the hill to bury his friend, as he did for all who died upon the island.²³

At times Xavier's thoughts reverted to Malacca. Ataíde, the captain, and Bernaldim de Sousa, as he said, would quarrel with each other; and it was later discovered that his fears had been warranted.²⁴

As Francis continued to search for a means to secure access to the Chinese mainland, he was overtaken by a chill with a headache and shiverings.²⁵ Although

¹⁸ Antonio 656.

¹⁹ EX II 495-496.

²⁰ Antonio 656.

²¹ Valignano 209-210.

²² EX II 500; Antonio 656-658. On the Siam embassy that went to China every two years, see G. Devéria, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec l'Annam-Vietnam du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1880) 59-74. According to Teixeira the Siamese embassy went every year (789), according to Henri Bernard every three years (*Aux Portes de la Chine* [Tientsin, 1933] 49).

²³ According to two eyewitnesses, Antonio (656) and Ventura (see n. 10). The latter only mentions Xavier's neighbor without giving his name, and he notes that some had advised the sick man to have himself brought on board ship, where he would feel better. When he was already in the *prau*, Xavier, who had been praying, came up and told them all that he should not be taken onto the ship: it would be better for him to remain on land. When they all persisted on taking him onto the ship, since the sick man was asking for this, the priest said: "Take him there now, since that is what he wants; and I tell you that you will take him there alive, and that you will bring him back dead." And that is what happened. His condition worsened on the ship and he died. They brought him back to be buried, and the priest offered a Mass for him (MX II 280).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 216. On the quarrel, see Couto 6, 10, 7.

²⁵ "Estando pois com esta determinação, adoeceu o P. M. Francisco, porem a doença

he continued to offer Mass for fifteen days, he had to relinquish his instructions in Christian doctrine until a purge, which was given to him by the Portuguese,²⁶ restored his health. He then took up again his usual apostolic labors, and also his talks with the Chinese merchants.²⁷

Though all refused to take him to Canton, he unexpectedly received a new gleam of hope. Manuel de Chaves, one of the Portuguese imprisoned in the interior of China, had been able to escape. A Chinese had hidden him in his home for many days after his flight and had then brought him to Sancian. The same man now came to an agreement with Francis: for twenty *pikol* (twenty-four hundredweights) of pepper, worth two hundred *cruzados*, he would bring him to Canton at night in a small ship with his sons and servants and no others who might be able to betray him to the governor and keep him concealed in his house for three or four days so that he might then leave him at the gate of the city before dawn with his books, companions, and his few other possessions. From there Francis would go straight to the governor and tell him that he had come in order to go to where the king was; and for this he would show him the bishop's letter and explain to the governor that they had been sent by His Highness, the king of Portugal, to proclaim the law of God.²⁸

era piquena, porque não era mais que hum carregamento e arrepiamentos de frio," Antonio wrote (658).

²⁶ "E nunca com elles deixou de dizer sua missa cada dia; e purgando-se por concelho dos portuguezes que ahi estavam, achou-sse melhor" (*ibid.* 658). "En estos e semejantes ejercicios se ocupó el Padre hasta que vino a adolecer de unas calenturas, que le duraron quinze días; mas plugo a nuestro Señor que, con algunos remedios que le hicieron, tornó a su antigua salud y juntamente a sus acostumbrados ejercicios," according to Teixeira (891-892). On October 22, however, Xavier himself declared: "Disse missa cada dia athé que adoeci de febres. Estive doente quinze dias, agora pola mizericordia de Deos acho-me de saude" (EX II 495, cf. 500).

²⁷ "Tornou logo a seus costumados ejercicios de ensinar a doutrina e de conversar os chinas," according to Antonio (658). Different miracles of the saint on Sancian are recorded in the later biographies of Xavier. The following are three of them: (1) *Xavier drove the tigers out of the island*. In the first remissorial process in Lisbon in 1615, the thirty-year-old Knight of Christ Percival Machado Froias, who had been born in Bassein and had grown up in Goa, declared that he had heard from very prominent and religious people, including contemporaries of the saint, that in China not far from the regions of India certain wild animals known as *reimões* were accustomed to attack towns and cities at night and to kill and devour the people living in them. Father Master Francis waited for them one night with a companion. He warned the people to go back into their homes, drove off the beasts with holy water and his imprecation, and they were never again seen in that region (115-v). *Reimão* is the name for the Malacca tiger, or black panther, and there is here a confusion of Xavier with D. Jorge de Santa Luzia, O.P., bishop of Malacca from 1561 to 1576, who immediately after his arrival blessed the forests with a cross and holy water. The *reimões* fled and never returned. After this many pagan Klings were converted (Dalgado II 252-253; Eredia 33; Santos II 146).—(2) *Xavier prophesied the arrival of a ship from Japan*. In the same process of 1614 the licentiate Affonso Leão de Barbuda, who was in India from 1578 to 1591 as a visitor, stated that he had heard the following in Cochín from three wealthy merchants, Francisco Fernandes Ramalho, Paulo Pedroza, and Christovão Valadares, who were trading in Malacca and China when Xavier was there and were on the ship with him when he converted sea water into fresh, and from Affonso Carvalho, whose father had been well acquainted with Xavier: When they were in Macao, where the Portuguese merchants lived, and the ship for Japan had already sailed away, they were struck by a typhoon and were filled with anxiety for the ship and went to Xavier, who was living in the house of the priests in Macao. He calmed them, saying that the ship would reach Japan safely. When the time was past for its return, they went to him again. He told them that it would return to Macao within a week, and it arrived two days later (60-v). Here also Xavier is confused with a later priest, Francisco Pérez, who was superior in Macao in 1564. The Japanese ship which sailed to Japan during the storm and is the subject

Escandel, the factor of Diogo Pereira, was ready to give the priest, in the name of his lord, the necessary pepper.²⁹ Xavier's two companions, Ferreira and Antonio, who had up till then been constantly ill, had recovered.³⁰ There was also another one ready to go with them to China: Pero Lopes, a former slave of Antonio Lopes Bobadilha, whose master had been slain at the siege of Malacca in 1551, offered himself as an interpreter in Antonio's place. He knew Portuguese and could also read and write some Chinese, and he was eager to accompany the priest.³¹

This was the state of affairs when, towards the end of October, Gaspar Mendes³² set sail for Malacca in his *vancan*, a Chinese oared sailing boat. Xavier gave Francisco Sanches,³³ who was accompanying him, letters for Pérez, Diogo Pereira, Dom Pedro da Silva, and Gaspar Barzaeus.

Xavier sent Pérez an official command to leave Malacca since there was no possibility of working there successfully as long as Ataide was captain. It read as follows:³⁴

Framcisco Perez! I order you in virtue of holy obedience that as soon as you have seen this letter of mine you remain no longer in Malaqua, but that you go to Imdia with the ships which are sailing with this monsoon. And if this letter of mine will have been given to you after the ships shall have sailed for Imdia,³⁵ go in the Choromandel ship,³⁶ you and João Bravo and Bernaldo;³⁷ and from Choromandel go to

of the anecdote about the sea water, sailed from Macao in 1564 and returned that same year (GS III 256-257; Frois 211-212; Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* 30).—(3) Xavier appeared to Guerra on his voyage to Japan. In his second edition of Xavier's life, published in 1596, Tursellinus writes of a "miraculous incident" which happened when Xavier was on Sancian in 1552. The captain Pedro Guerra was sailing for Japan. Near the goal of his voyage he encountered a calm that lasted for two or three days. In despair he was already intent on returning to China when Xavier appeared to him on a boat manned by Chinese and ordered him to raise his sails. He hoped that God would give him a good wind. He did so and the west wind brought him at once to the harbor, where it immediately ceased blowing (5, 9). D. Pedro da Guerra, who was still under thirty at the time, sailed as chief captain of the Japanese voyage in 1563 with Father Frois, de Monte, and Miguel Vaz to the harbor of Yokoseura. Frois knows nothing of an appearance of Xavier on this voyage (*Geschichte* 183 185).

²⁹ EX II 493 499 505; Antonio 658.

³⁰ EX II 499 510.

³¹ *Ibid.* 495.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Gaspar Mendes is not to be confused with Gaspar Mendes de Vasconcellos, whom Diogo Pereira as factor first wished to send with Xavier to China, but who died in Malacca three or four days after the departure of the *Santa Crux* (MX II 263-264). Sousa erroneously read Gaspar Martins (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 88).

³⁴ EX II 509-510. Francisco Sanches was present for Xavier's sermon when he announced the victory on the Perlis River in Malacca in 1547. His wife, Violante Spinola, bore him a son in Macao in 1576, who was present as a witness at the Cochin process of 1616 and testified that his father had frequently told him that he had carried Xavier's body for burial on his shoulders in Sancian. This is impossible. His father perhaps told him that he had helped carry Xavier's body to its grave in Malacca in 1553 (MX II 472-474; cf. 795-797). Sousa erroneously has *Caminha* instead of Sanches (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 88).

³⁵ EX II 488-491.

³⁶ The ships were accustomed to sail at the latest from Malacca to Cochin on December 25. On November 19, 1556, Frois wrote from Malacca: "Os que vem da China ou Japão pera pasarem à India, se acertão de não poderem aqui chegar até veinte e sinco de Dezembro, que se as naaos todas partem, fiquão aqui esperando pella monçã até o outro Dezembro, que hé hum anno" (DI III 529).

³⁷ The Coromandel ship was accustomed to sail in January from Malacca for the east coast of India (DI VII 519-520).

³⁸ Bernardo Rodrigues.

Cochim.³⁸ And take your residence in Cochim; and employ yourself in preaching and hearing confessions, and in that teaching which you were accustomed to do in Mallaqua, according to the manner and direction which I left for you in Mallaqua when I sailed for Japão, and according to the instruction which I left for Amtonio d'Eredea, who is at the present time in Cochim. And you will remain in the place of Amtonio d'Eredea in Cochim; and Amtonio d'Eredea, when he has seen this letter, or any other who is in his place, will go to Guoa to get ready for going to Japão. And thus this order of obedience which I am sending to you will serve not only for Amtonio d'Eredea or whoever else is in Cochim, but also for you, so that you do in virtue of obedience what I command. And from the day that you enter the house in Cochym you will be rector of that house; and whoever is there, whether it should be Amtonio d'Eredea or anyone else, shall cease to be what he was in it.

In all that pertains to the greater glory and service of God and the perfection of the Society, you will busy yourself according to the talent which God our Lord gives you. And since I have confidence in you that you will do this and more, I order you in virtue of obedience that you be rector of that house, and that you be under the obedience of the rector of the house of Sam Paullo in Guoa. And those who come to Cochim who are of the Society, both priests and lay brothers, of whatever quality they may be, will be under your obedience unless the rector of Guoa orders the contrary in some exceptional case. And I am ordering this in virtue of obedience to all those who come to this house in Cochim, that they obey you. And you will carry out in virtue of obedience what I am ordering you in this letter, both in leaving Mallaqua and being rector of the house in Cochim.

Xavier then signed this letter, which he had dictated, with his own hand: "Francisco."

Along with this command, Francis sent an accompanying letter to Pérez in which he informed him about his stay in Sancian and the success of his efforts in finding an entrance into China.³⁹ It began as follows:

Through the mercy and kindness of God our Lord, the ship of Diogo Pereira, and all of us who sailed on it, arrived safely in this harbor of Sanchoão, where we met many other merchant ships. This harbor of Sanchoão is thirty leagues from Cantão. Many merchants of the city of Cantão come to this Sanchoão to trade with the Portuguese. The Portuguese diligently treated with them to see if any merchant from Cantão would be willing to take me. All made excuses, saying that they would be placing their lives and their possessions at great risk if the governor of Cantão learned that they had brought me with them; and because of this they were unwilling to take me at any price on their ships to Cantão.

It pleased God our Lord that a distinguished man, a resident of Cantão, offered to take me for two hundred *cruzados* in a small boat in which there would be no other sailors except his sons and servants, so that the governor of Cantão would not, through the sailors, come to know who was the merchant who had brought me. He further offered to keep me hidden in his house for three or four days and to take me from there one morning before dawn to the gate of the city with my books and baggage so that I might go at once from there to the house of the governor and tell him how we had come to go to where the king of China is, showing him the letter which we received from the Lord Bishop for the king of China, and telling him how we have been sent by His Highness to proclaim the law of God.

According to what the people of the land tell us, the dangers which we shall incur are two: the first is that the man who takes us, after he has been paid the two hundred *cruzados*, will leave us on some deserted island, or throw us into the sea, so that it does

³⁸ One could sail from São Thomé to Cochim up to the end of February (Valignano, *Summarium of the Goa province in ARSI: Goa 7, 76v).

³⁹ EX II 491-497.

not come to the knowledge of the governor of Cantão; the second is that if he takes us to Cantão, and we come before the governor, he will give orders that we be tortured or be put in prison, since it is such a strange thing and there are so many prohibitions in China that anybody should go there without a pass from the king, since the king so strongly forbids strangers entering his land without his permit. Besides these two dangers, there are others much greater which do not affect the people of the land, and which would take too long to recount, although I will not omit to mention a few.

The first is to cease to hope and confide in the mercy of God, since it is for His love and service that we are going to manifest His law and Jesus Christ, His Son, our Redeemer and Lord, as He well knows. Since through His holy mercy, He gave us these desires, to distrust His mercy and power now, because of the dangers in which we could see ourselves for His service, is a much greater danger (for if He is served more, He will protect us from the dangers of this life) than the evils which can be inflicted upon us by all the enemies of God, since without God's licence and permission, the devils and their ministers cannot harm us in any way.

And we must also strengthen ourselves with the saying of the Lord that says: "He that loves his life in this world will lose it, and he who loses it for the sake of God will find it,"⁴⁰ which is in keeping with what Christ our Lord also says: "He who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is not fit for the kingdom of God."⁴¹

We, considering these dangers to the soul, which are much greater than those of the body, find that it is safer and more secure to pass through bodily dangers than to be caught in spiritual dangers before God. We are consequently determined to go to China by any way whatever. I hope in God our Lord that the outcome of our voyage will be to the increase of our holy faith, no matter how much the enemies and their ministers persecute us, since "if God is for us, who will be victorious over us?"⁴²

When the ship⁴³ leaves this port of Sanchoão for Mallaca, I hope in God our Lord that it will bear news of how we were received in Cantão, since boats are always coming from Cantão to this port, through which I shall be able to write about what we have experienced from here to Cantão, and what the governor of Cantão did to us.

Alvaro Ferreira and Antonio China were always ill on their voyage; now, through the mercy of God, they are feeling better. I have discovered that Antonio is of no use as an interpreter, since he has forgotten how to speak Chinese.⁴⁴ A certain Pero Lopez,⁴⁵ who was a slave of Antonio de Lopez Bobadilha,⁴⁶ who died in the siege of Mallaca,⁴⁷ offered to go with me as an interpreter. He knows how to read and write Portuguese, and he also reads and writes Chinese to a certain extent. He offered himself to go with me with great courage and readiness; God will reward him in this life and in the next; commend him to God our Lord that He grant him the gift of perseverance.

When we arrived in Sanchoão, we built a church; and I said Mass every day until I became ill with fevers. I was sick for fifteen days; now, through the mercy of God, I have recovered my health. There has been no lack of spiritual labors such as in hearing confessions and visiting the sick, and reconciling enemies. From here I do not know what else to tell you except that we are firmly resolved to go to China. All the Chinese whom we have seen, I mean distinguished merchants, show that they are happy and eager for us to go to China, since it seems to them that we are bringing a law written in books which will be better than what they have, or because they are

⁴⁰ Cf. John 12:25.

⁴¹ Luke 9:62.

⁴² Rom. 8:31.

⁴³ At the beginning of his letter, as also here, Xavier calls Diogo Pereira's ship a *nau*. The *Santa Cruz* was a caravel, and Xavier calls it the largest ship (*navio*) that took part in the battle on the Perlis River (EX I 412).

⁴⁴ "Achei que Antonio não presta para jurobaça, porque lhe esqueceo fallar china" (EX II 495).

⁴⁵ Nothing more is known about him. He is to be distinguished from many namesakes.

⁴⁶ The MX erroneously have *Habadilha*, since the *Codex Macaensis* usually writes a *B* almost like an *H*.

⁴⁷ Seb. Gonçalves 3, 13.

pleased with what is new. They all show that they are much pleased, but no one is willing to take us because of the dangers which they might incur.

Written in Sanchoão.

The church of Our Lady⁴⁸ and the college, if it should belong to us,⁴⁹ and all that belongs to the Society of Jesus will remain with Padre Vicente Viegas. Give it to him with your own hand and leave him a copy of the donation which the Lord Bishop gave of the house of Our Lady to the Society of the name of Jesus, so that neither the vicar nor anyone else should have anything to do with the church of Our Lady except Padre Vicente Viegas. And so you will earnestly ask Padre Vicente Viegas on your part and mine that he be willing to accept this burden for the love of God until the rector of São Paulo should provide for some person to come to stay in Mallaca.⁵⁰ And if it seems good to you that Bernardo should remain with him, he should remain to instruct the children.⁵¹

I am waiting each day for a Chinaman who is to come from Cantão to take me. May it please God that he come as I desire it, for if by any chance God does not wish it, I do not know what I should do, whether I should go to India or to Sião, so that from Sião I might go in the embassy which the king of Sião sends to the king of China. I am writing you this so that you may tell Diogo Pereira that if he has to go to China and has some way of writing to me in Sião, that he write to me, so that we meet there or in some other port of China.⁵² Keep a close friendship with Diogo Pereira both in Mallaca and in India, recommending him first of all to God; and then assist him in every other way you can, since he is so great a friend of the Society.

May Christ our Lord give us His help and favor. Amen.

From Sanchoão, today, the twenty-second of October, 1552.

Wholly yours in Christ,

Francisco.

Xavier also wrote a letter to Dom Pedro da Silva, in which he asked him to take Pérez and his companions with him to Cochín when he sailed in his ship for India at the end of 1552.⁵³ He also sent a letter to his great friend and benefactor Diogo Pereira.⁵⁴ It ran as follows:

Senhor! In His mercy and kindness, God brought the ship safely to this harbor of Sanchoão; and since many are writing to you about the trade which it has conducted, and I understand little about it, I am therefore not writing to you about it. I am letting you know how I am waiting each day for a merchant who is to take me to Cantão, with whom I have already talked and reached the agreement that he is to take me with him for twenty *picos*. May it please God our Lord that He will be more served by this than I hope He will.

⁴⁸ Nossa Senhora do Monte.

⁴⁹ In 1568 Gonçalo Alvares wrote to the general of the order: "Na cidade de Malaca tem a Companhia firme residencia. Forão para ahy os Padres no anno de 48, e no anno seginte ho governador Jorge Cabral lhe mandou dar huns chãos e casas em que agora vivem, e o bispo Dom João d'Albuquerque lhe mandou dar a igreja, a qual o Bispo que agora hé [D. Jorge de Santa Luzia] confirmou e deu perpetuamente.... Há esperança que poderá vir a ser collegio" (DI VII 585).

⁵⁰ Since Viegas was too busy, Pérez, when he left, handed the church and college over to the Spanish secular priest Juan Delgado, who had come with Ruy López de Villalobos' fleet and had become acquainted with Xavier in Amboina. He had taken the name of João Dias in India and entered the Society of Jesus in 1557. He later worked in Goa, Salsette, Bandra, and Thāna, where he died in 1577 (see Vol. III, p. 125).

⁵¹ Bernardo Rodrigues went to Cochín with Pérez, where we encounter him at the beginning of 1553 (DI II 619).

⁵² Under the best circumstances, Diogo Pereira could have obtained from the viceroy in India at the beginning of 1553 a confirmation of his embassy and a ship for China.

⁵³ Seb. Gonçalves 5, 4; the letter is lost.

⁵⁴ EX II 497-501.

If there is any merit before God for this voyage on the part of men, it seems to me that Your Grace has it all, since Your Grace paid all these expenses. Thomé Escandel, your factor, has executed well what Your Grace urged and ordered him to do, since he gives me all that I ask of him. May God our Lord give you as many and as great alms as He has given to me.

The Chinaman who is taking me with him is known to Manoel de Chaves, and he kept him for many days in his house in Cantão after he had escaped from prison. I am therefore hoping every day that he comes for me, since we have agreed together in this harbor of Sanchoão that he will take me with him for twenty *picos*. I shall write to Your Grace through Manoel de Chaves what happened with respect to my voyage and on how I was received in Cantão.⁵⁵

And if it should happen, and may God not permit it, that this merchant does not come for me, and I do not sail this year for China, I do not know what I should do, whether I should go to India or to Sião, so that I may go with the embassy of the king of Sião next year to China. And if I am to sail for India, I do not go with the hope that in the time of Dom Alvaro da Gamma anything will be done in China worth remembering if God does not provide for it in another way. I am not writing what I think in this regard. I fear that God is giving him a greater punishment than what he thinks, if he has not already given it to him.

I wrote at length to Your Grace from the strait of Symquapura. I hope that Your Grace received the letters which I sent through a reliable person, Manoel da Fonseca, a servant of Antonio Pegado. Through Manoel de Chavez, I shall write at great length to Your Grace, both to Your Grace and to the King our lord. From here I have nothing more to tell you except that I am well, although I had a fever for fifteen days.

If it should happen that I do not sail to China this year, I do not know if I shall go to Sião with Diogo Vaz de Aragão in a junk of his which he bought here so that I might go from Sião with the embassy to the king of China. If I go to Sião, I shall write to Your Grace through Manoel de Chavez, so that you, if you can write to me by any way to Sião, may write to me what you have decided to do next year, and if you will go with the embassy or not, so that we may meet each other in Comai⁵⁶ or in another harbor of Cantão.⁵⁷ May it please God that this will be in the interior of China, since I shall be going there this year to wait for you. May God our Lord in His mercy, if we are not to see each other again in this life, unite us in the glory of paradise, where we shall see each other for ever without end.

Written in Sanchoão the twenty-second of October, 1552.

Francisco da Villa is working here on the ship as he can; he is not ungrateful or displeased with the bread which he ate in your house; he will go there with Manoel de Chavez to ask your pardon for the mistake he made in coming here without your permission; for if he is guilty in this, I am entirely to blame.

Your true and intimate friend,

Francisco.

Three days later, on October 25, immediately before the departure of Gaspar Mendes' ship, Francis hastily wrote a letter to Master Gaspar in Goa.⁵⁸ It read as follows:

May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always help and assist us. Amen.

I wrote to you at great length from the strait of Symquapura. What I now earnestly commend to you is that you take very special care of yourself; for if you do the contrary, I hope for nothing from you.

⁵⁵ Chaves was not to sail until the middle of November with the next ships.

⁵⁶ Ke-moi in the province of Fukien.

⁵⁷ In any other harbor of the province of Kwangtung.

⁵⁸ EX II 501-506.

Do not forget to read and to carry out the instructions which I left you,⁵⁹ especially the one in which I urged you to exercise yourself every day;⁶⁰ and see to it well that you are not neglectful of yourself, seeing what God is doing through you and through those of the Society. And know well that I would be very happy, because of the good I wish for you, for you as well as for the others, that you would rather look at what God omits to do through you than at what He does through you; for with the first you will be confused and humiliated, and every day you will have a greater knowledge of your weaknesses and offenses against God; and with the second you will run a very great risk of incurring a false and treacherous opinion, basing it on what is not yours, nor what was worked through you, but by God alone. And see how many have been harmed by this, and how perilous a plague it is in the Society.

Baltasar Gago, Duarte,⁶¹ and Pedro d'Alcaceva sailed to Japão; and they sailed in a good vessel. I hope in God our Lord that it will bring them safely to Manguche, where Father Cosmo de Torres and João Fernandez are staying. For next year I earnestly commend that you send there a person of great reliability and higher education; and if persons should not come this year from the Kingdom who are able to go, it seems to me that in such a case it would be good for Amtonio d'Eredea to go. And because of this Francisco Perez is going to stay in Cochim in the place of Amtonio d'Eredea, or of any other who is staying there; for Mallaqua is not now in such a state that he can produce as much fruit [there] as in Cochym. And Amtonio d'Eredea shall not take anyone with him except a lay brother, and he should be one who has had much experience and has been approved and is capable of learning the language.

To Maluquo in the company of João de Bera send some persons whom it seems good to you, persons who have the virtue to be able to produce fruit there; and strive to send João de Bera content, since now in the parts of Malluquo there is such a great readiness for the increase of our holy faith. And during all the following years, take care to provide the parts of Malluquo with what is necessary; and the persons whom you send there must not be any others than those who have been well tested and of much experience.

In virtue of holy obedience I ask and order you that, if any lay brother or priest commits a sin which causes public scandal, you immediately dismiss such a one, and do not take him back at the requests of anyone unless his penance and his recognition of his error is such that through this way alone he can obtain mercy, and not by any other way, even if the viceroy and all of India joined with him would ask you to do so.

And see to it that those whom I dismissed, and whom I ordered you in virtue of obedience not to receive again, you do not on any account receive again; and if they make a great amendment and do public penance for many days, you may in such a case give them a letter for the rector of Coimbra, since they are not needed for these parts, but they could be of use there.

I also greatly urge you to take very few into the Society, and those whom you receive should be persons who are needed by the Society; and, for the service of the house, see well if it would be better to take or buy some *negros* for the service of the house than to make use of many who seek to enter into the Society. I am saying this from what I saw there and from what I know of those who came with me.⁶²

I arrived at this harbor of Samchoão, which is thirty leagues from the city of Camtão. I am waiting every day for a man who is to take me with him, with whom I have already come to an agreement that he will take me with him for two hundred *cruzados*; this because of the strict prohibitions and severe penalties there are in Chyna for one who brings in a foreigner without the permit of the king. I hope in God our Lord that all will turn out very well.

I have definite news that this king of China has sent certain persons outside of his kingdom to a land in order to learn how it is ruled and governed and the laws

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 391-434.

⁶⁰ The instruction on humility (*ibid.* 403-411).

⁶¹ Duarte da Silva.

⁶² In this he is probably thinking of Alvaro Ferreira.

which it has;⁶³ these Chinese⁶⁴ therefore told me that the king would be delighted to see a new law in his land. I shall write to you at length on what happens there. May our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise.

From this harbor of Samchaoam⁶⁵ in China, the twenty-fifth of October of 1552.

Wholly yours in Christ,

Francysco.

The scribe then added the following, which was dictated to him by Xavier:

Commend me much to all the brothers and priests of the Society and to all the men and women who are devoted to the house. Visit the friars of San Francisco and of Sam Domymgos, and commend me much to them and to their holy prayers and devout sacrifices.

This letter was written with so much haste that I do not know how it will go. I shall write to you at greater length through another *via* before I go to China.

2. THE SECRET OF THE TWO JUNKS (NOVEMBER, 1552)¹

From Chaves, the Portuguese who had fled from imprisonment in China, Xavier now received full information on the fate of the two junks of Diogo Pereira and his companions, about which he had been partially informed in 1551 by the letters of Gaspar Lopes and Lançarote Pereira to Diogo Pereira. And from Chaves he was also able to gain further information on China, the land of his desires.

In 1548 Diogo Pereira had reached China with Alonso Ramírez, who had been recommended to him by Xavier, and with other friends of the saint. When the northeast monsoon had begun to set in, they found themselves confronted by the fleet of the Chinese coast guard, which had been ordered to expel "the foreign devils," as the Portuguese were called. For a long time the Chinese captains had been in secret agreement with the foreigners; and in return for a good sum, they kept one eye shut on the smuggling that was going on. But by the beginning of 1549, the watch along the coast had again been tightened up, and the import of provisions and smuggling had almost completely disappeared. Diogo Pereira and his companions had therefore loaded their still unsold wares on two junks, which were manned by Chinese crews and thirty Portuguese. Among these

⁶³ The Ming emperor Shih Tsung, who ruled from 1521 to 1566, is meant; his personal name was Hou Tsung, his title as ruler Chia Ching. In contrast to his predecessors he was a Taoist and was therefore opposed to Buddhism. He demolished all the Buddhist temples in the capital and melted down their idols, 196 made of gold and more than 3,000 of silver; and with this he built his mother an elaborate palace (J. MacGowan, *The Imperial History of China* [Shanghai, 1906] 495.) According to the Ming annals he was superstitious, but he readily accepted correction and was willing to have his errors pointed out to him (Brou II 342). In 1555 Nunes Barreto wrote that the emperor had been seeking a piece of amber for six years and had promised a large reward for the one who would bring it to him, since it was written in their books that it gave a long life if eaten after it had been prepared in a certain way (Ayres, *Subsidios* 88-89). Diogo Pereira also heard from Chinese merchants how amber was sought there because of its marvelous powers (Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios* I 52).

⁶⁴ "Estes chins" (EX II 505); meant are the Chinese merchants. MX erroneously has "estes Senhores."

⁶⁵ For the miracles attributed to Xavier during his stay on Sancian, see above, pp. 625-626, n. 27.

¹ On this chapter, see our article "Das Geheimnis der zwei Dschunken," GS III 681-702.

latter was Gaspar Lopes, the former secretary of the *Bufara*, whom Xavier had met in Ternate in 1546, and Manuel Chaves, Alonso Ramírez, and Galeote Pereira. The latter was also an old acquaintance of the priest from Malacca, where he had always attended his sermons in 1547.² There were also other acquaintances of Xavier on the junks and a number of Indian servants and soldiers. After ordering the men on the junks to exchange their wares at any Chinese harbor for goods of that land, Diogo Pereira and his companions had sailed back for Malacca on the *Santa Cruz*. As a safety measure, the two junks had obtained a banner of the Great Mandarin (the viceroy of the two coastal provinces of Fukien and Chekiang), a royal banner of the mandarin of Ke-moi and a letter of the admiral of Canton.

But despite all this, the greed of the commander of the coastal fleet and of the admiral got the upper hand. Near the southern boundary of the province of Fukien, the two junks had been treacherously attacked and captured after a brief resistance. During the course of this attack, some were killed on both sides; and in the end the entire crews of the two junks, along with some Portuguese who had been enticed to land, were captured and imprisoned.

The commander was elated. In order to justify the confiscation of the rich booty from the Portuguese, they had to be represented as robbers; in order to increase the impression of victory with the people and the king, and to secure for himself a high reward for this in Peking, four of the prisoners, including Galeote Pereira, were dressed and identified as alleged kings of Malacca; and in order that there might remain no witnesses against him, he began to do away with their Chinese companions, one after the other. Nevertheless, when the admiral of Chincheo learned of the slaughter, he ordered that it should be immediately stopped and that the prisoners should be brought to him as soon as possible. When the commander revealed to him his plans, however, the admiral accepted his proposal of sharing the booty with him. In order to deprive the Portuguese, who were ignorant of Chinese of any possibility of defense and to remove all unfavorable witnesses, the Chinese crews of both junks, more than ninety in all, were cruelly executed. Only one Chinese pilot and a Christian servant and two or three small children were left alive so that they might be used, through promises and threats, as witnesses against the Portuguese.

The two mandarins now felt that they were in command of the situation, and they submitted a report to the king on their victory over the robbers and the imprisonment of the four kings of Malacca. The viceroy had been bribed and had let the events run their course. The lives of the Portuguese had, however, been spared for the present in order to increase the triumph.

The prisoners were brought from Chincheo to Fuchow, the capital of the province of Fukien, in an elaborate procession. The journey lasted for seven or eight days. The four alleged kings of Malacca were enthroned on chairs carried on the shoulders of coolies. The rest of the prisoners were also borne on the shoulders of men. They were enclosed in a squatting position in chicken coops, with their heads sticking out and their necks rigidly clamped within a board in a most painful position; and they were exposed to the wind and weather, though some of them had been wounded. In this position they had to eat and drink and take care of their other needs. As Galeote Pereira declared, there was no thought of sleep. At the time of their arrival in Fuchow, they were so weak that, when they were liberated from their cages, they were no longer able to

² MX II 275.

stand on their feet; and two of them died from the hardships which they had endured.

The Portuguese in Fuchow had already anticipated the worst when a royal commissary arrived with two inquisitors, both of whom were prominent lords. Among the Chinese on the two junks who had been slain were many who had relatives on the coast of Chincheo. These and some of the lesser officials of that region had sent letters to the king informing him that the Portuguese who had been imprisoned were merchants and not robbers, and that some of them had been falsely designated as kings of Malacca. The two mandarins had killed so many innocent people simply to get possession of their goods. The king had consequently sent the examining commission to Fuchow in order to determine the true state of affairs, and he had ordered the leaders of the province to give their complete cooperation to the mandarins whom he had sent to make the investigation.

Here the inquisitors immediately began their work. The commander of the coastal fleet and the admiral of Chincheo were relieved of their offices without delay and put on trial. Nevertheless the two accused, through their friends, succeeded in removing Assan, the Chinese Christian who was the interpreter for the Portuguese; and without him they were unable to mount a defense. Upon a complaint written by a Chinese fellow prisoner, he was however restored to them.

The hearings were public, thorough and impartial; and both sides could speak freely. At the request of the Portuguese, the two inquisitors went also to Chincheo, where the testimonies of merchants known to the Portuguese confirmed their statements. After the magistrates returned, they had the irons removed from them; and from then on they were provided with food and everything else in abundance.

The Portuguese had remained imprisoned in Fuchow for twenty-two months, from 1549 till the beginning of 1551. They spent the last of these months in free custody and were well treated. They thus had a good opportunity to become acquainted with their immediate surroundings, and also with the whole of China, since they were frequently invited to the homes of prominent men who had never seen Portuguese and wished to speak with them. At the end of 1550 or beginning of 1551, the sentence of the king was finally given. The three ringleaders were condemned to death. The viceroy anticipated his execution by hanging himself in prison. The admiral of Chincheo and the commander of the coastal fleet, however, had their heads struck off by the ax of an executioner. The Portuguese, with the exception of two who had slain some of the attackers when the junks were captured, were banished to the province of Kiangsi, on the southern boundary of the kingdom, for having engaged in forbidden trade. There they were held in free custody.

In order to reach their place of exile, they had to travel for 120 days until they finally reached Kweilin, the capital of the province. There they were well received; but, after a certain time, they were separated from each other without the knowledge of the king and divided up into twos and threes, or into threes and threes, one Portuguese with one or two servants, in the different cities of Kiangsi. This was probably done through fear that if they remained together they might become strong and create difficulties.

Chaves was able to tell Francis much about the land of his desires, the great, closed kingdom of China. He was able to describe to him its high culture, its mandarins, examinations, grades, and processions, its care for the poor, its

cruel prison punishments, its polygamy and sale of brides, its feasts at the new moon, new year, and birthdays, its countless villages and cities with their walls, towers, and palaces, the great cities of Fuchow, Nanking, and Peking, with their imposing bridges, and the capital of Kiangsi with its colorful mixture of Chinese, Mohammedans, Tartars, Laotians, and Burmese, and of the prospects for the preaching of the true faith.

3. THE LAST LETTERS (NOVEMBER 12-13, 1551)¹

Meanwhile the middle of November had come, the time when the last Portuguese ships were accustomed to sail from Sancian for Malacca. With them also sailed Manuel de Chaves towards his long-desired freedom.

According to Chaves' description, there were thousands of prisoners crowded together in filthy confinement in the Chinese jails. At night their feet were stuck into large wooden blocks which made it impossible to sit or stand. Prisoners were struck on the least occasion until they collapsed streaming with blood. Heavy iron doors, high walls, and strict guardians prevented their escape. All this had made an impression on Ferreira, who had just recovered from his illness. He lost courage and Francis had to dismiss him with a heavy heart.² He was not the kind of soldier that was needed by the Society of Jesus.³ Even Lopes, his interpreter, now wavered in the hour of decision. But Xavier was determined to go in spite of everything, without a confrere, without an interpreter, and only with his Indian servant Christovão and the Chinese Antonio.⁴ In addition to this, news had come that other Portuguese had shortly before fallen into the hands of the Chinese authorities as the result of a great misfortune. They were now imprisoned in China, and among them was also Pereira de Miranda, a special friend of Xavier, who had performed so many services for him in Hirado. This was a further reason for Francis to make every attempt to reach Canton so that he might secure the release of his poor, imprisoned countrymen.⁵

When he went however to the chief captain of the Portuguese⁶ to obtain his permission for this, the latter asked him to postpone his sailing to the mainland until the trading had been concluded and the Portuguese ships had sailed away. This would prevent the Chinese authorities from taking revenge upon their ships after they had discovered Xavier's arrival in Canton,⁷ but it also meant that he would have to postpone his departure again. The Portuguese ships would sail away at the middle of November. On November 19 the Chinese merchant should return to get Xavier. In recompense for his services, Xavier now increased his reward to pepper that had a value of 350 *cruzados*.⁸

On November 13 the Portuguese burned their huts and sailed towards the south.⁹ They took with them Alvaro Ferreira and the last letters that had been written by the priest.¹⁰

¹ The sources for this section are Xavier's letters in EX II 506-521.

² *Ibid.* 510.

³ *Ibid.* 521.

⁴ *Ibid.* 512.

⁵ *Ibid.* 515.

⁶ Luis de Almeida.

⁷ According to Antonio (DI III 658).

⁸ EX II 510.

⁹ "Partidos para la India casi todos los navíos que en aquel porto estaban, y los más de los portugueses que allí avía" (according to Antonio in DI III 659).

¹⁰ He probably gave them to Manuel de Chaves.

The first of these was a letter which Xavier sent to Pérez repeating his order that he should leave Malacca with the first ships and sail to Cochín. It was dated November 12, 1552.¹¹ He sent along with this letter another to the same priest,¹² which read as follows:

May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always help and assist us. Amen.

I wrote to you with the *bamcão*¹³ of Gaspar Memdez, and Fframcisco Samchez took the letters. See that you take great care to fulfill what I wrote to you before, and what I am now writing to you.

I am expecting a merchant to come eight days from now who is to take me to Camtão. It is most certain that, if he does not die, he will come here because of the great profit I am giving him from the pepper, through which he will gain more than three hundred and fifty *cruzados* if he brings me safely to Camtão. I owe this to my good friend Dioguo Pereira; may God repay him for me, since I am unable to do so. Assist him in every way you can assist and favor him in Imdia, since I do not know when we can all together repay him for the good arrangements which he gave us for the increase of our holy faith in the regions of China, so that those of the Society of the name of Jesus can fulfill their desires of increasing our holy faith; for he was a very great assistance for my being able to go to China, since he paid all the expenses of my voyage.

You will learn from Dioguo Pereira if he will come next year with the embassy to Camtão, and if he has some hope of his coming, since I am much discouraged about this. May it please God that the opposite occur to what I expect, and may God forgive him who was the cause of so great an evil. I fear that God will soon give him his punishment, and He has perhaps already given it to him.

I am writing to Dioguo Pereira that, if he is to come to these parts, I am writing to Mestre Guaspar that he should send in any case a priest who would come with him on the ships which sail from Imdia in May¹⁴ for Mallaqua. But if it should happen that Dioguo Pereira has to go to Sumda¹⁵ in this ship of his, which will then go without stopping at Mallaqua, in such a case it will not be necessary for a priest to come from Imdia to go with Dioguo Pereira, since they will be unable to meet each other. You will arrange this with Dioguo Pereira before you leave for Imdia.

I had to dismiss Ferreira from the Society, since he is not for it; and so I am ordering you in virtue of obedience not to receive him into the house in Cochim. Assist him in every way you can so that he may become a friar; help him with the friars of Sam Fframcisco or of Sam Dominguos; and write the same to Mestre Gaspar in Guoa, that in virtue of obedience he in no way receives him into the house, and that he help him in as far as he can help him to become a friar of Sam Fframcisco or of Sam Dominguos.

If this year I shall be able to let you know by way of Choromamdell—and there is a ship which has to leave from here in a month—news on how I was received in Camtão, I shall take good care to write to you from Camtão. And may it please God that this ship of Dioguo Pereira reaches in Malaqua the ship which is leaving for Choromamdell, and thus during the whole of March you will be able to receive my news about Camtão in Cochim. And leave Vicemte Viegas a reminder that he should take care to get my letters when the ship arrives there and send them on by way of Choromamdell. You can also commend this to Dioguo Pereira, so that he sends those letters with the letters overland by a *patamar* to Cochim.

Leave the house of our Lady and the college to Father Vicemte Viegas, asking him to be willing to take care of them; and leave with him the house with the transcript of the donation which was made by the Lord Bishop, and as if it were from the hand

¹¹ EX II 506-507.

¹² *Ibid.* 508-512.

¹³ Chinese ship, smaller than a junk.

¹⁴ The ships usually sailed in April.

¹⁵ Western Java.

of the Society, so that no one may have anything to do with the house; and take the original of the donation with you, and send it on a safe way to Sam Paullo in Guoa.

And see to it that you do not remain on any account in Mallaqua. I am sorry that you have lost so much time there, since you would have been better able to employ your labors elsewhere; and I am writing to you this little chapter, so that you do not remain on any account, either because of the prayers or the promises of anyone that they will improve if you remain.

If it seems good to you, you can leave with Father Vicemte Viegas Bernaldo, so that he may teach reading and writing and their prayers to the children. Do this as it seems better to you, or take him with you.

If you can send Fferreira in another ship than the one in which you are sailing, send him; or if not, he may do what he wishes; and if he should urge you to take him with you, this should be with the condition that he must become a friar; and take him with you in this way; and treat him with kindness, ever on the condition that he become a friar, and that he gives you his word on this.

The *jurobaça*,¹⁶ about whom I wrote to you that he was willing to come with me, withdrew because of fear. We are going with the assistance of God—Amtonio and Cristovão, and I. Pray much to God for us, since we are running the very great risk of being captured; but we console ourselves with the thought that it is much better to become a captive for the sole love of God than to be free for fleeing from the hardships of the cross.

And if it should happen that, because of the great dangers which the one who is to take us may incur, he repents or, through fear, he fails to take us to Camtão, I shall in that case go to Syão, so that I may go from there next year to Camtão with the ships which the king of Sião sends to Camtão. May it please God that we go this year to Camtão.

Earnestly commend me to all our friends and those devoted to us, especially to Father Vicemte Vyeguas. May God our Lord unite us in the glory of paradise.

From this harbor of Samchoão, today the twelfth of November, 1552.

Francysco.

Xavier also wrote on the same day to his great friend Diogo Pereira:¹⁷

I do not know what I should write to Your Grace unless it be about the many obligations through which I am indebted to you because of the great friendship, alms, and charity which I have received from Your Grace, and which I am receiving every day from your factor, Thomé Escandel, who gives me with so much love and readiness what I ask of him, who obviously seems to feel that it is in keeping with the will of Your Grace that he should find much joy in giving me more than is necessary. May God our Lord repay you, since I cannot render you in my works anything that would place us again on a level with each other. I shall be obliged my whole life long to ask God our Lord for you so that He may keep you from all evil, giving you in this life His grace, health, and life for His holy service, and paradise for your soul in the next. And since in this same regard I am not giving myself the satisfaction of being able to repay the great debt which I owe you, I am earnestly commending you to the priests of the name of Jesus of all India, asking them to recognize and regard you as their special friend, so that they constantly commend you to God our Lord in their prayers and sacrifices. For if the law of Our Lord Jesus Christ is manifested in China, it will be through the intervention of Your Grace; and the renown and satisfaction of such a holy work as this will pertain to you in this life and in the next; and those who will become Christians there, and the priests who go there to serve God, will be ever obliged to pray continuously to God for you.

If it should happen that Your Grace can go next year to carry out the embassy which the Lord Viceroy is entrusting to you, Your Grace will speak with Padre Fran-

¹⁶ The interpreter.

¹⁷ EX II 513-516.

cisco Perez (since he is going to India this year) so that Padre Mestre Gaspar, who is the rector of the college of Goa may send a priest to go with Your Grace. And the rich vestments which I left in Mallaca with Francisco Perez, Your Grace should bring them. I shall send the chalice in the ship of Thomé Escandel, and Your Grace should bring everything if the priest comes with you. Your Grace may show these lines to Francisco Perez so that he may give you the vestments.

If it should happen, and may God avert it, that I do not go this year to China, I shall go with Diogo Vaz de Aragão to Sião, so that I may be able to go from there next year in a junk from Sião to Cantão. I would go in this junk to Mallaca if I were certain that Your Grace would go next year with the embassy; and if it should happen that you go with the embassy, we shall meet each other in Comai or in Cantão; and if it will be possible, Your Grace should write to me from Mallaca to Sião what you have decided to do, since I shall be overjoyed by your letter. Through *Senhor Manoel de Chaves*, you will obtain news from here and on what I am doing to go to Cantão; I am therefore not writing to you about this. Commend, Your Grace, all that you may wish to commend to Padre Francisco Perez and to Padre Mestre Gaspar in Goa; and write to them so that they may take care of it there for the greater service of God and the rescue of the poor captives who are in China; among those who have been recently captured are my special friend Francisco Pereira de Miranda and many other Portuguese, because of a great disaster; I owe much to him for the proofs of friendship and affection which he showed to me in Japão at the time that I was in his company in Firando.

I am sending Your Grace the letter which the Lord Viceroy wrote to the king of China, since I brought it with me through an oversight.

I earnestly ask you as a favor that you try as hard as you can to write to me in Sião, since, if I do not pass over to China, I shall on no account fail to go to Sião. And may it please God that this voyage goes as well for me as I hope, so that I may be waiting for you at the court of the king of China; for if I go to China, it seems to me that you will find me in one of two places: I shall either be a prisoner in the jail in Cantão, or I shall be in Paquim, where they say that the king is constantly. I do not know what I can write further to Your Grace except that, to obtain news about your health and life, I would give many gifts, if I were rich, to obtain news about you. I hope in Jesus Christ our Lord that these are such as I wish them to be.

May God our Lord in His mercy unite us again in this life for His holy service, in China; and if it shall not be in this life, may it be in the glory of paradise.

From Sanchoão, the twelfth of November, 1552.

Your servant and most intimate friend,

Francisco.

The following day, November 13, Xavier wrote one last letter. It was addressed to Pérez and Master Gaspar, and the first part of it referred to the two of them together.¹⁸ It began as follows:

I earnestly ask you to take great care that the Lord Bishop sees the bulls of the Society, and also the vicar general. At the same time show them a parchment document that is at São Paulo in which it is said of me that the pope made me nuncio in these parts of India.¹⁹ And in the provision which the Lord Bishop or vicar general will send, in which he makes known the excommunication that has been incurred by Dom Alvaro for forcibly preventing me from going to China, since he refused to observe the ordinances of the Lord Viceroy and was unwilling to obey the captain of the fortress of Mallaca, who was at that time Francisco Alvres, *vedador da fazenda* of the King our lord, as you very well know, since you were present at it all. The provision of the Lord Bishop or vicar general should be addressed to the Father vicar of Mallaca, in

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 516-521.

¹⁹ The brief *Dudum pro parte*.

which the Lord Bishop or the vicar general orders him to publicly announce it in the church, since he has publicly incurred the excommunication.

You should employ this diligence solely for two reasons. The first is so that Dom Alvaro may know the offence which he has committed against God, and the excommunication which he has incurred, and that he may do penance, seeking absolution for the excommunication which he has incurred, and also so that he may not do a second time to another what he did to me.

The second is that the brothers of the Society who will go to Maluco by way of Mallaca, or to Japão, or to China, will not be obstructed in Mallaca, so that the captains there do not place an impediment to their sailing, by giving notice of, and information about, the excommunications and penalties those incur who place such impediments, so that those, even if they have no fear nor love of God, will not, through shame or fear of the world, hinder the service of God.²⁰

João da Beira, or the priest who is going to Japão, shall bring this letter of the Lord Bishop or of the vicar general so that he may consign it to the vicar of Mallaca; and see to it that you are not negligent in doing what I order you to do in virtue of obedience. Ask the Lord Bishop as a favor, or the vicar general, that he write to the vicar of Mallaca, ordering him in virtue of obedience, under the penalty of excommunication, that he publicly announce the provision which is coming from India, publicly in the church.

Write to me next year the care which you have taken in this regard.

And, since this voyage of going from this harbor to China is difficult and dangerous, I do not know how it will fare, although I have great hopes that it will fare well. If it happens that I do not get to Cantão this year, I shall go, as I have already said, to Sião; and if I do not sail from Sião for China next year, I shall go to India, although I have great hopes of going to China.

Know one thing for certain, and have no doubts about it: the demon is greatly disturbed at the prospect of those of the Society of the name of Jesus entering China. I am telling you this news as certain from this harbor of Sanchoão. Do not have any doubts about this, since I would never come to an end if I wrote to you about the obstacles which he has placed in my way, and which he is still placing every day. Know one thing for certain: with the assistance, grace, and favor of God, our Lord will confound the demon in this area; and it will be to the great glory of God for a thing so vile as I am to confound so great an arrogance as is the devil.

He then directed his attention in his letter to Master Gaspar alone:

Mestre Gaspar, reflect upon the instructions which I left you when I sailed from there and those which I wrote to you; and do not forget and fail to carry them out in the belief that I am already dead, as others have already done.²¹ For if it is God's will, I shall not die, although in times past I have had a greater desire to live than I do now. I am giving you this instruction so that you do not follow your own opinion as, if you remember well, you have already followed it. God knows how far you have been right in this. And if I should return next year, it will pain me to discover things which would require my correcting them.

Take care of what I commend to you, that you receive very few into the Society; and those who have already been received should pass through many tests, since I fear that some have been received whom it would be better to dismiss, as I have done with Alvaro Ferreira. If he should come there, do not receive him into the college; speak with him in the porter's lodge or in the church; if he wishes to become a friar, help him in this. As for taking him back, I order you in virtue of obedience not to receive him, and do not let him be received into a house of the Society, since he is not one for the Society.

²⁰ On this see EX II 519.

²¹ Xavier means Antonio Gomes especially with this.

This letter will be for the rector of São Paulo, whoever he may be, and for Francisco Perez in Malacca.

From Sanchoão, the thirteenth of November, 1552.

Francisco.

4. THE DEATH OF FRANCIS XAVIER (DECEMBER 3, 1552)¹

The large sail of the ship which was carrying Xavier's last letters to Malacca slowly disappeared beneath the horizon on the south. One morning, after almost all the other ships had also sailed away,² Xavier noticed as he was saying Mass that his host, Jorge Alvares, was missing. When he asked where he was, he learned that his friend had hastily set sail for Malacca. He had been unable to take his leave of him: he had not even waited for the arrival of the junk which he had purchased on another island.³ When Xavier heard this, he observed: "I do not know if he is standing well with God. See! Here comes the ship which he bought; and he was unwilling to wait until it came! He will not leave Malacca but will, instead, die there." When the people left the church, they could not at first see the ship; but then, to their astonishment, it soon appeared on the horizon. It was later learned that Alvares had gone into the forest near Malacca to gather wood for his ship and was there slain by robbers.⁴

It was now still and solitary on Sancian. Only two ships were lying at anchor—the junk of Diogo Vaz de Aragão and, on the northern side of the bay, the *Santa Cruz* of Diogo Pereira. Only a few Portuguese were still living in their rude shelters on the strand. Xavier was now alone with Antonio and Christovão in the hut of Jorge Alvares, and they no longer had anyone to care for them. The north wind blew with its penetrating cold, which was keenly felt by the Portuguese, who had become accustomed to a tropical climate. Hunger set in. At times Xavier had to send Antonio to beg for bread or something else to eat from the

¹ The sources for this section are especially (1) the two drafts of the account which Antonio drew up in Cochin in September, 1557, for Teixeira (DI III 658-665), who partially admitted them into his life of Xavier (MX II 894-896). In his letter of December 8, 1584, to Ribadeneyra, Teixeira depends upon oral data provided by Antonio (*ibid.* 803-804), Valignano (260-261), and *Lacerda 109.—(2) In 1554 M. Nunes Barreto appealed to the oral data of Aguiar, the pilot of the *Santa Cruz* (DI III 74-75), as did Pedro Vaz, witness at the Goa process in 1556 (MX II 195). *Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 25, appeals to the oral information of a confrere (Luis de Almeida, the later Japanese missionary) who was with Xavier on Sancian in 1552 as a China merchant. Teixeira also spoke with Diogo Vaz de Aragão (MX II 804). There is also Estevão Ventura, another eyewitness, who testified at the Goa process in 1556 (*ibid.* 281-332). The best account is given by Brou in the second edition of his life of Xavier (II 360-366).

² Antonio 659.

³ Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 25 (missing in the Spanish), which Antonio wrote for him the following year. By this is probably meant the account of 1557, which he erroneously dates as 1554.

⁴ Teixeira then adds: "From that which a brother of the Society, who was a China merchant at the time (1552), later told us, Xavier was celebrating Mass when his friend (Alvares) sailed away..." At the time of his departure did Alvares think about his namesake whom a drunken warden in Canton had clubbed to death? Was he much grieved at leaving the priest who he believed would encounter a similar fate in the prisons of Canton? Did Francis receive the news during his Mass that the ship which was to have taken him to Malacca was leaving at once? According to Lucena, the junk purchased by Alvares came some hours later, and a few days after his arrival in Malacca, he was slain as he was cutting wood for it (10, 25). Tursellinus follows the Italian text of Teixeira and adds that the pain caused by the sudden departure of his host had caused the fever from which Xavier died (5, 10).

Portuguese. But even then they occasionally suffered from extreme want.⁵ The Portuguese were themselves in need of provisions, since the mandarins were blocking their export from the mainland.⁶

The Chinese merchant who was to take the priest to Canton was to arrive on the nineteenth of November. Daily, and even hourly, Master Francis anxiously watched for him. But he did not come on the appointed day, nor on the following.

The priest fell ill. It was on Monday morning, the twenty-first of November, after he had celebrated Mass for one who had died. Since he did not feel well and there was nothing to eat, Francis asked Antonio if it would not be better for him to go on board the ship of Diogo Pereira, which was anchored in the harbor. Antonio replied in the affirmative, especially since the ailing priest had no one to sustain him or to care for him. He would perhaps feel better there than on land, where he was suffering from such great need.

At midday on Tuesday, November 22, Francis was as a consequence rowed out to the *Santa Cruz*, while Antonio remained behind upon the beach.⁷ There he went to his cabin upon the ship. In the morning the people waited for him to come out as he usually did. But he did not appear, and he did not answer when they knocked upon his door. He was deep in prayer, and his usual sigh was all that could be heard: "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!" During all this time he ate and drank nothing, nor even on the following day. The rough tossing of the ship only increased the fever that was racking him; and on the day after his arrival, the morning of Wednesday, November 23, he asked that he might be taken back to land.⁸ His wish was granted, and he returned with a pair of warm trousers under his arm and a few almonds in his sleeves. He had such a high fever at the time that he seemed to be a glowing stove.

When Xavier's friend, Diogo Vaz de Aragão, saw him in such a serious condition, he took him into his straw hut, which was open to the wind and weather. When he told Francis that he should be bled at once, since he was more seriously ill than he thought, the latter replied that he should do so, and everything else that seemed good to him. The priest was consequently bled that same Wednesday. This caused him to lose consciousness for a short time, since he was of a fiery and sanguine nature. Water was thrown into his face, and this caused him to come back to himself. But he then suffered a great loss of appetite and could no longer eat. When his fever rose again on the following day, Thursday, he was bled again; and he again lost consciousness. He was given a purgative, but his

⁵ Antonio 658-661.

⁶ Valignano 259 (from Antonio's oral data). Brou suggests that Escandel, Pereira's factor, had also returned to Malacca after completing his business (II 352).

⁷ Antonio 660-661.

⁸ M. Nunes Barreto learned this from Aguiar, the pilot of the *Santa Cruz* in 1554, when he sailed from Goa to Cochin. From the words which Xavier spoke to the pilot himself and to some others, it seemed to Aguiar that he knew that he would die (DI III 75). MX makes here a false division of the words: "Parece que supo que avia de morir al Viernes" (II 757), instead of "morir. Al viernes..." In December, 1554, he simply declared: "Falecio con antes saber su muerte" (DI III 131). In 1556 the witness Pedro Vaz already declared in the Goa process that he had heard from the pilot of the *Santa Cruz* that Xavier prophesied the day and hour of his death (MX II 195). But in 1584 Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra: "Não sabemos d'elle, que o Padre denunciase sua morte antes de morrer" (FN IV 969). Teixeira further heard from Antonio that when Xavier was in the company of some Portuguese he had said to them: "'Count well and see how many of us are here; for within a year the majority of us will no longer be alive.' And it so happened. There were seven, and five of them died that year, including Xavier; and it seems that with this he prophesied his death" (*Teixeira It., P. 2, c. 25).

fever rose ever higher and was accompanied by great anguish. During all this time, though he was no longer able to eat,⁹ he remained so patient that no word of complaint passed from his lips.

Since Francis now felt that his death was near, he ordered Antonio to take all of his possessions—books, letters, clothes, and pictures—immediately to the ship.¹⁰

He then lost consciousness. Though he became delirious, he did not say anything absurd. With a cheerful countenance, and with his eyes raised to heaven, he held a kind of colloquy with God, speaking in a loud voice and in the different languages which he knew, but also one which Antonio did not understand.¹¹ As he spoke, he repeatedly inserted verses from the Psalms in Latin; and he could frequently be heard saying: "Tu autem meorum peccatorum et delictorum miserere!" ("Have mercy on my sins and failings!") He spoke thus with great fervor for five or six hours. The name of Jesus was constantly upon his lips, and Antonio often heard him say: "Jesu, fili David, miserere mei!" ("Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!")

He remained thus, without eating anything, through Thursday and Friday; and he was so forbearing that he did not cause the least difficulty to the one who was assisting him.

On Saturday, November 26, he lost his voice and ceased to recognize anyone. It was not until noon of Thursday, December 1, that he was able to speak again and to identify those about him. His words were directed primarily to the most Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for which he had always had a great devotion. And he also could be heard frequently saying: "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!" and "Virgin, Mother, be mindful of me!"¹²

On the day before his death, Francis turned his eyes towards Christovão, his Indian servant. Filled with grief and compassion, he repeated three times in Portuguese: "You poor fellow!" The meaning of these words was not understood at once. Did Francis foresee how, after his death, his servant would surrender himself to a dissolute life in Malacca and be killed there by a arquebus' shot while he was in this condition?¹³ From then on the ailing priest and Antonio were alone in the hut of Diogo Vaz de Aragão.

On the evening of Friday, December 2, Antonio could see that death was approaching, and he decided to keep watch by him throughout the night. The dying priest kept his eyes constantly fixed upon a crucifix which had been put up where he could see it by his companion. It was already past midnight when Antonio saw that the end was near. "I placed a candle in his hand," Antonio

⁹ Antonio 660-663.

¹⁰ As *Lacerda learned from Antonio (109).

¹¹ Valignano writes: "Antonio de Santa Fe told me when I met him still living in China as a good Christian, old and respectable, that one day before he died the priest almost always had his eyes lifted up to heaven or fixed upon a definite spot; and he spoke in a language which Antonio did not understand; and he spoke in this manner . . . those two days before he died. And from what I heard from him, it seemed to us that he spoke with God our Lord in his mother tongue (*hablando en su lengua natural*)" (260). Meant is Basque, since Antonio, who had been a student in St. Paul's College, could have understood Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish without difficulty.

¹² Antonio 662-663.

¹³ Valignano heard this directly from Antonio when he was staying in Macao in 1578-1579 (260-261). According to him Christovão died a few months, according to Lucena six months, later (10, 27). Sousa translates Valignano's words: "Ay triste de ti!" with "O miseravell!" (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 90). Brou makes a Malabar of Christovão (II 365), but he was a *canari*, an Indian born in the region of Goa.

later wrote in his report, "and with the name of Jesus in his mouth, he returned his soul into the hands of his Creator and Lord with great calm and tranquility. His body and his countenance were filled with peace and of a roseate hue; and his blessed soul entered into the enjoyment of his Creator and Lord, and of the reward and deserts which he had so well deserved for the many great services which he had rendered to his Lord, and for the great and continuous hardships which he had experienced during the ten years that he had labored there. He died before dawn on Saturday, December 3, 1552, on the island and harbor of Sanchón, in a straw hut that was not his own, ten years after he had come to these regions of India."¹⁴ His last words, as he was dying, were: "In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum." ("In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded.")¹⁵

5. THE BURIAL ON SANCIAN*

When Antonio became aware that Master Francis was no longer among the living, he called the Portuguese, who remained with Xavier's body¹ while Antonio went to the *Santa Cruz* to obtain the vestments which Xavier had used for celebrating Mass so that he might be laid out in them for his burial.² While Antonio was away, Diogo Vaz de Aragão took the saint's reliquary as a remembrance of him, but he later restored it to Father Melchior Nunes at the latter's request.³ Those who learned of Xavier's death from Antonio were greatly grieved at the loss of one whom they had loved so much, and to whom they were so greatly devoted. Some of these returned with Antonio to help him with the burial. Antonio then remembered that the Chinese were accustomed to bury their dead in a wooden coffin. When he mentioned this to the others, it seemed to them that it would be good to have a coffin made for the body. When this was finished, since the ground in the immediate vicinity was permeated with water, they decided that Xavier's grave should be dug at some distance from the huts of the Portuguese, at a site about halfway up on the headland of the bay opposite the *Santa Cruz*.⁴ Because of the great cold, only four persons sailed in a boat to a landing on the promontory—Antonio, two mulatto slaves, one of whom was Jorge Mendes, and a Portuguese,⁵ about whom nothing further is known.⁶ After the men had dug

¹⁴ Antonio 662-665. The two drafts do not agree in their data on the day and month. For the date of his death we follow the second. The cause of his death was, according to Ventura, "febre e piloris" (MX II 281, in the Latin text "pleuritis," *ibid.* 332); according to Pérez, "dolor de sangre prioris" (DI III 251; *Informação* 76), that is, a pleurisy. In 1947 we saw at the castle of Xavier the *Ultima enfermedad de S. Francisco Xavier* of José María Larrea, S.J. Antonio could have noted the time from an hourglass like those which were then generally used. Cieslik has written of Sebastian Kimura that he always had an hourglass with him so that he could correctly measure his time of prayer (NZM 15 [1959] 89). We have discussed the controversy over the day of his death up to 1900 (DI III 662-665). On the later controversies, see E. Escalada, *La tumba de San Francisco en San-Cian (China) y la fecha cierta de su muerte (obra de controversia)* (Pamplona, 1944).

¹⁵ As *Lacerda heard from Antonio himself (109): Ps. 31 (30): 2.

* Sections 5 and 6 have been written by J. Wicki.

¹ DI III 664-665 (Antonio China).

² *Ibid.*

³ DI IV 407-408 (L. Frois, Goa, November 19, 1559).

⁴ DI III 667.

⁵ *Ibid.* Another manuscript of the same text has *three* persons (*ibid.* 666).

⁶ MX II 472 (the nineteenth witness in the process at Cochin in 1616, Brother Joseph a Nativitate Domini) and 796 (A. China, with a question mark).

the grave and were about to place the coffin in it, one of them suggested to Antonio that it would be good to bury the body with a large amount of lime so that it would consume the flesh and make it easier to transfer the bones to India. The four agreed that this should be done. They returned to the camp of the Portuguese and obtained four sacks of lime. They then sailed back to the promontory and placed two sacks of lime beneath, and two sacks over, the body. The coffin was then lowered into the ground for its temporary burial. After the grave had been filled with earth, Antonio placed some stones upon it to mark the site so that later, if someone of the Society should come to this deserted spot, he could find it. Those who had assisted at the burial then left and returned to the camp, overcome with sorrow at having lost such an excellent and saintly man.⁷ All of this took place between Friday, the second, and Sunday, the fourth, of December, 1552.⁸

6. THE TRANSLATION TO MALACCA AND GOA (FEBRUARY 17, 1553—MARCH, 1554)

In the middle of February, 1553, the *Santa Cruz* was being readied for its return voyage to Malacca. Xavier's body had by this time been buried for two and one-half months on Sancian, and the faithful Antonio asked himself if Master Francis should be left alone upon the island. He expressed his doubts to Diogo Vaz de Aragão, the captain of the ship, who then shared his perplexity. He sent a Portuguese to open the grave and to discover the condition of the body. To his astonishment, the man found the body perfectly fresh and incorrupt, just as it had been at the time of death. He cut off a piece of flesh the size of a finger from near a knee and brought it to the captain in order to prove to him the perfect preservation of Francis' body. When Vaz saw the piece of flesh and perceived that it had no evil odor, he praised God and ordered the coffin to be brought with the body, and also the lime, so that this would consume it during the voyage if the Lord did not determine otherwise.¹ The body was consequently brought on board the ship. It was apparently at this time that it was dressed in a new silk garment which had been found in the priest's traveling bag, and which he had intended to wear at the audience of the emperor.² After a normal voyage, the ship reached Malacca on March 22, 1553. As usual, a sloop was sent on ahead to inform the people of the city that the ship was near. And this time it brought as well the singular news that the *Santa Cruz* was bringing with it the body of Master Francis.³ The city was at the time in a state of serious want, but the people spared no efforts to give the body of the priest a worthy reception. Diogo Pereira purchased a considerable amount of wax and ordered candles to be made.⁴ It was already late when the ship arrived and a procession

⁷ DI III 667.

⁸ Schurhammer for decades unflinchingly accepted December 3 as the day of Xavier's death, but this is not at all certain, and even improbable, since this date is preserved in only one manuscript (DI III 663), which consistently gives contradictory numbers and week days. Many other authors and Antonio China in the same report, but in a different copy, give December 2 (DI III 662, and note 32 on p. 663). It is consequently not easy to indicate on what days the boat sailed to the Portuguese. The burial, at any rate, occurred on Sunday, December 4, 1552. [See J. Wicki, "Starb Xaver am 2. oder 3. Dezember 1552?" *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 32 (1976) 222-223.]

¹ DI III 668-669.

² Brou II 371; the passage there, cited from Tursellinus V 13, has nothing to do with this.

³ DI III 671.

⁴ Valignano, *Hist.* 266.

could not be organized at the time. Since in November, 1552, Xavier had given strict orders to the superior of the residence in Malacca to leave the city because of the attitude of Dom Alvaro de Ataíde,⁵ there were no Jesuits in the city to receive the body of the deceased provincial. It was therefore laid out in a house near the harbor. News of its preservation spread throughout the city. The vicar ordered the coffin to be opened, and it was again discovered that the body was whole and incorrupt.⁶ On the following day there was a great procession from the harbor to the church of the Jesuits, Nossa Senhora do Monte. The whole city, including the clergy and the ambassador Diogo Pereira, took part in it. Such a procession had never before been seen in Malacca. When it reached the church of the Society, the Office of the Dead was recited in the usual manner, and the body of Francis was buried for a second time in the nave of the church in front of the altar, but without lime. The Kaffirs who assisted at the burial used little care in trampling upon the earth over the body of the saint; and, as a consequence, its nose was flattened at this time.⁷ Some later declared that the arrival of the body had freed the city from the pestilence which had been afflicting it.⁸ The body rested where it had been buried from March 23 until August 15, 1553.⁹ In the meantime, in April, Father Beira arrived from India. He was on his way to his mission territory, the Moluccas, where he was superior. He had heard, of course, that Xavier's body was incorrupt and was naturally eager to see it before he continued on his voyage to the Moluccas. He therefore went to the church of the Society one night with his confreres and some others who had been informed of his plan, including Diogo Pereira. There, in the quiet darkness only relieved by the light of flickering candles, he had the grave reopened. He then saw for himself that Xavier's body was whole and incorrupt. All who were present expressed their thanks and praise to God and reverently kissed the body. Beira did not think that it would be proper to have the body reinterred. He ordered a casket to be prepared and reverently placed the body within it. He then declared that it should be kept with great respect within the house. When, on August 15, he sailed on for the Moluccas, he left behind one of the brothers whom he had brought with him, Manuel de Távora, to remain as a guard for Francis' mortal remains.¹⁰

Meanwhile the monsoon wind for the voyage to India had begun and Távora had been joined by another brother of the Society, *Pedro Alcáçova, who had been sent by Cosme de Torres, the superior of Japan, to explain the needs of the mission to authorities in India, and who, on his way to Malacca, had visited Sancier.¹¹ When the two brothers wished to leave Malacca with the body of the saint, there was only one ship in the harbor bound for India. It was the old ship of Lobo de Noronha, so decrepit that João de Mendonça would not entrust his wares from China to it;¹² and there was a general conviction that the ship would not survive a storm.¹³ When Xavier's body was brought on board this ship in December, 1553,¹⁴ its captain was only too glad to receive it. He

⁵ EX II 507 (Xavier to Francisco Pérez, Sancier, November 12, 1552).

⁶ DI III 670-671.

⁷ DI III 670-673.

⁸ DI III 673.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ DI III 672-675.

¹¹ DI III 144 675, see also 76 81 123-124 177-178.

¹² Lucena 905.

¹³ MX II 242.

¹⁴ Tursellinus V 14.

reserved a special room for it and covered the body with silk and generously provided it with fragrant scents and perfumes.¹⁵

During these solemn days in Malacca, there had been only one who failed to take part in the festivities. This was Dom Alvaro de Ataide, who had from the very beginning no relish for what was going on.¹⁶ He may have already at this time been afflicted with leprosy. He was, at any rate, later removed from his office; and he eventually died in the prison in Lisbon.¹⁷ When he sailed from Malacca for the kingdom, he left behind him an ugly remembrance that lasted for decades.¹⁸

The course of the ship bearing Xavier's body from Malacca to India was not entirely smooth. As it was sailing past the island of Pulo Penang, it was driven onto a sand bank by a hurricane; but the wind then suddenly veered and the ship became afloat again.¹⁹ It encountered even worse trouble near Ceylon, where it was caught in a shallows and, with its broken mast, was practically given up for lost. Nevertheless, after the people on the ship had invoked the help of Father Master Francis, they were freed from their peril and were able to continue on to Cochin without incident.²⁰ From there the ship then sailed along the coasts of Travancore and Malabar to Bhatkal.

According to the instructions which had been left by Xavier, Father Melchior Nunes Barreto, after the deaths of Gaspar Barzaeus and Manuel de Morais, had become the rector of the college in Goa and vice-provincial.²¹ He had been making a visitation in Quilon when he first heard of Xavier's death.²² After returning to Goa, he learned that Francis' body was being brought to India. He then went to the viceroy, Dom Affonso Noronha, and asked him to place a *fusta* at his disposal so that he could go and obtain the remains of the priest. His request was readily granted. Nunes Barreto then took with him Fernão Mendes Pinto, who had offered to go with him,²³ three confreres, among whom was Manuel Teixeira, and four boys who helped with the instruction in Christian doctrine.

The *fusta* encountered Lobo de Noronha's ship, which was coming from Cochin decked with flags, banners, and awnings, in the neighborhood of Bhatkal. The boys, wearing wreaths about their heads and bearing branches in their hands, boarded the ship as they sang the *Gloria*. As Xavier's body was transferred to the *fusta*, *salvos* were fired by the artillery. The body was placed in a coffin lined and covered with damask. A brocaded pall was then spread over the whole. The body had already been clothed in an alb and a richly embroidered surplice. Despite the fact that this latter had been immersed in lime, it seemed to be as fresh and new as if it had only been recently made. Nunes later took it with him to Japan so that he might wear it when speaking with the king of that land.²⁴ Xavier's face had been covered; his hands had been crossed and tied together; and his feet had been encased in slippers. Mendes Pinto was deeply moved by the sight of his body, and he wept freely as he kissed the feet

¹⁵ DI III 675.

¹⁶ MX II 276 (Galeote Pereira, witness at Cochin in 1556).

¹⁷ MX II 893; Couto VI, 10, 18.

¹⁸ DI XII 549.

¹⁹ MX II 419 (Antonio Pereira, witness at Malacca in 1556).

²⁰ DI III 675.

²¹ EX II 341-342 (Xavier, Goa, April 6, 1552); DI III 218-219.

²² DI III 218-219.

²³ MX II 904; DI III 144.

²⁴ DI III 145.

of the priest with whom he had so frequently spoken in the past. His earlier desire to spend the remainder of his life in the service of God, and if possible in the Society,²⁵ was rekindled within him.

The *fusta* bearing the body of the saint arrived at Ribandor, a half a league from Goa, during the night of March 15.²⁶ When the news of the ship's coming was learned in St. Paul's College, all the priests and brothers rose up and went to the quay. The following day, the Friday of Passion Week, Xavier's remains were brought solemnly into the city. The viceroy and others thought that the bells of the cathedral and of the other churches in the city should be rung, but the priests preferred the usual tolling of the bells for the dead. The viceroy, cathedral chapter, and members of the confraternity of the Misericordia took part in the solemn procession. These last had brought with them a coffin, but it proved to be unnecessary. Ninety boys dressed in white cassocks and carrying lighted candles in their hands also took part in the procession. Mendes Pinto later declared that he had never seen such a throng.²⁷ Many witnessed the procession from the windows and walls of the city. The Rua Direita, the most important street in Goa, was sprinkled with fragrant scents and perfumes. Two servers carrying silver censers incensed the coffin as they walked on either side of it in the procession that passed the long distance from the quay to the College of St. Paul, which lay on the edge of the city. Despite the difficulties caused by the press of the crowds, the college was finally reached.

All wished to see Xavier's body. Since this was quite impossible under the circumstances, the priests placed the coffin in the chapel of the college without showing the body to the people. The viceroy did not persist in his desire to see the remains but simply kissed the casket and returned to his home. When the people realized that they would not be shown the body, they gradually gave up hope and went their separate ways. Some men and women, however, still remained and earnestly asked to be shown the body; and they could not be persuaded to leave. Since Nunes Barreto now saw that there was less confusion and fewer people on hand, he had the grating of the chapel closed and the body of the saint displayed to those who were before it. All were deeply moved by what they saw; and after they had returned home and had reported their good fortune, a new wave of enthusiasm swept through the city. The press of those who came to see the body now became so great that their requests could no longer be rejected. Nunes Barreto took the necessary measures for security and permitted the people to enter the chapel, but only a few at a time. They approached the bier two by two, knelt down, and reverently kissed Xavier's hands and feet and touched their rosaries to his body. This continued until Sunday night. Nunes Barreto and Baltasar Diaz then took the body from the coffin in which it had been and, after removing some lime which still adhered to it, they placed it in another coffin which had been made for it. This was then placed in a tomb which had been cut into the brickwork at the side of the altar and had been plastered both inside and out and equipped with a wooden door which could be locked with a key. Aires Brandão, who has left a report of this deposition, closes his account with the words: "We are very much consoled to have his holy body with us, but even more in our belief that his soul is with God, interceding for the good spirit and increase of His Society."²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid.*, also 175-176.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 176.

²⁷ DI III 144-145.

²⁸ More detailed in Brandão's letter from Goa of December 23, 1554 (DI III 176-177); also Nunes Barreto of April, 1554 (DI III 76-77).

On the Friday after the arrival of Xavier's body in Goa, the canons of the cathedral celebrated a Mass for Father Master Francis; but instead of a Mass for the Dead, they offered the Mass of the Holy Cross. On Saturday, the Franciscans celebrated a votive Mass *De Beata* for the same intention.²⁹

In 1575 the first provincial congregation of the Jesuits of India wished to see the saintly body transferred to a worthier site, but still not within the church, since Xavier had not as yet been canonized.³⁰ In 1582 it was brought to the chapel of the novices. Francis' nephew Jerónimo Xavier was the novice master at the time. At about this same time the provincial, Rui Vicente, was able to inform the general in Rome that the novices would draw much profit from the presence of Father Master Francis, since they frequently visited his tomb during the day and were encouraged by the remembrance of his virtues and merits.³¹ In 1605 Francis' body was transferred to the main chapel of the college, and a picture of him was placed on its Gospel side.³² The body was still later transferred to the church of Bom Jesus, where it still remains and is the object of great veneration.

Francis Xavier was beatified on October 25, 1619, and canonized on March 12, 1622, by Pope Gregory XV. Among the first petitioners for his beatification had been John III, the king of Portugal, who in 1556 ordered his viceroy in India to have testimonies taken on his life and virtues.³³ Another was the duke of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, Dom Francisco, who asked the pope for this through the intervention of Valignano in 1583 and 1584.³⁴

EPILOG

Only ten years had been granted to Xavier for his labors in the East, and he was able to work specifically among the pagans and the newly converted Christians in only a little more than half of these. The rest of his time was taken up by his long and difficult voyages at sea and his extended delays in Portuguese harbors as he waited for the next opportunity to sail. But during this short period of time he had accomplished marvels. His whole course of life had been directed at carrying out the commission which he had received from Ignatius and from Pope Paul III, as indicated in the latter's briefs of 1540. In his extensive travels, he was not motivated by a spirit of adventure. He was duty bound to interest himself in the actual and potential Christians of the East. It was on this account that he sailed at the first opportunity to the Fishery Coast and dedicated his first years to the abandoned Paravas. Then, when he heard of the neophytes in Macassar, he wished to be also of assistance to them; and he asked for light on this difficult decision at the tomb of the apostle in São Tomé. As soon as he heard in Malacca that there was already a priest in Macassar, he sailed to Amboina, and then on to the Moluccas in order to work there among the native Christians. On his return to Malacca, he met a fugitive Japanese who aroused his interest in Japan. After providing for the cares of India, he went to the Land of the Rising Sun and remained there for more than

²⁹ DI III 77. Some Dominicans in Goa showed themselves less happy about the veneration shown to Xavier (see DI III 123 429).

³⁰ DI X 314 359 385.

³¹ DI XII 613.

³² DI XII 994.

³³ DI III 470-471 (Lisbon, March 28, 1556).

³⁴ Q 6172 6175.

two years. There he learned of Japan's great cultural dependence upon China; and he there conceived the plan of first carrying the faith to China, since Japan would then follow its example.

Xavier was, moreover, careful to secure the continuation of the work which he had begun by sending priests, brothers, and lay assistants to the places which he had himself visited so that they might strengthen the people in their faith. He was thus not only the pioneer but also the true founder of the Jesuit missions in Asia. He moreover founded numerous colleges in the more important Portuguese settlements so that boys and young men might have the opportunity of receiving both a secular and a religious education. He placed great importance upon the learning of native languages and the translation of the basic truths of Christianity into them. His own life was for all a shining example, so much so that he everywhere became known simply as "o Padre santo."

APPENDIX I

JAPANESE CHRONICLES ¹

OUCHI YOSHITAKA-KI

At the end of this single volume on the life of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, the lord of Yamaguchi, there is the following notice: "Written in the temple of Ryūfukuji in Yamaguchi in the land of Suō. Winter, Tembun 20, in the middle of the Month of Frost [the eleventh month of the lunar calendar]. Since this account was completed three months after the death of Yoshitaka, probably by a bonze of the temple, it is one of the earliest sources which we have on him. Composed under the still vivid impression left by his tragic death, it is to a large extent a religious and philosophical tract on human destiny, as is intimated by its opening words: "No one knows the beginning of his life; no one knows the outcome of his death. Who then can find within his heart his fate from his birth unto his end?" The description of Yoshitaka's death is of particular interest. There are also two other important passages with reference to the advent of the Portuguese in Japan. One gives an account of the audience which Francis Xavier had with Yoshitaka and a list of the gifts which he presented to him. The other describes the rebellion in Yamaguchi, where "firestones" (muskets and cannons), the magical weapons from Tenjiku, were employed for the first time.

The *Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki* is preserved in two textual traditions, the second under the name *Ihon Yoshitaka-ki*. The two texts have been harmonized and printed in *Gunsho-ruijū*, vol. 13.

KYŪSHŪ-KI

The eighteen books of this chronicle attributed to Ōtake Shunryū describe the wars for supremacy in Kyūshū among the princely houses of the Shimazu, Ōtomo, and Kikuchi, but the Sue, Ōuchi, Mōri, Ryūzōji, Tsukushi, Tachibana, Itō, and other families are also taken into account. It gives the history of Hideyoshi's Kyūshū campaign (1586-1587) and ends with "The Rebellion of Ishida Mitsunari" (Battle of Sekigahara, in 1600). Though the work is not dated, it is apparently from the seventeenth century. The author used as his primary sources traditions and documents of the Kikuchi, Ogata, Matsūra, Harada, Akizuki, Shōni, Shimazu, and Ōtomo families.

¹ This appendix is not a translation but rather a rearranged and abbreviated version of the original German. The appendix as first printed was not written by Father Schurhammer but largely compiled from background material sent to him by Father Cieslik, some of which has already been incorporated into the notes and is consequently redundant. In its present form, it may still be of considerable use since there is no discussion of native Japanese historiography for the sixteenth century in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank (London, 1961), though the work contains a valuable essay by C. R. Boxer dealing with European historians of this period: "Some Aspects of Western Historical Writing on the Far East, 1500-1800" (pp. 307-321). (Translator's note.)

CHŪGOKU-CHIRAN-KI

The author of this work and the year of its composition are unknown. It consists of a single volume describing the growth and decline of the Amako during the time from Tembun to Eiroku. The Amako were a branch of the Sasaki of Ōmi. Amako Mochihisa became governor of Izumo in the fourteenth century. The chronicle is primarily concerned with Amako Tsunehisa, who fought against the expansion of the Ōuchi and the Mōri, losing in the end to Mōri Motonari. Though the reporting is not always reliable, the *Chūgoku-chiran-ki* contains important data on the wars between the Ōuchi, Mōri, and Amako. It ends with the victory of Mōri Motonari over Amako in the battle near Toda in Eiroku 6 (1563).

The victorious Mōri Motonari spared the lives of Amako Yoshishisa and his relatives. The last sentence of the work reads as follows: "Since then the might of Motonari has continually increased." It therefore seems to have been written by a vassal of the Mōri, probably in the Eiroku or Tenshō periods (1563-1590). It has been published in *Gunsho-ruijū* 13 (1959-1960³).

INTOKU TAIHEIKI

This extensive account of the wars, careers, and fortunes of the princes in western Japan from around 1470 to 1600 is a valuable and frequently cited work. It was begun by Kagawa Masanori, a vassal of the Kikkawa of Iwakuni, and was continued after his death by his second son, Gyōshin, who completed it in 1695, as is noted in its foreword. It is a typical work of the end of the seventeenth century and of the beginning of the Genroku period, when "war stories" were in great vogue. Popularly, and not critically, written, it combines historical events with numerous anecdotes and legends of little or no worth. Despite this defect, it is extraordinarily rich in source materials. The original eighty-one Japanese volumes were published in 1915 in *Tsūzoku Nihon Zenshi*, vols. 13 and 14.

HONCHŌ-TSŪGAN

This large and ambitious work of 310 volumes was composed at the request of the ruling Tokugawa by the court Confucianist Hayashi Shunsai (1618-1680), a son of the famous Hayashi Dōshun, or Razan (1583-1657). By an official decree the *Kokushi-kan* (Historical Institute) had been erected in Edo in 1664 and its direction given to the Hayashi, a Confucianist family. Annals, genealogies, and other historical sources were collected by the institute and the *Honchō-tsūgan* compiled from them. Completed in October, 1670, it has the following divisions: *Zempen*, 3 volumes on the age of the gods; *Seihen*, 40 on the period from Jimmu-Tennō to Uda-Tennō (889-897); *Zokuhen*, 230 on that from Daigo-Tennō to Go-Yōzei-Tennō (898-1611); 30 of an epitome, 5 of an appendix, and 2 of sources and explanations. Annalistic in its arrangement, the *Honchō-tsūgan* is written in the Chinese literary style (*kambun*). The sources have been critically compiled and the observations of its author are balanced and reserved. Data on Yamaguchi are found in seven books of annals from the time of the emperor Go-Yōzei in Volume 188 of the *Zokuhen*. The *Nihon-tsūgan* of Father Villion is probably identical with this work, since there is no other known by this name. It has been printed in eighteen volumes in the collection *Kokusho-Kankōkai-sōsho* (1918-1920).

YAMAGUCHI-KEN SHIRYAKU (A Short History of the Prefecture of Yamaguchi)

This and the following two chronicles are from the pen of a well-known historian of Yamaguchi, Kondō Kiyoshi, who was born in Hagi in 1833 of the noble family of Ōdama but was adopted by Kondō Gisuke. His original name of Ichirō was later changed to Shirō, but he is best known under that of Kiyoshi. He early showed an interest in history and archaeology. Living in Yamaguchi, Hachiman-baba, he was for a long time a teacher in the provincial academy of Shōkō-gakusha. He also exercised the functions of a Shintō priest. He died on January 4, 1916, at the age of eighty-four, and is buried in the Shimpuku-ji temple. All of his writings, including his collections of historical materials, are found in the Yamaguchi-kenritsu Toshokan (Provincial Library of Yamaguchi), of which he was one of the two principal founders. His historical works are based upon the *kōshō-gaku* school, which insists upon the collation and critical examination of original texts. His *Yamaguchi-ken Fūdo-shi* in 108 volumes is considered to be his most significant work.

Yamaguchi-ken Shiryaku, as its title indicates, is a compendium of the history of the prefecture of Yamaguchi, which was formed in 1871 from the earlier provinces of Suō and Nagato. In his foreword to this history, Kondō gives an account of its origins. During his long years of teaching, he was repeatedly asked by his students about provincial matters. As an answer to these, he began the writing of a history of the area but was unable to continue with it because of his other numerous activities. After his retirement he was able to take up the work again and complete it. The first three books are concerned with Suō, the second three with Nagato. Book 1 gives the genealogies of the Ōuchi and Mōri and a brief account of the province down to Kōji 3 (1557). Book 2 continues with the family tree of the Mōri and events from Eiroku 3 to Bunkyū 3 (1560-1863). Book 3 gives the history of the province from Ganji 1 to Meiji 1 (1864-1868), treating especially the Meiji restoration, in which the Mōri played a significant role. Book 4 has a general introduction and a history of the province of Nagato down to Kōji 3 (1557). Book 5 gives the genealogy of the Nagato Mōri, a collateral line, and events from Eiroku 5 to Meiwa 7 (1562-1770). Book 6 contains the history of the province from Meiwa 8 to Meiji 2 (1771-1869). The first three books were block-printed and published in a single volume in 1882, the second three were published in the same manner the following year.

For the life of St. Francis Xavier, the following sections of the *Yamaguchi-ken Shiryaku* are of particular importance: the genealogies of the Ōuchi with their biographical data, the rule of Ōuchi Yoshitaka, the fall of the house of Ōuchi (Book 1), and the death of Yoshinaga (Book 4). Since Kondō was an intimate friend and collaborator of Father Villion, it may be said that practically all the material assembled by the latter goes back to this objective and reliable historian of Yamaguchi.

ŌUCHI-SHI JITSUROKI (Authentic Account of the History of the Ōuchi)

This history of the Ōuchi by Kondō Kiyoshi consists of thirty books (*kan*), three more of supplements, and one of corrections, which were all printed in five volumes in 1885. The author first gives the biographies of the eleven generations of Ōuchi down to Yoshitaka. These are then followed by the biographies of the wives and concubines of Ōuchi Hiroyo, Yoshinori, and Yoshitaka, and by the biographies of the relatives, chief vassals, and other important individuals in the

service of the Ōuchi, including painters and writers, and of the leading vassals of Sue Harukata. The appendices contain (1) a genealogy of the Ōuchi, (2) a list of names appearing in the different Ōuchi sources, and (3) a catalog of the Ōuchi vassals. The work is particularly valuable as a collection of source materials. Ōuchi Yoshitaka is discussed in Book 11. Biographies of Ōuchi Yoshinaga, Sue Harukata, Sugi Shigenori, Sugi Takayasu, Sugi Okishige, Naitō Okimori, and others are given in Book 28.

YAMAGUCHI-MEISHŌ-KYŪSEKI-ZUSHI (Illustrated Guide to the Sights and Antiquities of Yamaguchi)

This is a popular but accurate guide to Yamaguchi and its environs by Kondō Kiyoshi. The historical background and citations from poems or famous individuals, if available, are given for each of the areas and monuments discussed. The section in Book 1 on the Ōuchi palace is of particular interest for Xavier's time. The guide was published in two volumes (1893-1894).

APPENDIX II

JAPAN AND CHINA

1. *List A: Jesuits and Captains who Sailed to Japan*¹

Do tempo determinado em que vierão os Padres da Índia pera Japão, e Irmãos, e pello consequente os capitães todos desta viagem de Japão continuados do anno de 1549 por diante.

Em 1549 veyo da Índia o P^{re} Mestre Francisco Xavier, que era praeposito provincial das Índias Orientaes, e foi hum dos primeiros dez companheiros de Nosso P^{re} Ignacio de Loyola, preposito geral da Companhia, de santa memoria. Troixe o P^{re} Mestre Francisco consigo pera Japão o P^{re} Cosme de Torres, hespanhol, que ainda era noviço em Goa, e o Irmão João Fernandes, cordovez. Vierão em hum junco de hum Ladrão China, por nome Ayvão; e chegarão ao porto da cidade de Cangoxima² do reino de Çacçuma³ dia de Nossa Senhora de Agosto do dito anno. Em 1550 veyo a Japão ao porto de Ximabara⁴ em hum junco Dom Fernando de Menezes;⁵ e no mesmo anno veyo Duarte da Gama por capitão de huma nao a Firando,⁶ e em sua companhia o P^{re} Balthazar Gago, portuguez, e o Irmão Duarte da Silva, tambem portuguez.⁷

Em 1552 veyo Manoel Preto⁸ em hum junco ao porto de Yamagaua,⁹ no reyno de Çacçuma.

¹ The list was found in a codex which Frois, according to his own account, began in Nagasaki in 1585 and continued until his death in 1597. It is only preserved in a copy which Brother João Alvares, at the request of the mission procurator in Lisbon, had made in Macao in 1745. The copy is in the Ajuda library in Lisbon with the signature 49-456. List A is on ff. 3-4 (cf. Schütte, *Introductio* 283-286. On the collection *Jesuitas na Asia*, to which our codex belongs, see our study "Die Schätze der Jesuitenarchive in Makao and Peking," GS II 3-12). Boxer gives the main contents of the list in *As viagens de Japão e dos seus capitães-mores (1550-1640)* (Macao, 1941) along with a photograph of the first page of the list (until 1568). We give the list only up to 1574, since it is only up to then that Xavier is confused with individuals on this list. An almost verbatim copy of our list is in the Academia Real de la Historia in Madrid: *Jesuitas legajo 21*, pag. 1, ff. 4-6v.

² Kagoshima.

³ Satsuma.

⁴ Shimabara.

⁵ He is the "don Hernando, hidalgo," mentioned by Anjirō in 1548 (DI I 336).

⁶ Hirado. On September 20, 1555, Gago wrote from Hirado: "Em todo o tempo que Duarte da Gama andou nestas partes, que foi espaço de seis annos, em huma nao sua, o de que se prezou mais neste tempo, e de que teue cargo, foi de nos fazer caridades" (*Cartas* 1598, 42). Gama sailed for six years in China and Japan, from 1549 on.

⁷ In 1552 Gago and Silva sailed with Alcáçova for China, and from there, on August 2, in another ship for Japan, where they arrived on August 14, "indo em nossa companhia dous portugueses. A primeira terra que tomamos de Iapão, foy huma ilha que se chama Tanúxuma, onde ja estiuera o padre Mestre Francisco," by which Kagoshima is meant, since Xavier was never in Tanegashima. They sailed eight days later from there for Bungo (*ibid.* 23). Thus against Frois, *Geschichte* 20.

⁸ According to list B he sailed in 1551.

⁹ Yamagawa, south of Kagoshima.

Em 1553 veyo a Japão o Irmão Pedro de *Alcáçeva*¹⁰ com Duarte da Gama na segunda vez que cá veyo.¹¹

Em 1554 veyo Dom Francisco *Palha*¹² a Bungo, e em sua companhia o P.^o *Melchior*,¹³ superior universal da India, e o P. Gaspar *Vilella*,¹⁴ e os Irmãos *Guilherme*,¹⁵ *Melchior Dias*,¹⁶ e *Fernão Mendez*.¹⁷

Em 1556 foi Diogo *Vaz de Aragão*¹⁸ a Firando.

Em 1557 veyo Francisco *Martins*¹⁹ ao porto de Firando em huma nao mandada por Francisco Barretto antes de ser Governador da India.²⁰

Em 1558 veyo Leonel de *Souza*²¹ a Firando; e *Guilherme Pereyra*,²² irmão de Diogo Pereyra, a Bungo.

¹⁰ *Alcáçova* arrived in Japan in 1552 and sailed back from there with Gama in 1553.

¹¹ With Duarte da Gama on Gama's second voyage. Gama's voyage in 1549 is consequently to be cancelled, as is also his voyage to Hirado in 1550, where Xavier was solemnly received by Pereira de Miranda, and not by Duarte da Gama (EX II 515). At the end of 1551, Gama came with Xavier to Sancian; he then sailed on to Siam without him so that he could have his ship repaired there. He was not present on Sancian at the time of Xavier's death, as Boxer writes, whose six Japanese voyages of Gama are to be reduced to three (*Fidalgos in the Far East* 29-30). It seems, however, that Gama came to Sancian after Xavier's death and before the *Santa Cruz* sailed for Malacca with his body in February, 1553. In 1552 Frois has the surgeon and merchant Luis de Almeida visit Torres in Yamaguchi from Hirado (*Geschichte* 27). But since lists A and B do not have any voyages to Hirado in Japan for this year, the visit is probably to be placed in 1553, when we encounter Gama there with his ship. In 1555 Almeida went again in Gama's ship to Hirado. From there he went to Bungo, where he entered the Society (cf. his letter from Hirado of September 16, 1555, in *Brotéria* 51 [1950] 186-197). For two of Xavier's prophecies on Sancian, Teixeira (in the Italian translation) appeals to a "fratello della Compagnia che a l'ora era mercante chinese." Since Teixeira usually designates Antonio China as the "interprete," and never as *mercante chinese* (with him the equivalent of "merchant in China"), he seems to mean here Luis de Almeida, whom he probably met in Goa in 1554. Gama made his last voyage to Hirado in 1555, when he was already determined to return to Portugal (Q 6090). Frois writes that when Melchior Nunes Barreto was in China, on the point of sailing to Japan, "estava da China pera tanbem se partir pera Japam huma nao muy grande de Duarte da Gama, que já lá foi algumas vezes" (DI III 318). In his letter of November 23, 1555, M. Nunes Barreto wrote from China that ten or twelve days earlier a very rich ship had come from Japan, which made everyone enthusiastic for sailing there (Ayres, *Subsidios* 89); and on January 7, 1556, Frois wrote from Malacca that it had been Duarte da Gama's ship, "a qual chegou na fazenda a mais prospera que nunca de la veo" (*ibid.* 93).

¹² D. Francisco Palha Mascarenhas did not sail to Japan until 1556, as is correctly stated on list B (see also Frois, *Geschichte* 52, and Boxer, *The Great Ship* 23-24).

¹³ Melchior Nunes Barreto sailed from Goa to Japan on April 16, 1554. The wrong date of 1556, the year of his arrival in Bungo, is probably due to this.

¹⁴ Vilela worked with great success in Japan until 1569, when he was recalled to India. He died in Goa in 1572 (DI III 121 576-577; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 1031; Frois, *Geschichte*, index 529).

¹⁵ Guilherme Pereira was one of Pedro Doménech's orphan boys who had been sent to India in 1551. He entered the Society in Japan in 1558 and died there in 1603 at the age of sixty-six (Frois, *Geschichte* 60). He is not to be confused with the brother of Diogo Pereira.

¹⁶ Melchior Dias entered in Lisbon in 1551. He sailed in the same year for India and returned with Nunes Barreto to India in 1557 and was there dismissed in 1581.

¹⁷ Fernão Mendes Pinto, the author of the *Peregrinação*, as novice of the Society of Jesus and envoy.

¹⁸ We encounter Diogo Vaz de Aragão in Bungo in 1546-1551, in Sancian with Xavier in 1552 on the point of sailing for Siam, and in Lampacau in 1555-1556, where he wintered with Diogo Pereira and Francisco Toscano. He then sailed with M. Nunes Barreto to Bungo. By that time he had already sailed several times to Japan (Ayres, *Subsidios* 95).

¹⁹ Boxer, *The Great Ship* 23-24. This was the year of the founding of Macao.

²⁰ Francisco Barreto was governor of India from 1555 to 1558.

²¹ Boxer, *The Great Ship* 24, and *Fidalgos in the Far East* 31-32.

Em 1559 veyo Ruy Barretto²³ a Firando.

Em 1560 veyo Manoel de Mendoça²⁴ a Bungo, e Ayres Botelho²⁵ a Firando.

Em 1561 veyo Fernão de Souza²⁶ a Firando, e ahi o matarão com 14 portugueses;²⁷ e vinha a fazer a viagem por Gomes Barretto, que ficou na China.²⁸

Em 1562 veyo Pedro Barretto Rolim²⁹ a Yoquxiura;³⁰ e no mesmo anno se fez Dom Bartholameu³¹ christão, cujo aquelle porto era.

Em 1563 veyo Dom Pedro da Guerra³² fazer a viagem por seu irmão D. Francisco Dessa,³³ que então era capitão de Malaca.³⁴ Veyo ao porto de Yocuxiura, e em sua companhia troixe os Padres Luis Frois, portuguez, e João Baptista de Monte,³⁵ ferrariense e troixerão consigo Jacome Gonçalves³⁶ e Miguel Vaz.³⁷

²² Boxer, *Fidalgos* 32-33.

²³ *Ibid.* 24-25; cfr. Frois, *Geschichte* 69.

²⁴ On December 27, 1560, Gago sailed from Bungo for Malacca in the junk of Manuel de Mendonça, the nephew of the captain of Malacca, João de Mendonça. The junk, which had been severely damaged in the storm, fell apart in Hainan (Frois, *Geschichte* 102-106; *Cartas* 1598, 95-97v). We again encounter Mendonça with a junk in Kyōdomari, a harbor of Satsuma (Frois, *Geschichte* 118-121 156; Boxer, *The Great Ship* 25-26).

²⁵ Ayres Botelho played a roll in the so-called sea-water miracle of Xavier in which the eighty-five-year-old Chinese João Botelho confuses the *Santa Cruz* of 1552 with that of 1564, the voyage of Ayres Botelho of 1560 with that of D. Pedro de Almeida of 1564, and Xavier with one of the three Jesuits who were sailing together (GS III 138-139 255-256, IV 436; MX II 594-596).

²⁶ We encounter six contemporaries with this name in India. The one mentioned here cannot be Fernão de Sousa de Távora, as Boxer presumes (*Fidalgos* 33), since he was captain of Sofala from 1548 to 1551 and died, as it seems, on his return voyage to India (Vol. III, p. 107). Perhaps it is a question of Fernão de Sousa, son of Simão de Faria, whom we encounter in India from 1538 to 1547 (*Emmentia* 370; Q 2936 3010 3295, and pl. VIII).

²⁷ See Frois, *Geschichte* 153 155 261; Boxer, *The Great Ship* 26-27.

²⁸ He made the voyage for his friend Gomes Barreto, who remained with his wife in Macao (Boxer, *The Great Ship* 27).

²⁹ On Barreto Rolim's voyage and life, see Boxer, *The Great Ship* 27-29; cf. Frois, *Geschichte* 156.

³⁰ On the opening up of the harbor of Yokoseura in the territory of the *daimyō* of Ōmura, see Frois, *Geschichte* 152-156; Schütte, *Introductio* 709-711.

³¹ On the baptism of the *daimyō* Ōmura Sumitada, as a Christian Dom Bartholomeo, see Frois, *Geschichte* 156-166.

³² On D. Pedro da Guerra and his voyage, see *ibid.* 183-185 190 193 200. He was at the time less than thirty. At the end of November he sailed with the other Portuguese ships back to China (Boxer, *The Great Ship* 29). The contemporary reports know nothing of Xavier's appearance on this voyage of Guerra, which is given in the second edition of Tursellinus' life of Xavier and placed in 1552 (5, 9). D. Pedro da Guerra was the second son of the *alcaide-mor* of Muja, D. Garcia de Eça, and D. Antonia da Cunha. After returning to Portugal, he retired to his estate near Bemfica, where he died "sem estado" (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XI 716).

³³ His younger brother was D. Francisco de Eça (*ibid.*).

³⁴ Captain of Malacca from 1561 to 1564.

³⁵ Giovanni Battista de Monte was born about 1528 in Ferrara. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1556, arrived in Goa in 1561, and in Japan in 1563. There he worked first in Bungo, and then, from 1566 to 1568, in Gotō, where he baptized the twenty-year-old successor to the throne. From Gotō he went to Arima and Bungo, and then to Shikoku, where he converted the *daimyō* of Tosa. We encounter him in 1579 in Amakusa, in 1581 and 1584 in Notsu, and in 1587 in Hirado, where he died that same year (Frois, *Geschichte* 183, and index; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 966; Scaduto, *Catalogo* 101).

³⁶ Jacome Gonçalves entered as a lay brother in Japan. Two of his letters from Hirado are still extant, one of March 3, 1566, to Father Torres, the other of July 3, 1567, to his confreres on the death of brother Juan Fernández (Frois, *Geschichte* 197; Schütte *Introductio*, index 927).

³⁷ Miguel Vaz was born in India, entered the Society in Japan in 1568 or 1569,

Em 1564 veyo Dom Pedro de Almeida³⁸ a Firando, e em sua companhia os Padres Melchior de Figueiredo,³⁹ João Cabral,⁴⁰ Balthazar da Costa,⁴¹ todos portugueses.

Em 1565 veyo Dom João Pereyra⁴² em huma nao a Fucunda,⁴³ aonde pelejou com a armada de Firando, que vinha pera lhe tomar a nao;⁴⁴ e em sua companhia o P^o Alexandre,⁴⁵ italiano, somente. Vinhão mais os Padres Boaventura⁴⁶ e João Baptista,⁴⁷ hespanhoes, mas ficaram ambos na China e dahi se tornarão pera a India.⁴⁸

Em 1566 veyo Simão de Mendoça⁴⁹ a 1^a vez. E no mesmo anno vinhão da

labored with great success in Amakusa, where he baptized fourteen hundred individuals and built two churches. In 1579 he was sent to Macao to be ordained to the priesthood. He returned from there in 1580 and died in 1582 (Frois, *Geschichte* 183 306 406; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 1029).

³⁸ On this voyage of D. Pedro de Almeida, see the documents on the so-called sea-water miracle of Xavier in GS III 138-140 254-257, especially the report of a fellow voyager in *Cartas* 1598, 150-152, translated in Boxer, *The Great Ship* 309-312; cf. *ibid.* 30; Frois, *Geschichte* 211-213.

³⁹ On Melchior de Figueiredo, see above, p. 597.

⁴⁰ João Cabral seems to have entered the order in Goa in 1559. He was in the college in Cochín in 1561 and was ordained to the priesthood in Goa in 1562. He worked in Bungo and Hirado but had to return again to India in 1566 because of illness. After being master of novices, superior in Cochín, and rector in Bassein in 1571, he died of consumption in Goa in 1575 (Frois, *Geschichte* 211 222 261; DI IV 289 867; V 618; Valignano 436-437 468-469; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 887).

⁴¹ Baltasar da Costa was born around 1538. He entered the Society in Goa in 1555, where he wrote the annual letter in 1562 (DI V 585-616). He arrived, already a priest, in Japan in 1564. He was sent back to India in 1575 and dismissed (DI IV 288; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 906; Frois, *Geschichte* 266-268).

⁴² D. João Pereira was the son of the second *conde de Feira*, D. Manuel Pereira, and brother-in-law of the viceroy D. Antonio de Noronha. He had been captain of Malacca from 1556 to 1557 (Boxer, *Fidalgos* 35-37).

⁴³ Fukuda, now part of the city of Nagasaki, was in the territory of the *daimyō* of Ōmura.

⁴⁴ On the battle with the fleet of the *tono* of Hirado, see Frois, *Geschichte* 261-263 266-268, and Boxer, *The Great Ship* 30-31.

⁴⁵ P. Alessandro Vallareggio was born in Reggio Emilia in 1529. He entered the order in Rome in 1560, sailed to India in 1565 (Wicki, *Liste* 273), arrived in Japan in 1568. After working there in Hakata, Shiki, and especially Gotō, he was sent back to India, at the end of 1570, and from there to Portugal in 1572 (DI VIII 536), where he became mission procurator. He died in Ceuta (Africa) in 1580 (Scaduto, *Catalogo* 150; Frois, *Geschichte* 261; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 1628-1629; DI VI 18*; VIII, index 831).

⁴⁶ P. Bonaventura, alias Pedro Riera, born about 1526 in Barcelona, entered the Society in Rome in 1548, sailed at the age of thirty-eight for India in 1565, and to Macao in 1567 with Father J. B. de Ribera. As the consequence of a change of their plan, they did not sail on from there to Japan. He returned from Macao to India in 1571, and from there to Portugal in 1573, but died on the way in a shipwreck (Scaduto, *Catalogo* 125; Frois, *Geschichte* 261; Wicki, *Liste* 273; DI VI-IX, index).

⁴⁷ Father Juan Baptista Ribera was born in Jerez de la Frontera around 1524, entered the order in 1553 or 1554, celebrated his first Mass in Simancas in 1558, was secretary of Borgia and general procurator in Rome in 1560, sailed to India in 1565, to Macao in 1567, was back in India in 1570, sailed to Mozambique in 1574, where he gave Valignano an unfavorable report on the mission (DI IX 12*-13*), and then to Portugal. He was general procurator of the order from 1582 to 1584 and died in Plasencia in 1594 (Scaduto, *Catalogo* 124; Wicki, *Liste* 273; DI VI-IX, indices).

⁴⁸ Called back by the visitor Gonçalo Alvares (DI VIII 529).

⁴⁹ Simão de Mendonça made the voyage for his brother João de Mendonça, who was governor of India from February 29 until September 3, 1564 (Ferreira Martins, *Crónica* 301), and had received it as captain of Malacca (1551-1561). He landed in Fukuda and brought arms and munitions to the Christian *daimyō* Ōmura Sumitada who was being seriously threatened by his rebellious subjects (cf. Boxer, *The Great Ship* 31-32 173-174).

India o P. *Ramires*⁵⁰ pera ser reytor em Japão, e o P.^e *Alcarrás*⁵¹ pera ficar na China, e ambos se afogarão na nao de [D. Diogo de Menezes] que então se perdeu.⁵²

Em 1567 veyo Tristão Vaz da Veiga⁵³ a 1ª vez.

Em 1568 veyo Dom Antonio de Souza.⁵⁴

Em 1569 vinha Manoel Travaços⁵⁵ pera Japão e arribou.

Em 1570 veyo a 2ª ves Manoel Travaços, e em sua companhia o P. Francisco Cabral,⁵⁶ portuguez, por Superior de Japão; e os Padres *Organtino*,⁵⁷ italiano de Bressa,⁵⁸ e Balthazar Lopes,⁵⁹ portuguez de Villa Viçosa.

Em 1571 veyo Tristão Vaz da Veiga a 2ª vez.

⁵⁰ Father Pedro Ramírez, born in Zafra (Estremadura) in 1529, entered the Society in Salamanca, in 1555, made his vows of profession in Lisbon in 1564, and sailed that same year for India. He was rector of the college in Goa from 1565 to 1566 and sailed in April, 1566, as superior of the Japanese mission to Malacca and China. During the course of this voyage he and Father Alcaraz lost their lives in a shipwreck (DI VI 15*). According to another tradition, their ship, which had already been badly damaged by a typhoon was sunk by Chinese with whom they were fighting near Hainan (Frois, *Geschichte* 287-288).

⁵¹ Father Fernando de Alcaraz, born in Navalafuente in the archdiocese of Toledo around 1532, entered the order in Alcalá in 1559, came to Lisbon in 1564, was sent to India in 1565 at his own request, and sailed from there with Ramírez for China in 1566, where they suffered a tragic end (DI VI 18*).

⁵² On D. Diogo de Menezes, captain of Malacca from 1564 to 1567, see Boxer, *The Great Ship* 31-33.

⁵³ On the famed *fidalgo* Tristão Vaz da Veiga, see Boxer, *Fidalgos* 37-38, and *The Great Ship* 33. He landed at the harbor of Kuchinotsu in the kingdom of Arima.

⁵⁴ On D. Antonio de Sousa, see Boxer, *The Great Ship* 34. He was elected *provedor* of the Misericórdia of Goa in 1586 (Ferreira Martins, *Historia* II 7-9, his signature 137). He came "in the place of D. Diogo de Menezes" (Frois, *Geschichte* 327).

⁵⁵ Manuel Travassos, born in Tentugal in the diocese of Coimbra, brought Bishop André d'Oviedo and his companions to Abyssinia in 1557, where they were to prepare the way for the patriarch João Nunes Barreto. On January 20, 1563, he wrote to the queen about his services, how he had, for example, intercepted twelve ships smuggling pepper to Mecca as he was patrolling the coast of Malabar (TdT: CC 1-106-50). He distinguished himself at the siege of Cannanore in 1565 (Couto 8, 6, p. 50), and sailed to Fukuda in 1569 (cf. Boxer, *The Great Ship* 34-35; Frois, *Geschichte* 350; Valignano 329; Couto 7, 4, 4).

⁵⁶ On this second voyage of Manuel Travassos as admiral of the voyage to Japan, see Boxer, *The Great Ship* 35, according to which he, as it seems, sailed first to Shiki in Amakusa, then to Fukuda, and finally to the newly opened harbor of Nagasaki. According to Frois, Francisco Cabral came to Shiki together with Organtino in the junk of Estevão Leite. Cabral was coming as superior of the Japanese mission (*Geschichte* 404-409). On his life, see *ibid.* 335; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 886-887, and *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, index, 516-518.

⁵⁷ Father Organtino Gnechi Soldo, was born in Casto Val Sabbia (Brescia) in 1532. He entered the order as a priest in Ferrara in 1556, sailed for India from Lisbon in 1567, made his vows of profession in Goa in 1568, and died in Nagasaki in 1609, after having labored very effectively in Japan. On him see Scaduto, *Catalogo* 67; Frois, *Geschichte* 405; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 981-983, and *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, index 557-558.

⁵⁸ Brescia.

⁵⁹ Baltasar Lopes senior (*o Grande*), born between 1533 and 1538 in Villa Viçosa, entered the order in 1561. We encounter him in Japan in 1572 at Shimabara and in 1575 in Ōmura. At the end of this same year, he sailed for India, arrived in São Thomé from Malacca on the Coromandel ship, went overland to Goa in 1576, and was back again in Japan in 1577. In 1579 he was in Kuchinotsu, in 1583 in Arima, in 1584 in Hirado, in 1587 in Chijiwa, in 1589 in Oyano, in 1600 in Saitsu (today Sakitsu). He died in 1605 (Frois, *Geschichte* 406; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 953; DI X 4*). There were two other Jesuits with this name at the time on the Indian mission.

Em 1572 veyo Dom João de Almeyda,⁶⁰ e em sua companhia os Padres Gaspar Coelho⁶¹ e Sebastião Gonçalves,⁶² portugueses.

Em 1573 vinha D. Antonio de Vilhana,⁶³ e em sua companhia o P. Gonçallo Alvares,⁶⁴ portuguez, visitador, e os Padres Manoel Lopes,⁶⁵ João Velho,⁶⁶ João Nunez,⁶⁷ e Diogo Fernandes,⁶⁸ portuguezes; e perdeu-se a nao com toda a gente à vista de Amaqura⁶⁹ em hum tufão que lhe deu dia de Sancta Praxedis virgem, aos 21 de Julho.⁷⁰

Em 1574 veyo Simão de Mendonça⁷¹ fazer a viagem em lugar de João de Mendonça; e no mesmo anno veyo André Feyo⁷² em hum junco, e com elle o P^e João Francisco,⁷³ italiano.

⁶⁰ On D. João de Almeida, who later settled in Macao, where his house became a landmark for ships, see Boxer, *Fidalgos* 38-39; *The Great Ship* 37.

⁶¹ Father Gaspar Coelho, born in Porto between 1527 and 1531, entered the order in Goa in 1560, was in Socotra in 1562 and 1563, on Chorão in 1565 and 1566, and then in Goa. In 1572, when he arrived in Japan, he was immediately made superior of *shimo* (the south) and sent to the Gotō Islands. He and one companion baptized more than 35,000 pagans in the territory of Ōmura. He was the first vice-provincial of Japan from 1581 to 1590. When the persecution broke out in 1587, he found a refuge in Katsusa (Arima), where he died in 1590. On him see Frois, *Geschichte* 427; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 900-901; *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, 520-521.

⁶² On Father Seb. Gonçalves, the namesake of the author of the *Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus da India Oriental*, see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger," GS II 129-130.

⁶³ In the Cochín process in 1616, the ninety-eight-year-old mestizo Domingos Caldeira testified "as an eyewitness" on three alleged Xavier miracles; but in each of these he confused the saint with someone else. The second miracle was an alleged prophecy by Xavier. He wanted to sail together with the witness on the ship of a D. Francisco de Vilhena from Japan to China. When the captain said that he would sail to India whether God willed it or not, Xavier warned him of the punishment of God and had his baggage taken from the ship. The ship sailed without him and sank during a storm. Four or five days later the priest saw how the sea was washing ashore the mast and wreckage of the ship. The incident refers to the loss of the ship of D. Antonio de Vilhena. On July 21, 1573, it sank with the visitor to Japan and his four companions during a typhoon near Amakusa (MX II 449-450; Barradas in GS IV 455-456, II 256, and Frois, *Geschichte* 430-431; Boxer, *The Great Ship* 37-38, and *Fidalgos* 39).

⁶⁴ Father Gonçalo Alvares, a native of Villa Viçosa, entered the order in Coimbra in 1549. He became the superior of the college there and *praepositus* of the professed house in Lisbon. In 1568 he was sent as visitor to India and Japan (Frois, *Geschichte* 430).

⁶⁵ Father Manuel Lopes Bulhão was rector of the college in Braga and sailed in 1568 for India.

⁶⁶ Father João Velho, who entered in India, was a master of the Konkani language. He was thirty years old in 1571. He had passed eleven of these in the order and was minister and confessor in the college of Goa (DI VII 421).

⁶⁷ Meant is Antonio Nunes. He also, it seems, entered in India. According to the catalog of 1571, he was at the time forty years old. He had spent six of these in the order and was in the first class, but he had little talent for study (DI VII 423).

⁶⁸ Father Diogo Fernandes was born in 1542 and entered the order in Goa in 1560, immediately after his ordination to the priesthood.

⁶⁹ The Madrid text has correctly Amakusa.

⁷⁰ Frois, *Geschichte* 430.

⁷¹ On this second voyage of this captain, see Frois, *Geschichte* 465.

⁷² In addition to Feyo's ship, there were two more Portuguese ships that came to Japan this year (Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 1, 285-286).

⁷³ Father Giovanni Francesco Stefanoni was born around 1541 in Collesipoli (Terni). He entered the order in Rome in 1560, was ordained to the priesthood in 1566, sailed for India in 1567, where we encounter him in Travancore in 1571 and 1572. In 1574 he was in Gotō and Ōmura in Japan, in the seminary of Takatsuki in 1583, superior in Miyako in 1584, at the death of Ōtomo Yoshishige in Bungo in 1587, in Notsu in 1588, in Hondo (Amakusa) in 1589, in Arima in 1592, and in Nagasaki in 1603. He seems to have died

2. List B: Admirals who Sailed to Japan¹

Lista dos annos, viagens, e Capitães mores do trato de Jappão.

1549: O primeiro capitão mor o P^e Francisco *Xauier* da Companhia de IESUS.

1550: D. Fernando de *Menezes*.²

1551: Manoel *Preto*.³

1552: Não houve viagem.⁴

1553: Duarte da *Gama*.⁵

1554: Não houve viagem.⁶

1555: Diogo *Vaz de Aragão*, ao porto do estado de Firando.⁷

1556: D. Francisco *Palha Mascarenhas* ao porto do Reyno de Bungo.⁸

1557: Francisco *Martins* por Francisco Barreto ao porto do estado de Firando.⁹

1558: Leonel de *Souza* ao porto do Reyno de Bungo.¹⁰

1559: Ruy *Barreto* numa não a Firando.¹¹

1560: Manoel de *Mendonça* com dous juncos ao porto do Reyno de Sasuma.¹²

1561: Ayres *Botelho* a Firando.¹³

1562: Pero *Barreto* a Yocoxura, porto do estado de Vomura.¹⁴

1563: Dom Pedro de *Guera* a Yocoxura.¹⁵

1564: Dom Pedro de *Almeyda* a Firando.¹⁶

1565: Dom João *Pereyra* a Facunda, porto do estado de Vomura.¹⁷

1566: Simão de *Mendonça* a Facunda.¹⁸

1567: Tristão *Vaz* a Cochinozu, porto do estado de Arima.¹⁹

1568: D. Antonio de *Souza*.²⁰

1569: Manoel *Travassos*.²¹

1570: Manoel *Travassos*.²²

in February, 1612 (Scaduto, *Catalogo* 141; DI VII 13*-14*; Frois, *Geschichte* 465; Schütte, *Introductio*, index 1011).

¹ This list B was found in a codex of the procurator of the Japanese province which was composed in the seventeenth century in Macao. It is preserved in a copy which Brother João Alvares had made for the mission procurator in Lisbon in 1744. Like list A, it is today in the Ajuda library in Lisbon in the collection *Jesuitas na Asia* with the signature 49-4-66, ff. 41v-42v. It goes down to 1639. Boxer gives a reproduction of the entire list in *As viagens de Japão e dos seus capitães-mores* 9; see also Schütte, *Introductio* 290. The author obviously knew list A, but he repeatedly deviates from it.

² *Idem* in A.

³ According to A, he arrived in 1552.

⁴ In 1552 Duarte da Gama was in Bungo, and he sailed back to China with Xavier.

⁵ In 1553 Alcáçova sailed back from Japan with Duarte da Gama.

⁶ Thus against A.

⁷ According to A, he sailed in 1556.

⁸ According to A, he sailed in 1554.

⁹ *Idem* in A.

¹⁰ That is, the harbor of Funai.

¹¹ *Idem* A.

¹² According to A, one of the ships sailed to Bungo. The harbor of Satsuma was probably Yamagawa.

¹³ According to A, he sailed to Hirado in 1560.

¹⁴ *Idem* A.

¹⁵ *Idem* A.

¹⁶ *Idem* A.

¹⁷ *Idem* A.

¹⁸ *Idem* A.

¹⁹ *Idem* A.

²⁰ *Idem* A.

²¹ *Idem* A.

²² *Idem* A.

- 1571: Tristão Vaz a Nangasaqui sahido de Facunda pela tomada do estado de Vomura.²³
1572: Dom João de *Almeyda* a Nangasaqui.²⁴
1573: D. Antonio de *Vilhana* que se perdeu de fronte de Anguna do Reyno de Satçuma.²⁵
1574: Simão de *Mendonça* a 2ª vez.²⁶

²³ *Idem* A.

²⁴ *Idem* A.

²⁵ Akune, south of Amakusa.

²⁶ *Idem* A.

APPENDIX III

THE NAME SANCIAN

Around 1544: Sensan (Pierre Descelliers).¹

- 1552: Samchoão (EX II 491 512), Samchoam, Sanchoão (*ibid.* 505).²
- 1557: Samcheo (Galeote Pereira in MX II 276), E. Ventura (*ibid.* 280).³
- 1595: Sanchoan, Sanchoam (Linschoten, *Itinerario* IV 115-118).⁴
- 1600: Sancham (Lucena 10, 26).
- 1616: Sançoan (Nic. Trigault, procurator of the Chinese mission).⁵
- 1647: Sancheam (A. F. Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus* [Lisboa, 1894]) 173.
- 1648: Sãn cheu, with Chinese characters (Miguel Boym, **Mappa Imperii sinensis*): three islands.⁶
- 1653: Sam Ceu (Three Islands), Sancian, Sancioan (Bartoli, *Asia* 4, 17).
- 1680: San cheu, Sancian (Ph. Couplet, *Confucius* [Parisii, 1687], with a map of China).
- 1682: Sancian (Bouhours, *Vie de Saint François Xavier* [Paris]).
- 1700: Xang Chuen (Above, on the Arm of the Sea), so called in opposition to the island lying opposite it on the west, called Hia Chuen (Below, on the Arm of the Sea) (G. Castner).⁷
- 1710: "Sanchoão consists of three islands lying so close to each other that they seem to be one island. They are consequently called Samchoa, *Sam* three, *Choa* islands, by the Chinese" (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 83).

¹ The undated Harley world map of the British Museum (*Add. Mss.* 5413), from the cartographical school of Dieppe. It is ascribed to Pierre Descelliers and is from around the year 1544. It has the island of Sensan indicated before Canton. The map was published by Ch. H. Coote, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, autotype facsimile of three mappemondes* (London, 1898). A part of this has been published by Kammerer in *La Mer Rouge* III 3, 153-157, but the outer edge with the name Sensan is missing.

² The three letters which were dictated by Xavier from Sancian and which were probably written by the secretary of the *Santa Cruz* are preserved in the original. The Chinese Antonio in 1557 wrote Sanchoão (DI III 654 662).

³ Both were on Sancian in 1552 and 1553. The Cochín process with their testimonies is preserved in the original.

⁴ Linschoten goes back to the Portuguese sailing instructions and pilot maps. He writes Sanchoan in the text, Sanchoam on the accompanying map.

⁵ **Proposita R. P. Generali* in AHSI: *JapSin.* 100, 12.

⁶ Bibl. Vaticana: *Borg. cin.* 531. **Magni Catay, quod olim serica, et modo Sinarum est Monarchia, Quindecim Regnorum octodecim geographicae Tabulae.* Map 17 has our island: "Sancheu [with the Chinese character for three islands], vulgo Sancham."

⁷ Gaspar Castner, S.J., *Relatio Sepulturae, Magno Orientis Apostolo S. Francisco Xauerio erectae in Insula Sanciano anno saeculari MDCC.* A Chinese block print with two maps. It was reedited with a valuable commentary and Chinese characters for the names by Giuseppe Ros in *Bessarione* 2 (1907) 201-226. A similar, somewhat more detailed account of Castner, is to be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, *Fondo Gesuitico 1271, 1*, with the title: **Brevis Relatio de insula Sanciano deque sepultura seu Sepulchro primo S. Francisci Xaverii Orientis Apostoli, ornato, et Fide Christi introducta in istam Insulam Anno MDCC*, with the same maps.

- 1735: Chang tchuen Chan, or Sanchou, Sancian (J. B. Du Halde, *Description de la Chine* I [Paris] 222).
- 1852: Sanciano or Sian-chu-en (G. Moroni, *Dizionario* 13 [Venezia] 156).
- 1855: San-Chan or Chan-Tschouen (L. Pagès, *Lettres de Saint François-Xavier* II [Paris] 475, with a map).
- 1886: Sam chann (Three Mountains) or Sam tchao (Three Islands), from which the Italian Sancian, pronounced Sann-chann. Before the formation of the isthmus connecting two islands which, together with Mong-tchao, had the appearance of three mountains. Today Chéong-tchiunn (Above on the Arm of the Sea) (J. B. Berthon, "Missionar auf Sanzian," *Les Missions Catholiques* [Lyon] 329 359 369 417).
- 1898: Shang-tchuan or Shang-tchoen, today St. John (W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Naderlanders in China*, [The Hague] 6).
- 1902: San-Siang (A. Favier, *Péking, Histoire et description* [Paris-Lille] 127).
- 1903: Tchan-tchoan, with Chinese characters (A. M. Colombel, *Histoire de la Mission de Kiang-nan* I [sine loco] 10, map): above on the arm of the sea.
- 1903: San-Shan, better Shang-chuang, St. John (Yule 782-783).
- 1906: Sam Tchao, with Chinese characters: Three Islands; from which is probably derived Sanchoan. The natives called the island Chang Tchouen or Chöng Tchouen (Above on the Arm of the Sea) (John Garaix, *Sancoan, the Holy Land of the Far East* [Hongkong] 1).
- 1907: San Tchao, with Chinese characters: Three Islands, from which is probably derived Sancian. Others explain it as coming from Chang Tchoan (Above on the Arm of the Sea), in opposition to the neighboring island of Hia Tchoan (Below on the Arm of the Sea) (J. Garaix, *A Sancian. La Tombe de Saint François-Xavier 1552-1907* [Ho-Kien-Fou] 1).
- 1907: Xang Chun = Xang-ch'uan, in opposition to the neighboring island of Hia Chuen = Hsia-chu'uan [here is given by mistake the Chinese character for "above on the arm of the sea"] (Giuseppe Ros in his commentary on Castner in *Bessarione* 221).
- 1907: San-siang, would be in Mandarin Shang-ch'uan (Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire* [London] 46).
- 1917: San Shan (Three Mountains), also Shang ch'uan (Above on the Arm of the Sea) in Chinese, Chinese characters (Couling 497).
- 1925: Chang-chuang (Murdoch 64).
- 1928: St. John Island (Chang cheun cham) (*Handbuch für das Südchinesische Meer* [Berlin] 598).
- 1931: Tschang-tschwan-schan (*Stielers Hand-Atlas*¹⁰).
- 1932: Chang-tch'oan (Above on the Arm of the Sea), erroneously San-tcheou (Three Islands) (Pfister 3, with Chinese characters).
- 1933: Sheung-Chau (with Chinese characters: Upper Island), or Samchoão (João de Deus Ramalho, *Ecos da Missão de Shiu-Hing* 9, 91).
- 1935: San-chao or Sancian (Herrmann, *Atlas of China* 56).
- 1936: The Sancian missionary R. J. Cairns has written to me that the name today is Sheung-chen (Upper Island) or Saam-Chow (three islands together). Chang-chwen in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴ (Theodore Maynard, *The Odyssey of Francis Xavier* [London] 339).
- 1938: The Maryknoll missionary of the Kongmoon mission, to which Sancian belongs, a former teacher of the Canton dialect, has written the following to us: Sancian probably comes from the name of the island Shang Ch'wan

(Above on the Arm of the Sea, in the Mandarin pronunciation; in the Cantonese pronunciation: Söng Ch'ün, as in German), in opposition to the neighboring island of Hsia Ch'wan (Below on the Arm of the Sea, in the Mandarin pronunciation; in the Cantonese pronunciation: Ha Ch'ün). On the northern entrance between two small islands are three small rock reefs called San Jeh-oo (Three Islets) in the Mandarin pronunciation (Italian: San Gieu), Saam Jow in the Cantonese pronunciation (Italian: Sam Giau). From this he regards it probable that the neighboring trading station on the island, which is not far from the church marking Xavier's place of burial, had the same name (with Chinese characters). (F. C. Dietz, in a letter of June 18, 1938).

- 1941: Sanchoão comes, according to the more common opinion, from Sam-Chao (Three Islands) or Sheung-Chan (Upper Island), according to the less probable opinion, from Tchang-Tchouen or Chong-Tchouen (Above on the Arm of the Sea), with Chinese characters (Manuel Teixeira, *Sanchoão* [Macau] 13-15).
- 1942: "Sanciano o, in cinese [according to the Italian system of transcription which the author devised for his own private use], Sciamccioan o Shangwan [he here gives as on p. LXXXV and Volume III, p. 250, the Chinese characters for "above on the arm of the sea," but he explains it as "upper island"] = l'isola superiore, al sud-ovest [instead of southeast] del delta del Fiume delle perle" (P. M. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane* I [Roma] 138).
- 1942: San Chôa (Three Islands) (Rocha Martins, *O Apóstolo das Indias S. Francisco Xavier* [Lisboa] 337).
- 1944: "On trouve les formes portugaises Sanciam, Sanchoão, Sam choao, Saocoham, toutes dérivées du nom chinois Chang-tch'ouan (Chang Chuen, Chang Cheun) devenu en français Saint-Jean et en anglais St. John (A. Kammerer, *Découverte* [Leiden] 89).
- 1949: Sheung Chuen To [with the Chinese characters for "upper village island"], also called Shanchuan or Sanchuang (J. M. Braga, *Boletim 2: Instituto Português de Hongkong* 81).
- 1949: Chang Tch'ouan or San Chau (R. E. Jobez, *ibid.* 217).
- 1954: Santschao (*Der Grosse Herder* III 1177).
- 1960: Sancian (*Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* IV 148).
- 1961: Shan Ch'wan (Ch. Couturier, *Saint François Xavier. Textes choisis* [Namur] 159).
- 1973-1974: "Sancian (now Shang-ch'uan Tao)," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ¹⁵ XIX 1055 (Translator's addition).

APPENDIX IV

AGENDA, ADDENDA, CORRIGENDA ¹

AGENDA

In the foreword to the first volume of this long biography Father Schurhammer indicated his intention of writing six more independent volumes on Francis Xavier, for which the materials had already been largely collected. These were to deal with the saint's letters (1), miracles (2), cult (3), bibliography (4), and iconography (5-6).² Since he was unable to complete any of these further projects, it may be useful to discuss them briefly.

The critical edition of Xavier's extant writings, published by Fathers Schurhammer and Wicki,³ has been translated in its entirety into contemporary Spanish, and selections from this edition have been printed in other languages.⁴ A French translation of the entire work is now in progress,⁵ but no such version has appeared as yet in English or German. Since a considerable number of Xavier's letters and instructions have already been translated in this biography, it would not be too difficult to complete and publish them in a separate volume. If there would be a problem in this regard, it would largely be a question of the style to be adopted. For a "scientific" biography of St. Francis Xavier, it seemed best to give these letters and documents in a literal rather than a literary version, but this choice might not be suitable for a wider public.⁶

In the text and notes to the last three volumes of this biography, Schurhammer has given critical accounts of the miracles, real or alleged, that have been attributed to Xavier. The wealth of material thus available would seem to

¹ Composed by the translator.

² Vol. I, p. xv. The materials for these volumes are to be found among the extant notes of the author in the Jesuit Historical Institute, but since these are written in a shorthand of the last century, it would be extremely difficult to make use of them.

³ G. Schurhammer, S.J., et I. Wicki, S.J., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii Aliaque Eius Scripta* I-II (Romae, 1944-1945). This edition omits a line in one of Xavier's letters, as is noted by Schurhammer on p. 275 of this volume. It also does not include two fragments of a letter addressed by Xavier to King John III of Portugal, which were later published by Schurhammer⁸ in AHSI 16 (1974) 177-181 [GS III 152-158].

⁴ Felix Zubillaga, S.J., *Cartas y Escritos de San Francisco Javier* (Madrid, 19682). A selection translated from this work, for example, is that of Pedro Arrupe, S.J., *Sei Francisko de Sabieru Shokanshō* I-II (Tōkyō, 19773).

⁵ This is being made by Professor Hugues Didier of the University of Oran in Algiers for the *Collection Christus*.

⁶ For Xavier's style of writing, see Schurhammer's analysis in *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* I 45*-57*. The long letter which Xavier wrote from Kagoshima to his confreres in Goa on November 5, 1549, includes a description of the Japanese, part of which has been translated into English by James Brodrick (*Saint Francis Xavier* 361-363), Michael Cooper (*They Came to Japan* 60-61), C. R. Boxer (*Christian Century in Japan* 37-38), and in the present volume (82-83). Brodrick's translation is compact, colorful, idiomatic, and without the plainness and prolixity of the original. The style of the other two translations lies between that of Brodrick and the one employed in the present volume.

Villoslada's position.²⁰ How the name is to be spelled may still depend, however, on the finality of the work in which it appears. The editor of the sources for the life of St. Ignatius accepts the pronunciation of the name with a nasal *n*, but since he is editing documents in which the pronunciation is not marked, he gives the spelling of the originals.²¹ In the present translation, the name is spelled as *Iñigo* in the first and fourth volumes, but as *Inigo* in the second and third, a waffling which is about as consistent as the spelling of another proper name in the German original: *Martim Affonso de Sousa* in the second and fourth volumes, *Martim Afonso de Sousa* in the third. The first spelling has been held consistently for all three volumes in the translation despite the fact that modern Portuguese would require *Afonso* rather than *Affonso*.

The extent of the Basque penetration into Navarre is a matter of considerable dispute. Villoslada was of the opinion that Schurhammer exaggerated the influence of a Basque culture at the Castle of Xavier and, specifically, that the language used there was "castellana" rather than Basque.²² In an article which he had already published in 1929, Schurhammer noted that even in the sixteenth century there was some question as to Xavier's native tongue: Was it Spanish or Basque?²³ The arguments which he employed in favor of Basque were adopted and further elaborated by José Aguerre²⁴ and reaffirmed by Schurhammer in his reply to Villoslada.²⁵ These seem to be quite plausible, but further investigations may uncover more specific evidence.

Despite the extensive exploitation of Spanish archives by both Cros and Schurhammer, it is probable that further materials with respect to Xavier's family and, at least indirectly, to Xavier himself will still be uncovered. Since the publication of the first volume of *Franz Xaver* there has been published a codicil to the will of Xavier's brother Juan de Azpilcueta with further indications as to the disposal of his properties.²⁶ More important for the history of Francis's family, however, are a series of recently published documents from the Archivo General de Simancas referring directly to his mother and brothers, that is, to Doña María de Azpilcueta and to Miguel and Juan de Jassu.²⁷ A hitherto unpublished decree of Charles V indicates that Francis' brother Juan had joined the forces of Jean d'Albert in his war against the Spaniards and Beaumontese. Unlike his two cousins and two other relatives, who were captured, he managed to escape and

²⁰ See the lengthy articles by Gabriel María Verd, S.J., "Iñigo, Iñiguez, Huéñega. Historia y Morfología," *Miscelánea Comillas* 32 (1974) 5-61; 207-293; "El 'Iñigo' de San Ignacio de Loyola," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 43 (1976) 95-128.

²¹ Candidus de Dalmases, S.J., *Fontes Documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola: Documenta de S. Ignatii Familia et Patria, Iuventute, Primis Sociis* (MHSI 115: Romae, 1977) 788.

²² Villoslada, "Monumento" 506.

²³ Schurhammer, "Die Muttersprache des Hl. Franz Xavier," *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* 20 (1929) 246-255 [GS III 339-352].

²⁴ José Aguerre, "El habla materna de San Francisco Xavier," *Príncipe de Viana* 18 (1957) 451-462. The first part of this article consists of a translation of Schurhammer's "hermoso trabajo," the second of a "Glossa Adicional a la Versión."

²⁵ Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 270-278.

²⁶ Florencio Idoate, "Un documento interesante para la Bibliografía Javeriana," *Príncipe de Viana* 18 (1957) 465-467. This codicil was found misplaced among the protocols of Juan Enériz in the Archivo Municipal de Obanos.

²⁷ Luis Fernández Martín, S.J., "Nuevos documentos en torno a la familia de San Francisco Javier," *Príncipe de Viana* 148-149 (1977) 571-582. J. Iturrioz drew the translator's attention to this article in his review in *Manresa*.

was subsequently charged with treason.²⁸ In the summer of 1519 Francis' mother sent two requests for payments to Charles V.²⁹ New evidence reveals that she had even earlier sent a memorial to the king in an attempt to obtain redress for losses incurred. Only one of her four requests was granted in the king's reply of July 13, 1519.³⁰ Other documents further clarify the role of Francis' brothers in the revolt against Spain until their final pardon, granted on April 29, 1524.³¹

Xavier studied in Paris at a time when the university and the city itself were in a state of ferment. It is hardly surprising that different interpretations have been given to the reactions of Ignatius and Xavier to the current controversies. Villoslada maintains that Schurhammer is too negative in his attitude towards Erasmus, which he believes is more representative of that of Beda, Sutor, and Diogo de Gouvea than of Ignatius and Xavier.³² He also maintains that Schurhammer seriously errs in his judgment on the Royal Professors, and that there is no proof that Ignatius ever dissuaded Xavier from attending their lectures.³³ Though it may well be that Ignatius never accused Erasmus of heresy, his repeated censures of Erasmus' writings in later life would seem to indicate a long and strong aversion to one whose works had not escaped the censures of the University of Paris.³⁴ Ignatius' own repeated difficulties with the Inquisition and his insistence that he and his friends be cleared of all suspicion of heresy could have been reason enough for his advising Xavier to refrain from attending the lectures of the Royal Professors.³⁵

"Schurhammer," according to Professor John Bossy, "has given us an exhaustive and in some respects illuminating survey of the successive contexts within which Xavier's life was spent before his departure to the East.... We get a powerful if partial impression of the intellectual crisis of the university [of Paris] during the 1530's and of the degree to which the coming together of the first Jesuits was part of a traditionalist reaction against the humanistic advance represented by such departures as the foundation of the royal professorships in 1530."³⁶ He nevertheless finds some "dark holes" in Schurhammer's intellectual universe, one being that he is "so dogmatically hostile to Erasmus" and "to any form of

²⁸ *Ibid.* 573. See Vol. I, p. 48.

²⁹ Vol. I, p. 51.

³⁰ Martín, "Nuevos documentos" 574-577.

³¹ *Ibid.* 578-582.

³² Villoslada, "Monumento" 511.

³³ *Ibid.* 511-512: "Muy mal concepto se ha formado Schurhammer de los profesores llamados por Francisco I para su Colegio Real.... Que [Ignacio] disuadiese a Javier de frecuentar las lecciones de los Profesores Reales, no consta en parte alguna." For Schurhammer's opinion to the contrary, see Vol. I, p. 171, n. 187.

³⁴ See Polanco, *Chronicon Societatis Iesu*: "Terentium et Ludovicum Vivem, sicut et opera Erasmi, legi nostris in scholis noluit, et, ubi praelegebantur, paulatim relinqui jussit" (MHSI 5: 165). *S. Ignatii Epistolae*: "que no se lean en el collegio las obras de Erasmo ni de Joannes etc." (MHSI 29: 106). "Sopra l'opere del Sauonarolo et Erasmo, come il Padre non uuole si leggano" (MHSI 31: 95). "...de qualche libro de Erasmo e del Viues non è inconueniente seruissene, benchè a lungho andare sia meglio lasciare questo, come si lasciano in Roma" (MHSI 34: 612). For Erasmus' reception in Paris, see Vol. I, pp. 125-136.

³⁵ Polanco, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*: "Sub finem autem studiorum... ad eundem Inquisitorem secundo delatus est, et quidem eo tempore, quo rex Franciscus, 1535, multos haereticos Parisiis comburi iusserat" (MHSI 1: 46). Polanco notes that Ignatius insisted upon getting an official statement of his innocence and that of his friends from the inquisitor. For the same problem in Rome, see Vol. I, pp. 421-425.

³⁶ Bossy, *Renaissance Quarterly*, p. 14 above.

Protestantism."³⁷ He further rejects Schurhammer's contention that in his biography he was simply trying to represent "the point of view of Xavier and his friends."³⁸

The stance adopted by Schurhammer is both difficult and unusual, and even more difficult to maintain. Nevertheless it should not be aprioristically rejected. Just as in Latin there is an "historically present" that is used for greater vividness, so a historian with sufficient resources should be able to reconstruct a period in the way it was viewed by the people living at the time, and not with the anachronistic wisdom, and prejudices, of later centuries. Schurhammer makes no apologies for attitudes and actions that were accepted in the sixteenth century, but which certainly offend modern sensibilities: Ignatius, for example, was instrumental in having the decree of Innocent III reaffirmed with respect to the sick being visited by a confessor before being treated by a physician.³⁹ Barzaeus preached from the pulpit in Ormuz that, in keeping with civil and ecclesiastical law, those guilty of sodomy should be burned as heretics.⁴⁰ Xavier himself thought that the purchase of a few slaves might be the best solution to an economic problem in the College of St. Paul.⁴¹ And, on a lower level, none of the companions on their way from Paris to Venice would sit at the same table with those who had renounced their former faith.⁴² The unmitigated presentation of such behavior by an historian could help a discerning reader to understand more fully an age in which it was commonly accepted.⁴³ In his "documentary" approach to Xavier's life, Schurhammer should perhaps be better known as "the first historian of the twentieth century" rather than as "the last of the nineteenth," as he was once described by Hugo Rahner.

In his review of the second volume of *Francis Xavier*, John F. Brodriok has suggested that the "account [of Portugal's Asiatic empire] would have been improved if the section on the royal patronage (*padroado*), had been lengthened to more than the two allotted pages, since it is fundamental to an understanding of church-state mission relations."⁴⁴ This institution would help to explain the rather anomalous incident of a layman acting as vicar general and conducting the hearings for Xavier's canonization in Goa.⁴⁵ In the bibliography to the second volume mention is made to the excavations conducted by E. R. Hambye at the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapore, but attention should be drawn to these again, and also to a number of articles on Henrique Henriques and the work now being done by Indian Church historians.⁴⁶

³⁷ *Ibid.* "To divide the religious world of Spain and Italy in the 1530's between 'real heretics' and 'true Catholics' is to shed darkness in all directions."

³⁸ See Vol. I, p. xxvi.

³⁹ See Vol. II, p. 481; III, p. 220.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 379.

⁴¹ See above, p. 535.

⁴² Vol. I, p. 290.

⁴³ See Robert Rouquette, "Ignace de Loyola dans le Paris Intellectuel du XVI^e Siècle," *Études* 290 (1956) 38: "Ces supplices [the repression of heresy by force] heurtent violemment notre sensibilité. Cependant, par un effort d'intelligence historique, il nous faut essayer de comprendre la mentalité d'un siècle passé à laquelle seuls quelques génies, comme Erasme, échappaient."

⁴⁴ Broderick, *Theological Studies*, n. 14 above.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 104, n. 109.

⁴⁶ Joseph Wicki, "Father Henrique Henriques, S.J. (1520-1600)," *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 4 (1965) 142-156; 5 (1966) 36-72, 175-189; "The Confraternity of Charity of Henry Henriques," *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967) 3-8; Jean H. Hein, "Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil, 1548," *Indian Church History Review* 11 (1977) 127-153. The

Father Hubert Jacobs, S.J., editor of the *Documenta Malucensia* of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, has written two valuable reviews of the third volume of Schurhammer's life of St. Francis, one of the German original and the other of the English translation.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, through a *lapsus memoriae* on the part of the translator, his corrections of the original were not incorporated into the English version. These will be noted in the list of *corrigenda*.

In a long review of the last volume of *Franz Xaver*, A. Schwade has noted three minor errors in the work.⁴⁸ These have been corrected in the translation. One of the recurring problems of Christian missionaries in the Far East has been the tolerance to be given to certain customs and practices. In this last volume, for example, there is raised the question as to whether or not the king of Tanor, a secret Christian, "could continue to wear the Brahman cord."⁴⁹ An answer to this and many other questions of the same kind may be found in the recently published *Informatio* sent by Robert de Nobili to the Jesuit general Claudius Aquaviva.⁵⁰ Further studies have been published on another problem raised in this volume—the salvation of non-Christians.⁵¹ Research in the history of the Church in Japan has been facilitated by the publication of the texts of the Jesuit catalogs for Japan from 1553 to 1654⁵² and a register of the documents on Japan and China in the Jesuit archives in Rome.⁵³

Church History Association is preparing a six-volume history of the Church in India. See *Indian Church History Review* 8 (1974) 89-90; 10 (1976) 3-6. A two-volume history of the Church by His Excellency, Stephen Charles Neill, D. D., is in the process of being printed by the Cambridge University Press. Valuable for both the history of the Church and of India are *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542-1773* (Bombay, London, New York 1962) by John Correia-Afonso, S.J.; and *Indo-Portuguese History. Sources & Problems* (Bombay, London, New York, 1981), edited by the same historian. In his essay on Indo-Portuguese historiography in this volume, Professor C. R. Boxer makes special reference to Schurhammer's first appendix in Vol. II, on India historians of the sixteenth century: "This is unlikely to be improved in our lifetime, if ever" (p. 138).

⁴⁷ See above, n. 14.

⁴⁸ *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 44 (1975) 170.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 406.

⁵⁰ This important document was found by Father Hubert Jacobs, S.J., among a bundle of unclassified papers in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. The original text and a translation of this *Informatio* has been published by X. Rajamanickam, S.J. in *Roberto de Nobili on Indian Customs* (De Nobili Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Palayamkottai, 1972); see also Rajamanickam's article "The Newly Discovered 'Informatio' of Robert de Nobili," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 39 (1970) 221-265.

⁵¹ See Asandas Balchand, S.J., *The Salvific Value of Non-Christian Religions According to Asian Christian Theologians Writing in Asian-Published Theological Journals, 1965-1970* (East Asian Pastoral Institute, Manila, 1973). See above, p. 236.

⁵² Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., *Textus Catalogorum Japoniae Aliaeque de Personis Domibusque S.J. in Japonia Informationes et Relationes, 1549-1654* (Romae, 1975). See also his register of manuscripts "Japón, China, Filipinas en la Colección 'Jesuitas, Tomos' de la Real Academia de la Historia Madrid" (Barcelona, 1976).

⁵³ Obara, Satoru, S.J., *Kirishitan Bunko. Iezusukai Nihon Kankei Bunsho* [Documents of the Society of Jesus Pertaining to Japan] (Tokyo, 1981). This register contains descriptions of documents in London, Lisbon, and Madrid, but over half of it is devoted to works contained in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. Since the work is in Japanese with some citations in Spanish and Portuguese, it is to be hoped that it will soon be translated into a common European language. Additional materials may be found in *Historical Documents Relating to Japan and Foreign Countries*. This is an inventory in Western languages of the microfilm acquisitions in the library of the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensan-jo). Volume XII (Tokyo, 1969) lists documents in Vatican City, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Mexico. Those in the Jesuit Archives in Rome are missing since they were being published by Obara.

The final volume of *Franz Xaver* was published in 1972. The following year there appeared an important work, if not particularly for the life of Francis Xavier, at least significantly so for the history of the Japanese mission which he founded. In his *Deus Destroyed*, a title borrowed from the anti-Christian tract of a former Japanese Jesuit, Fabián Fucan, who had reverted to Buddhism, George Ellison develops the following argument: "Christianity was introduced into Japan at a time when the country's mediaeval order was in its final convulsions.... The acceptance of Christianity in Japan was a peculiar phenomenon of the disjointed polity of Sengoku, the Country at War.... In the end Christianity could not prevail. It was incompatible with the ideologies of Early Modern Japan. It was incongruous with the aims of Early Modern reconstruction. Moreover, in several notable instances the acts of its servants were plainly destructive."⁵⁴

Elison supports his thesis with a minute examination of the Japanese sources and with the copiously annotated translations of four anti-Christian tracts, two of which were written by apostates—Fabián Fucan, already mentioned, and the Portuguese Christovão Ferreira. Elison describes the limited vision of a number of the missionaries and the unfortunate conflicts between the Jesuits and the Franciscans and Dominicans. But despite these failings on the part of the missionaries, the constancy with which many Japanese Christians, both those of the lower and higher classes, persevered in their faith under the most dreadful circumstances would seem to indicate that Christianity was not as incompatible with Japanese culture as he maintains. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*, but the voices of those who will die for a cause must also be heard.⁵⁵

CORRIGENDA ⁵⁶

Objection has been made to the citation of Pastor's *History of the Popes* in the original German in this English version rather than in its English translation.⁵⁷ An analogous objection has been made to the practice of citing the *Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos* (probably by António Galvão) and the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* by Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., according to their manuscripts rather than their now available printed editions.⁵⁸ In this final volume similar objections may be made to the continued citation of Schütte's *Missionsgrundsätze* in its German original, since the first part of this is now available in an English translation.⁵⁹ Even more desirable would have been the citation of Luis Frois'

⁵⁴ George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 1-9.

⁵⁵ See the following reviews of this work: C. R. Boxer, *Monumenta Nipponica* 29 (1974) 342-345; J. López-Gay, S.J., *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 48 (1979) 175-177.

⁵⁶ The exigencies of time have made it necessary to rely almost exclusively on the errors cited in different reviews for this part of the appendix.

⁵⁷ Bossy, *Renaissance Quarterly* 84.

⁵⁸ Jacobs, *Indica* 67. Reference to the printed editions of these two works may be found in Schurhammer's discussion of their authors (Vol. II 625 629). An English version of Trindade's work on Ceylon is now also available: E. Peiris, O.M.I., A. Meersman, O.F.M., *Chapters on the Introduction of Christianity to Ceylon*, taken from the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* of Friar Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M. (Bishop's House, Chilaw, 1972).

⁵⁹ Josef Franz Schütte, S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*. Vol. I: *From His Appointment as Visitor until His First Departure from Japan (1573-1589)*. Part I: *The Problem (1573-1580)*. Part II: *The Solution (1580-1582)*, translated by John J. Coyne, S.J. (St. Louis, 1980, 1985). This completes the translation of as much of Valignano's work as was published by Father Schütte.

Historia de Japam in the critical edition recently published by Wicki rather than in the version of Schurhammer and Voretzsch.⁶⁰ An attempt was made to cite both in the notes, but the time involved in this proved to be so consuming that it seemed better to suspend the effort.

In *Franz Xaver* measures and distances have been given according to the metric system. In the translation these have been converted into what would be their English equivalents. Since the text and notes were translated separately, there may be occasional discrepancies in the figures given, especially since those given in the German are not infrequently round rather than exact numbers, and the effort to translate these did not always produce the same effects.

In the first volume of the translation, the anachronistic "riflemen" has occasionally been employed instead of the more accurate "arquebusiers" or "musketeers."⁶¹ Another, but deliberate, anachronism is Schurhammer's designation of all Muslims between Morocco and Mindanao as "Moors."⁶²

The discovery of Francisco Pérez' *Informação acerca do principio da Companhia na India* provided Schurhammer with more accurate information on the voyage made by Xavier from São Thomé to Malacca in 1545.⁶³ This corrected rather than confirmed what Schurhammer had earlier written with respect to Xavier's sailing to Malacca on the Coromandel ship under the captaincy of Antonio Pereira.⁶⁴ Though Schurhammer's correction to his original assumption is indicated in a note in the translation,⁶⁵ it would have been better to correct the text describing the voyage as well, substituting *champana* for "royal Coromandel ship" and *Antonio de Lemos* for "Antonio Pereira."⁶⁶

ADDENDA

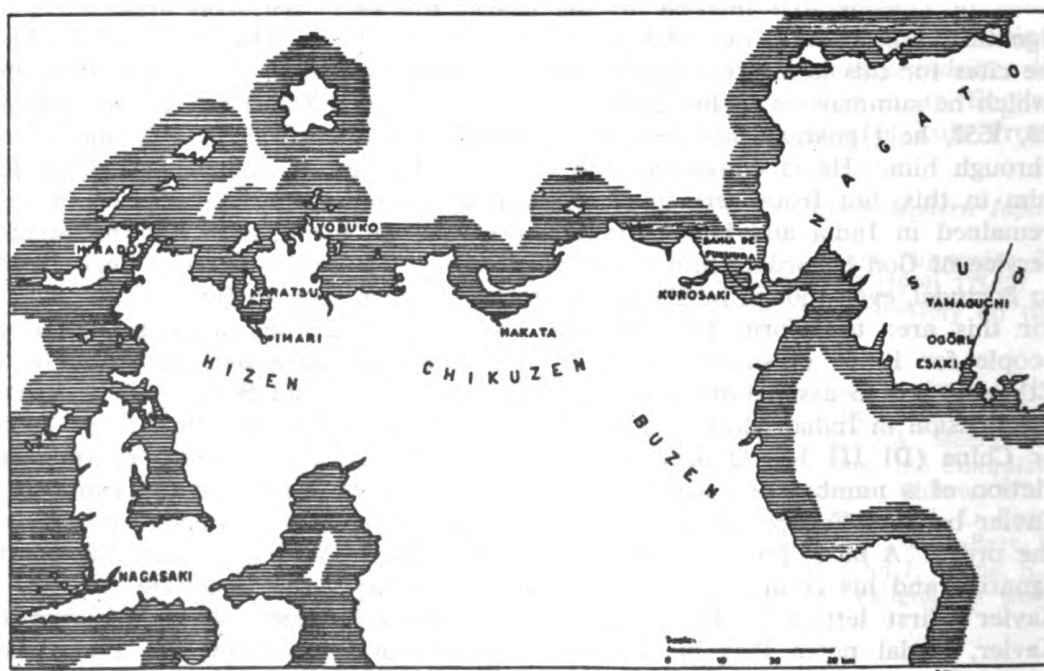
36 n. 88 Insert after 77v-88v (China-Japan): 85v-86 (*Chincheo-Japan*)

Xavier's Recall from India

Schurhammer makes only a passing reference to another event which has been of considerable interest to historians, the fact that, "on June 28, 1553, Ignatius summoned Xavier back to Europe" (p. 438 n. 5). The only source which he cites for this is a letter which Ignatius wrote to Xavier on June 28, 1553, and which he summarizes in his *Quellen* as follows: From Xavier's letter of January 28, 1552, he (Ignatius) has learned that God has opened up Japan and China through him. He is convinced that it is the Eternal Wisdom that has guided him in this, but from here it seems that it would have been better if he had remained in India and had sent Master Gaspar in his stead. For the greater service of God he orders him under obedience to return at the first opportunity to Portugal, even though he should be ready to return soon to India. The reasons for this are: to inform the king and the pope about the mission, to choose people for it, to persuade the king to take up the long delayed embassy to Ethiopia and to assist him in the conversion of Congo and Brasil, and to direct the mission in India, which could be better done from Portugal than from Japan or China (DI III 1-5; Q 6013). Schurhammer makes no reference to the conviction of a number of early historians of the Society that Ignatius summoned Xavier back to Europe so that he might be his successor as superior general of the order. A basis for this contention is provided by Jerome Nadal, who knew Ignatius and his companions in Paris, but owed his vocation to the reading of Xavier's first letters to Europe. In his memoirs for 1552, when referring to Xavier, Nadal notes that his body had been found incorrupt and that other

From Hirado to Yamaguchi (pp. 139-148)

Xavier's journey from Hirado to Yamaguchi with Cosme de Torres and Bernardo at the end of October and beginning of November, 1550, has been the object of a considerable amount of debate (pp. 139-148). Some historians have claimed that the entire trip, except for the crossing of two narrow straits was made on foot. Schurhammer, depending largely upon the rather obscure data of Frois, held that the group traveled on foot to Hakata (Fukuoka), and from there by boat to Esaki, the harbor for Yamaguchi. Drawing upon his intimate knowledge of Japan and a statement of João Rodriguez Tsūzu that Xavier embarked in Hakata for Yamaguchi (*donde se tournou a embarcar pera Yamaguchi*), Juan G. Ruiz de Medina, S.J., of the Jesuit Historical Institute, has recently concluded that the three sailed from Hirado to Hakata and from there to Yamaguchi ("Un Viaje de Xavier desde Hirado a Yamaguchi. Retoques a un Antiguo Relatio," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LII [1983] 209-231).



ABBREVIATIONS

AHSI:	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>	KM:	<i>Die Katholischen Missionen</i>
APO:	<i>Archivo Portuguez-Oriental</i>	MDGNVO:	<i>Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens</i>
ARSI:	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>	MHSI:	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
BEFEO:	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi)</i>	MI:	<i>Monumenta Ignatiana</i>
CA:	<i>Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque</i>	MX:	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i>
DI:	<i>Documenta Indica</i>	NZM:	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft</i>
EX:	<i>Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii, Romae, 1944-45</i>	Q:	<i>Schurhammer, Die zeitgenössischen Quellen</i>
GS:	<i>Schurhammer, Gesammelte Studien</i>	RProzeß:	<i>Remissorialprozeß</i>
HCPB:	<i>Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil</i>	SIE:	<i>Selectae Indiarum Epistolae</i>
JA:	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>	SR:	<i>Silva Rego, Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: India</i>
JCB:	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	TASJ:	<i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i>
JMB:	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	TdT:	<i>Torre do Tombo, Lisbon</i>
JSB:	<i>Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	Torres:	<i>Torres' Letter in Schurhammer, Disputationen</i>
JRAS:	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	ZMR:	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft</i>
		*	<i>Manuscript</i>

Short Titles of Works Reprinted in Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien* (GS):

I	<i>Zeitgenössischen Quellen</i>	467-488	"Anfänge"
II	23-102 "Fernão Mendes Pinto"	565-603	"Franz Xaver in Japan"
	111-118 "Desenhos orientais"	605-629	"Der 'Grosse Brief'"
	121-147 "Doppelgänger"	653-664	"Franz Xaver in Miyako"
	413-435 "Trinitätspredigt"	665-679	"Ursprung des Chinapfandes"
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